Playing a role – but which one?

How public service motivation and professionalism affect decision-making in dilemma situations

Carina Schott

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1 Who sadly passed away

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: WHAT DRIVES PUBLIC SERVICE PROFESSIONALS' DECISION-MAKING IN REAL-LIFE DILEMMA SITUATIONS

'What am I to do?' is a frequently heard exclamation. The answer is not always clear, but the question is particularly pressing in dilemma situations. 'Moral/ethical dilemmas' – or situations in which important ethical values are in conflict (Cooper, 2001; Maesschalck, 2005) – are a type of dilemma that constitutes a core research topic in public administration literature. In this study, a broader, less normative approach to dilemmas is used. A dilemma is seen as a special form of trade-off, characterized by the fact that the situation has negative consequences no matter what option is chosen (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). Imagine the following situation:

> *You are working at an abattoir and it is your task to safeguard animal welfare and public health. You see a weak and crippled animal with an abscess climbing from a truck. What would you do? Would you order the animal slaughtered right away in order to avoid additional suffering and safeguard animal welfare? Or would you decide that the animal had better be isolated in a box, to be slaughtered at the end of the day, ensuring that the slaughter line is not contaminated and public health is not put under pressure? In other words, would you trade off animal welfare in order to ensure public health, or vice versa?*

There is a large body of literature on the question of how individuals deal with dilemmas how–people manage tensions between competing values and demands. In public administration literature, the concept of *coping behaviour* or *coping strategies* is often used when people's reactions to dilemmas are investigated (e.g., De Graaf, Huberts & Smulders, 2014; Brunsson, 1989; Lawton et al., 2000; Lipsky, 1980; Steenhuisen & Van Eeten, 2013; Tetlock, 2000; Thacher & Rein, 2004). Coping can be defined "as a response to competing values that takes form in the actions and decisions" (Steenhuisen, 2009, p. 20). Coping strategies, therefore, not only describe cognitive processes of how individuals deal with stress, but are also useful to operationalize decision-making in dilemma situations; they help to identify what kind of decisions public service professionals make in dilemma situations. A philosophical tradition (which, however, will not be discussed here) that indirectly describes what kind of decisions individuals make is *pragmatism.* The central argument of this tradition emphasises the notion that "the value of an idea derives from its practical consequences" (Rorty et al., 2004, p. 72) rather than theory, implying that individuals do 'what works best'.

Another stream of research on dilemmas in public services aims to identify factors explaining decision-making, and ultimately behaviour, of public service professionals who are confronted with dilemma situations. This research goes beyond the most frequently used description of decision-making known as 'rational choice'. A dilemma is characterised by the fact that the situation has negative consequences, no matter what option is chosen

(Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). This implies that rational reasoning provides no easy way out. What is more, "rules and procedures can never universally fit each individual case and every circumstance [that public servant professionals are confronted with], so judgements must be made" (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2000, p. 338). Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000, 2003), for example, conclude that street-level workers base their decisions on normative choices (the value for the individual client) rather than rules and regulations. In his work on street-level bureaucrats, Lipsky (1980) argues that civil servants' behaviour is motivated by their efforts to make their organizational life more consistent with their own preferences, commitments to the service and their conception of the potential of their work to be socially useful (p. xii). Another well-developed field of literature that addresses the question of why people make certain decisions in the face of dilemmas is that of *organizational ethics literature* (e.g., Measschalck, 2004, Sims & Koen, 1999; Stewart et al., 2001). Here, decision-making is traditionally addressed by means of a typology of ethical climates initially developed by Victor and Cullen (1987; 1988).

This dissertation is related to all these research fields, as the research project was intended to increase our understanding of what drives public professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations. This means that the primary interest is in the question of *why* public service professionals make certain decisions and to a lesser degree in their actual behaviour and decision-making. Because equality before the law is a core value in the public sector (Rainey, 2003), variation in the decision-making of public service professionals, provided the context is similar, should be minimized. A deeper insight into what drives the behaviour of individuals is necessary because it can help to anticipate and adjust unwanted behaviour.

The focus in this dissertation is on *public service motivation* (PSM) and *professionalism,* and the role these two concepts together play in the decision-making of public service professionals facing dilemma situations. There are two reasons to focus on these two concepts. First, PSM and professionalism are two frequently debated concepts in the public administration literature, which are expected to be useful in explaining behaviour (Vandenableele et al., 2006; Andersen, 2009). Second, both concepts are embedded within what March and Olson (1989) describe as 'the logic of appropriateness'. From this perspective, individual behaviour is guided by institutions which are assumed to play a central role in defining appropriate values and norms. This perspective may be better suited to explain why individuals make certain decisions in the face of dilemmas than a more self-interested approach based on rational choice, which the authors specify as 'the logic of expected consequences'. According to Weber, Kopelman and Messick (2004), a dominant 'rational choice' framework has limitations when applied to dilemmas, such as the presumption of relatively conscious decision-making processes and choices that are preceded by evaluation and judgment.

Interest in and research on PSM, or "an individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society" (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008, p. vii) is relatively young but has increased immensely over the past 25 years. Because PSM seems to be a promising concept by which to identify predictable links between what drives employees and organizational outcomes, both public management scholars and practitioners are interested in it (Brewer, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2009), and is it increasingly recognized in other disciplines such as economics, psychology and sociology (Ritz, Brewer & Neumann, 2013) as well. Individuals scoring high on PSM are expected to perform well, since they are working to provide services they perceive as meaningful (Perry & Wise, 1990; Wright & Grant, 2010). Research on professionalism has a very long history within sociological research (Rainey, 2009). Traditionally, professionalism is perceived as the collective control of specialized theoretical knowledge, applied to specific cases, based on socialized professional norms and values and on institutionalized procedures and ways of working (e.g., Abbott, 1988; Elliott, 1972; Freidson, 2001), which leads to one shared professional identity (Evetts, 2006). One result of this common identity is similarities in work practices and procedures, perceiving problems and solutions, and interacting with clients and customers (Evetts, 2006).

The above introduction to PSM and professionalism shows that both concepts can be used to explain behaviour. They can therefore be assumed to be useful concepts to increase our understanding of what drives public service professionals' decision-making in daily dilemma situations. However, at the same time, I also found that much work still needs to be done on the theories of PSM and professionalism. These issues – which were explained more in detail in the following paragraph – need to be addressed before assessing the potential role of PSM and professionalism for decision-making in dilemma situations.

Despite the large number of quantitative articles on PSM, addressing the concept as either an independent or a dependent variable, our knowledge of what it 'really' means and implies to be public service motivated is limited, especially in dilemma situations. Does being public service motivated then imply supporting efficiency, responsibility, democracy, integrity, transparency or responsiveness? According to Van der Wal, De Graaf, and Van Montfort (2011), these public values are potentially conflicting and can force individuals to choose one above the other. This limitation is reflected in, for example, the observations that studies on the PSM-performance relationship report mixed findings (e.g., Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Naff & Crum, 1999; Ritz, 2009; Vandenabeele, 2009); that it remains unclear how PSM incorporates the different dimensions that are often found to be inconsistent as to how they correlate with other factors under investigation (e.g., Andersen & Serritlew, 2012; Giauque et al., 2012; Taylor, 2007); and by the ongoing effort to improve the PSM

measurement instrument (e.g., Kim 2009; Kim et al., 2013; Vandenabeele, 2008). Another limitation is that little is known about the causal mechanisms that underlie the development of PSM. Longitudinal research on PSM relies on quantitative data which primarily indicate *how* PSM changes, but not sufficiently *why* (especially not why PSM decreases over time).

We also find that there could also be more clarity about the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism. There is a great variety of (sociological) approaches, each having their own view on how professionals behave. Some address it as a normative values system (e.g., Parsons, 1951; Goode, 1969; MacDonald, 1995), others as an ideology of occupational power (e.g., Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977) or as a mechanism of professional control (Durkheim, 1992; Freidson, 2001, Fournier, 1999). More recent approaches define professionalism via the way professionals cope with external pressure, by either relying on 'purified' professional norms and values (occupational professionalism), adhering to organizational forces (organizational professionalism), or combining professional and organizational values (hybridized professionalism). As a result, sociological theory on professionalism is vague, because it is not clear what the concept means and which behaviour can be expected from professionals, especially when they are confronted with situations of conflicting demands. For example, depending on the perspective chosen, professionals are expected to go for solutions that benefit their own occupation or follow norms intended for the larger society. Next to the dominant sociology of professionalism, we also see a minor body of literature on professionalism at an individual level (e.g., De Graaf, 2011). This stream of research shows that professionals' behaviour and decision-making are influenced by more than just one overreaching occupational norm; the interpretations that individuals bring to their professional role seem to matter as well. This is very interesting, because it contradicts a central assumption in the sociology of professionalism, i.e., that professionals belonging to the same professional group act and perceive in similar ways (Evetts, 2006). Finally, a gap in our knowledge that also deserves closer attention in the context of this study relates to the relationship between PSM and professionalism. In the literature, there is no agreement on what this relationship looks like. Whereas some scholars state that the concepts supplement each other (e.g., Freidson, 2001; Vinzant, 1998), others argue that the two concepts are mutually exclusive. Van Wart (1998), for example, argues that professionals isolate themselves from democratic control by setting their own standards and regulating their professional members.

1.1 Primary and secondary research questions

The primary research question of this dissertation is derived from the observation that working in the public sector implies the need to make decisions in the face of dilemmas, and that a better understanding of why public service professionals make certain decisions in such situations would be highly desirable. Two concepts, one native to public administration literature – *public service motivation* – and one introduced from sociology but also central to public administration literature – *professionalism* – seem to offer a promising perspective from which to investigate this problem. At the same time, however, our knowledge about what it really means and implies to be a professional and to be public service motivated is still limited. Especially in dilemma situations, the meaning and implications of PSM and professionalism are unclear. Therefore, using the context of dilemmas to delve into these two concepts and their interrelatedness more deeply, I formulate the following primary research question:

> *PRQ: What is the combined impact of public service motivation and professionalism on public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations?*

If we want to answer this question, the limitations of current PSM and professionalism research – as pointed out above – need to be addressed first. Next, it is necessary to specify what the dilemma situations are that public service professionals are confronted with and what kind of decisions they make in such situations, i.e., what kind of coping strategies they apply. In order to answer the primary research question, the following five secondary research questions must also be answered:

> *SRQ1: What are the dilemma situations that public service professionals are frequently confronted with?*

> *SRQ2: What kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?*

> *SRQ3: How can the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM be clarified in dilemma situations?*

> *SRQ4: How can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified in dilemma situations?*

> *SRQ5: What is the relationship between PSM and professionalism?*

1.2 Research design and the case studied

The empirical part of this dissertation is based on a mixed-methods research design. This design is considered to be best suited to the specific question addressed here – what drives public service professionals' decision-making in complex real life situations? – and the proposed necessity of developing new approaches to the study of PSM and professionalism that are clearer about the meaning and behavioural consequences of the two concepts. By incorporating the strength of both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms (e.g., adaptation to the specific context of the investigation while at the same time making it possible for the research findings to be generalized), this research design offers the best chances to obtain useful answers to the research questions. Qualitative methods – primarily semi-structured interviews, but also participant observation and document analysis – are used in the first phase of the empirical work to 1) explore the specific working context of public service professionals, in particular to identify dilemma situations (SRQ1) and the kind of decisions individuals make (SRQ2); 2) shed light on the question of how the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM and professionalism can be clarified (SRQ3, SRQ4); and 3) increase our understanding of the relationship between these two concepts (SRQ5). Interview data were collected at two moments in time, which made it possible to investigate how and why PSM develops over time. The results of the quantitative analysis were then used to develop a questionnaire which enables us to answer the primary research question – what is the combined impact of PSM and professionalism on public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations – by testing a conceptual model. Also, the qualitative data were used to check if the results of the qualitative analysis could be generalized and to further develop the answers to the secondary research questions.

The professionals studied in this investigation were veterinary inspectors working for the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority ('*Nederlandse Voedsel- and Warenautoriteit*', NVWA) responsible for public health, animal health and animal welfare. I consider them ideal subjects for research into the role of PSM and professionalism in the context of dilemma situations, for a number of reasons: they work in a demanding setting, involving face-to-face interactions with different types of inspectees who have strong economic interests. The veterinary inspectors' primary task is to enforce European law, national law and rules set by the organization directed at safeguarding public health, animal health and animal welfare. However, in their (prior) work as practicing veterinarian, they are also used to consider economic aspects of farming. As these different aspects of the work of veterinary inspectors are not always compatible, these individuals are frequently confronted with dilemma situations. Their predicaments are exacerbated by the ambiguity

inherent in their work and the high levels of discretion required. Beyond that, especially if any scandals occur, many different parties (e.g., animal and consumer protection societies, political parties, trade unions) make their voice heard, which results in close scrutiny of veterinary inspectors' work. Regardless of these difficult working circumstances, providing reliable and valid judgments is a prerequisite for public sector work in general and inspection services in particular, in order to preserve authority, and gain legitimacy and trust from both inspectees and society at large (Tuijn, Janssens, Robben & Van den Bergh, 2011). For these reasons, veterinary inspectors provide an excellent test case for the question of what drives public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations.

1.3 Theoretical relevance

Regarding PSM research this study offers several important theoretical contributions. First of all, it aims to enrich public administration literature on PSM by recognizing interdisciplinarity as a way forward in studying PSM. By combining PSM with a theory from a different discipline, *identity theory*, I offer a new approach to the study of PSM that might be clearer about the meaning and predictive power of the concept in dilemma situations. Identity theory is a firmly established sociological theory that offers a line of reasoning via which to explain behaviour, by focusing on the interdependent relations between the self and society (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000). The theory can provide insights into the way in which individuals holding specific roles in society attach personal meaning to the public interest – an important aspect of PSM. This new approach could be highly valuable, because it is likely to contribute to the validity of the PSM concept by being clearer about the meaning of the concept of PSM in dilemma situations. Moreover, clarifying the PSM concept also provides insights into the complex and frequently debated PSM-performance relationship: it can help to explain why previous studies on the relationship between PSM and performance have found mixed results. Second, this dissertation goes beyond testing the effects of PSM on self-reported outcome variables such as satisfaction, commitment and performance. The study aims to provide a better understanding of how PSM is realized in public service professionals' self-reported daily decision-making. Third, this dissertation aims to contribute to the discussion about whether the PSM measurement scale is universally applicable across different institutional contexts, by applying it within a case that has not yet been tested: Dutch veterinary inspectors. This case is very interesting, because it presents professionals of the classical type[1] who work within an institutional setting that is different from the setting they were originally educated for; much like, for

1 For more information, see the discussion of the concept of professionalism in Subsection 2.3.1

instance, physicians working for the health care inspectorates. And finally, via the use of qualitative research methods I aim for a better understanding of the mechanisms underlying the development of PSM over time, which so far have been tested only quantitatively.

The contribution of this study to the research on the sociology of professionalism is similarly broad. By combining the theory on the sociology of professionalism with insights from identity theory, I aim to offer a new approach to studying professionalism that is clearer about the meaning and behavioural consequences of the concept in complex real-life situations. In particular, this theory can provide insights into the way in which individuals attach personal meaning to their professional role. Offering this new approach is relevant, because it contributes to the validity of the professionalism concept. In relation to this, the study also intends to provide insights into the reasons why not all professionals with the same professional background show the same professional behaviour in practice.

Next to this, this study aims to enrich understanding of the relationship between PSM and professionalism by reviewing traditional research on this relationship, formulating an argument for why previous research has come to different conclusions regarding the relationship between PSM and professionalism, putting forward a 'new' line of reasoning on how this relationship might better be addressed, and investigating this new approach.

At a general level, this dissertation aims to contribute to research on the question of what drives public service professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations by including PSM and professionalism as explanatory variables in the study. As both concepts are embedded within what March and Olson call a 'logic of appropriateness', this study intends to enhance our understanding of the explanatory power of this logic in dilemmas, as a counterweight to the dominant theoretical framework of 'rational choice' (cf. Ledyard, 1995).

1.4 Practical relevance

The analysis and theoretical discussion presented here have relevance beyond their potential contributions to public administration literature. Gaining more insight into the role of PSM and professionalism in dilemma situations is also of practical relevance: it can help to anticipate unwanted or strengthen desired behaviour on the part of public service professionals, by identifying specific HR strategies that have an effect on PSM and/or professionalism. While for the management of NVWA consistent rule enforcement is a core principle, professionals may deviate from rules because they think that it is more important to consider personal circumstances of individuals when choices have to be made. For example, by developing a new approach to PSM that is clearer about the meaning and

behavioural consequences of the concept, we may shed light on the question of whether it is useful to promote PSM directly or whether there are alternative – more promising – ways of indirectly stimulating positive and preventing potential negative effects of PSM. The same is true for a deeper understanding of the mechanism underlying the change of PSM over time. If we know why PSM changes, specific HR strategies can be implemented to either hamper or facilitate this change. If we have a better understanding of what it means and implies to be a professional, these insights can be used when teams are formed or specific bundles of tasks are assigned. Besides, the organization can use HR activities such as training sessions, mentor programmes and performance assessment to stimulate or dampen certain perceptions of the professionalism concept. Insight into the situations in which public service professionals experience dilemmas can help managers to anticipate the negative consequences such as frustration and stress, for example by adapting training programmes to the actual working context. A deeper understanding of the kind of decisions public service professionals make in dilemma situations is useful, because this knowledge can help, for example, to devise strategies outlining how an organization should react to unwanted decisions by these professionals.

1.5 Methodological relevance

Next to the theoretical and practical relevance of this dissertation, its methodological relevance should also be highlighted. Most PSM researchers use cross-sectional survey methods to investigate the antecedents and effects of PSM (e.g., Bright, 2008; Camilleri, 2006; Crewson 1997; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Wright & Pandey, 2008). As a result, the research field lacks in-depth knowledge of 1) what constitutes PSM and what its effects are on actual public service professionals' decision-making, and ultimately behaviour, in complex real-life situations, and 2) how and why the concept changes over time. This study is intended to remedy these shortcomings of current PSM research by its mixed-methods research design and a longitudinal interview panel of newcomers working at the NVWA. The methodological approaches used in research on professionalism are much more varied than those used in PSM research. There is a large body of theoretical writings on professionalism (e.g., Adler & Kwon, 2013; Events, 2003, 2006; Fournier, 1999; Noordegraaf, 2007, 2013). Next, some scholars address professionalism on an occupational level, whereas others view it as an individual-level variable. In the former case, there are scholars who contribute to the state of professionalism empirically by applying qualitative research methods within exploratory research designs (e.g., Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2008; Reay & Hinings, 2009). Others use quantitative methods to study the effect of professionalism on outcome variables

such as performance (Andersen, 2009), career path (Teodoro, 2009), and administrative decisions and actions (Demir, 2011). In the latter category, most public administration scholars view the professionalism concept as entailing professional identification, and measure it by distributing questionnaires (e.g., Perry, 1997; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe & Pandey, 2006). A small number of scholars methods (e.g., Bucher & Selling, 1977; De Graaf, 2011) use qualitative methods to investigate differences between the ways professionals see their professional role. In this study, possible differences in public service professionals' role perception are investigated by a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods. The aim is to answer the question of whether different profiles of professionals, which represent different types of professionalism, can be identified among a 'new' case – veterinary inspectors –, and whether these profiles may be generalized.

1.6 Research plan

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. Chapter 2 is a theoretical chapter that serves as a guide to the empirical research carried out, and helps to answer the research questions listed in Section 1.1. First, the chapter provides theoretical reasons why working in the public sector implies a regular confrontation with dilemma situations, and briefly discusses decision-making (viewed as coping strategies) in such situations. Second, it summarizes and critiques the literature on PSM and professionalism, and research combining these two concepts, with an emphasis on remaining knowledge gaps. Also, identity theory is introduced as a theory to fill in these knowledge gaps about PSM and professionalism research, and a number of hypotheses and propositions are formulated to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of the two concepts in the context of dilemmas. Throughout the book, I differentiate between propositions and hypotheses in order to indicate whether qualitative or quantitative methods, respectively, were primarily used to verify the propositions/hypotheses. Finally, a conceptual model is provided to show the combined impact of PSM and professionalism on decision-making in this particular context.

In Chapter 3, a mixed-methods research design is presented for the empirical part of this study. I provide information about the study sample – veterinary inspectors working at the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority – and explain why this is an interesting case to be studied in the context of this research.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the most important qualitative method of this study, i.e., semi-structured interviews. In particular, the chapter describes 1) the structure and coding of the interviews, 2) the selection process of the interviewees, 3) and the strengths and limitations of the research method.

In Chapter 5, the empirical results of the qualitative analysis are presented, and a first step is made to address the questions *what are the dilemma situations public service that professionals are frequently confronted with?* (SRQ1) and *what kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?* (SRQ2). After PSM among veterinary inspectors is described and the question of how and why PSM changes over time is analysed, the question is investigated whether insights from identity theory help to clarify the meaning of professionalism is investigated by analysing how veterinary inspectors interpret their professional role (SRQ4). Next, the question of whether insights from identity theory are also useful for clarifying the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM is studied by linking the concept with professional role identity (SRQ3). This analysis helps to increase our knowledge about the relationship between PSM and professionalism (SRQ5). Finally, this chapter provides empirical evidence of additional factors (other than PSM and professionalism) that influence decision-making in dilemma situations.

Chapter 6 elaborates on the quantitative research method used in this study, which is a survey that includes real-life dilemma situations. Specific aspects discussed are 1) how the data were collected, 2) who the respondents were, 3) which statistical methods were used to analyse the data, 4) how input from the qualitative results was used to develop the survey questionnaire, 5) how missing values were handled, and 6) the limitations and strengths of the quantitative study.

In Chapter 7 the quantitative results of the study are presented. The descriptive statistics for all variables are presented, together with their correlations, and additional answers are provided for the secondary research questions addressed in Chapter 5. Attention is paid to the question whether some or all of the results of the qualitative analyses could be verified using statistical techniques. Finally, the chapter attempts to answer the primary research question by testing the theoretical model presented in the theoretical chapter (Chapter 2).

Chapter 8 synthesizes and discusses the findings from both the qualitative and quantitative analyses, in order to provide more complete answers to the secondary research questions and to generalize the initial findings of this study. Next to this, the findings of the quantitative analysis testing the theoretical model are discussed, thereby providing an answer to the primary research question. Conclusions are offered for both the scientific study of PSM and professionalism in the context of dilemma situations, and for practical implications. Finally, the limitations of this study are discussed and implications for future research are sketched.

Chapter 2

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION AND PROFESSIONALISM AS GUIDELINES FOR DECISION-MAKING IN DILEMMA SITUATIONS[1]

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This chapter discusses the theoretical framework that has served as a guideline for the empirical research described in this study, and helps to answer the research questions formulated in the introduction. The chapter is divided into seven sections. First, the concept of 'dilemma' is analysed, the key characteristics of the public sector are elaborated on, and an explanation is offered as to why public service professionals regularly face dilemmas. This insight increases our knowledge of what the dilemma situations are that public service professionals are frequently confronted with in practice (SRQ1). Next, the literature on coping strategies is briefly introduced, because this field of literature can help to answer the question of what kind of decisions public service professionals make in dilemma situations (SRQ2). However, the focus of this research project was on the reasons underlying decision-making in dilemma situations, rather than public service professionals' actual decision-making. Therefore, the literature is not discussed in detail, but decision-making in dilemma situations is investigated in an exploratory way and the empirical findings are linked to the literature on coping strategies. Sections 2 and 3 introduce PSM and professionalism, respectively, and I account for the focus on these two concepts as explanatory variables of decision-making in dilemma situations. After a literature review on PSM and professionalism, persistent knowledge gaps are discussed, resulting in a comprehensive basis for secondary research questions 3 and 4. Section 4 presents a literature overview of studies in which PSM and professionalism are combined, resulting in a basis for secondary research question 5. In Section 5, identity theory is introduced into the study of professionalism and PSM, as a theory that can help to address the knowledge gaps in current PSM and professionalism literature. In Section 6, a number of hypotheses and propositions are formulated that result from combining PSM, professionalism and identity theory, and provide theoretical answers to the remaining secondary research questions (SRQ3-5). In Section 7, the most important theoretical insights are summarized. The hypotheses put forward in Section 6 are represented within a schematic conceptual model, and a table is provided indicating which part, or parts, in the results chapters address which research question.

2.1 Key characteristics of the public sector: the roles of conflicting values, contrasting demands and the public interest

It is commonly known that working in the specific context of public governance entails a regular need to take decisions in the face of dilemmas (De Graaf, Huberts & Smulders, 2014; Hood, 1991; Humphrey & Guthrie, 2001; Olson, O'Kelly & Dubnick, 2006; Provan & Milward, 2001). As mentioned in the Introduction, moral or ethical dilemmas have been studied intensively in the field of public administration and can be seen as situations

in which important ethical values clash (e.g., Cooper, 2001; Maesschalck, 2005). Other disciplines that also involve research on moral dilemmas are business ethics (e.g., Treviño, & Weaver, 2003) and organizational studies (e.g., Jones, 1991). Even though in this study the concepts of dilemma is viewed more broadly and less normatively than in the research field of moral dilemmas – I see dilemmas as a special form of trade-off, characterized by the fact that the situation has negative consequences no matter what option is chosen (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000) – what unifies both approaches is the assumption that the following three conditions are met.

First, the individual should be committed to the values or interests that are in conflict; otherwise no dilemma is perceived. Second, the situation must require the individual to become active; to decide to do or not to do something. A person can be committed to various values at the same time without feeling any tension. Conflicts are experienced only in situations in which people have to decide to do (or not to do) something that involves a trade-off between values they are committed to. Next to this, individuals need to have some discretionary space to act, which implies that they have to make a decision – choosing between two or more conflicting possibilities of decision-making. In Subsection 2.4.1 I will elaborate on the inevitability of discretion in public servants' work.

As this research project was aimed at increasing our understanding of what determines behaviour of public professionals in dilemma situations, we first need to specify what the dilemma situations are that public service professionals are frequently confronted with. In this section, I elaborate on three key characteristics of the public sector that may cause individuals working in the public sector being to be frequently confronted with dilemmas: value pluralism, varying demands from different stakeholders, and the fuzziness of the concept of public interest.

One rationale for the existence of public organizations is to defend and produce public values (Rainey, 2009). It has been argued, for example, that public values are the result of government activities authorized by citizens and their representatives (Moore, 1995). Bozeman (2007), on the other hand, addresses public values at both an individual and a societal level. This means that individuals may have their own views on "the rights, obligations and benefits to which citizens are entitled and, on the other hand, the obligations expected of citizens and their designated representatives" (p.14). In the context of the rise of managerialism (Frederickson, 2005; Kernaghan, 2000), economic individualism (Bozeman, 2007), and privatization (De Bruijn & Dicke, 2006), public organizations are increasingly challenged to balance 'classical or traditional' governmental values such as integrity, neutrality, legality, and impartiality on the one hand with 'business-like' values such as

efficiency, innovation, responsiveness and effectiveness on the other. This development is also visible in the extensive literature on the principles of good governance and, related to this, in the literature on public values. De Graaf and Van der Wal (2010) have recently called into question whether it is possible to do things right (having integrity) while at the same time realizing objectives (being effective). Both values are regarded as important for public organizations in order to create legitimacy. By referring to actual working situations of public employees, the authors demonstrate that in certain circumstances these values clash. The problem seems to be that there is no overriding 'good' or 'common' scale ranking the importance of these values (Berlin, 1982; Hampshire, 1983; Spicer, 2009; Van der Wal, De Graaf & Lawton, 2011), and no definite list of public values in the first place (Rainey, 2009). Van der Wal et al. (2011) assume that conflicts of values are incommensurable since there is not one public value more important to other values; a condition that in moral philosophy is called *value pluralism* (Wagenaar, 1999; Nieuwenburg, 2004). A contrasting voice is that of Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007), who argue that "both values [liberty and efficiency] are viewed important, but it is nonetheless possible to specify or interfere a hierarchy of importance" (p. 370).

In their work public servants have to deal with a great number of stakeholders. They have to deal with national and international law and regulations, media and diverse interest groups, the interests of politicians and managers, and the interests of various individual citizens each having their own requests for public services. Because public organizations a) hold a monopoly position as providers of social services which are not exchanged on economic markets but are justified by social values, b) act as regulators of externalities, spill-overs and individual incompetence, and c) depend on legislative bodies and political powers, they have to represent the interests of various stakeholders (Rainey, 2009). It can be argued that potential conflicts arising from different interests are amplified by the fact that "government organizations operate under greater public scrutiny [than private organizations] and are subject to unique public expectations for fairness, openness, accountability, and honesty" (Rainey, 2009, p. 86). Lipsky (1980) argues that public sector workers are "constantly torn by the demands of service recipients to improve effectiveness and responsiveness and by the demands of citizen groups to the efficacy and efficiency of government services" (p. 404). The author investigates how public service workers use their professional autonomy to make decisions and protect themselves against pressures and uncertainties. Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000) argue that the fundamental dilemma of public servants' work is that they constantly have to deal with the tensions between the needs of individual citizens and the demands and limits of rules. They conclude that street-level workers base their decisions

on normative choices – i.e., on the worth of the individual client – rather than rules and regulations. Accordingly, next to value pluralism, contrasting demands arising from multiple stakeholders can be assumed to be omnipresent in the public sector. Or borrowing Hardy's words (1981), "most administrative practice […] is a compromise between conflicting values and forces within society" (p. vii.). There is a great body of research into the question of how public servants deal or cope with their unpredictable environment, which is characterized by conflicting demands. A brief review of the literature on coping behaviour is provided in Section 2.2, because this literature helps to operationalize public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations.

Public organizations can be defined as being in charge of promoting the public interest (Appleby, 1952; Bozeman, 2007; Flathman, 1966). According to a normative point of view, the public interest is an ideal. It is what citizens expect from government and what public officials – both politicians and administrators - strive for or should strive for. However, the concept of public interest has proved notoriously difficult to measure and define (Mitnick, 1980). There is no clear idea of what the public interest means, both in a general sense and applied to specific cases (Bozeman, 2007). Schubert (1960) identified three different conceptualizations of the public interest: a realistic, a rational, and an idealistic perspective, all of which he criticizes because they cannot be verified and cannot be used to describe the behaviour of real individuals. According to Schubert, what is most important about the public interest is that it cannot be used as a guideline for the behaviour of public servants. In line with Schuetz's (1953) philosophical approach to common-sense and scientific thinking, we suggest that the public interest needs to be addressed as a context-dependent interpretation rather than an abstract ideal. Rutgers (2012), for example, points out that the notion of public interest is time and place specific, i.e., contextual, and hence very much a matter of interpretation. Similarly, Rhodes and Wanna (2007) view the public interest as having a "different meaning in different narratives" (p. 415). The fuzziness of the public interest concept can be partly explained by some of the key characteristics of public organizations, i.e., value pluralism and different demands arising from multiple stakeholders. For example, working in health care requires fostering individual and public health, economic well-being, research and development, and sustainability: all potentially conflicting aspects of the public interest. Everyone has their own view of what the public interest is, given a specific context, and hence also of what actions could be taken to foster the public interest and of the extent to which these actions actually serve the public interest. Similarly, Rainey (1982) points out that "there are as many ways to conceive of public service as there are to conceive of the public interest" (p. 289).

Our theoretical discussion about possible factors explaining why public service professionals frequently have to make decisions in the face of dilemmas has provided insights into the situations in which public service professionals might experience dilemmas. It can be summarized in the following proposition:

> P1: *Public service professionals experience dilemmas in situations in which equally important values clash, various stakeholders' demands are in conflict, or the 'public interest' is the guideline of behaviour.*

After presenting some situations that public service professionals are expected to experience as dilemmas, I will discuss some literature on coping strategies, because this literature provides useful guidelines to operationalize decision-making in the context of dilemmas.

2.2 Decision-making in dilemma situations: coping strategies

In public administration literature, coping strategies have been identified as key responses to situations which are characterised by conflicting values and demands (Hupe & Hill, 2007; Loyens & Maesschalck, 2010). Following Steenhuisen (2009), I refer to coping behaviour "as a response to competing values that take form in the actions and decisions" (p. 20). Originating from the fields of psychology and psychiatry, which primarily focus on the question of how people deal – or cope – with mental problems and stress, a large body of literature on coping behaviour is also found in the fields of public administration, organizational behaviour, sociology, and political science (e.g., Brunsson, 1989; Lawton, McKevitt & Millar, 2000; Lipsky, 1980; Tetlock 2000; Thacher & Rein, 2004). For this research project I did not use coping strategies as a means to understand the cognitive mechanisms that make it possible to deal with dilemma situations. Rather, I saw them as a useful typology that could help to operationalize decision-making in the dilemma situations I might encounter in the research setting. In an extensive literature review on coping behaviour, Steenhuisen (2009) identifies two dichotomous dimensions of coping strategies that underlie the great variety of coping mechanisms discussed in the public administration, organizational behaviour, sociology, and political science literature: decoupling versus coupling, and emergent versus deliberate coping strategies. *Coupling* is a multi-value response. One example is 'hybridization' – 'the coexistence of two policies or practices with different values bases' (Stewart, 2006, p. 188). *Decoupling*, in contrast, is a mono-value response that decouples values, either in unconnected institutions or over time. Examples of decoupling are 'biasing', 'casuistry', and 'cycling'. 'Cycling' refers to

alternating between two conflicting values in order to realise each value separately over time. 'Casuistry' is a decoupling strategy and implies that in value conflict individuals make their decisions on the basis of their experience in comparable cases (De Graaf, Huberts & Smulders, 2014). Biasing, as defined by Stewart (2006), is favouring certain values above others through dominant discourses.

Another strategy is 'building firewalls', which are forms of structural separations that defer the responsibilities from one level in the systems to another (Thacher & Rein, 2004). In other words, 'firewalls' move the value conflict to elsewhere in the system. The mechanism is closely related to Endler and Parker's (1990) avoidance-oriented coping strategy, which is often discussed in the field of psychology. 'Building firewalls' also fits well in the second dichotomous dimensions of Steenhuisen's (2009) typology of decision-making: deliberate or purposeful versus emergent coping strategies. According to the author, 'bucket-passing' (ascribing one's own responsibility to another person or group) and 'procrastination' (putting off upcoming tasks) are *deliberate coping* strategies using decision avoidance. An example of an *emergent coping* strategy is the 'garbage can model' developed by Cohen, March and Olsen (1972), which depicts decision-making as much less systematic and rational than expected by proponents of rational choice theory. From this perspective, people are not sure about their preferences. This results in problems and solutions "flow[ing] along through time, sometimes coming together in combinations that shape decisions" (Rainey, 2009, p. 141). In the empirical part of this dissertation (5.2), the actual decisions that public service professionals make are explored and linked to the coping strategies discussed above.

In the next sections two concepts are discussed of which I want to know whether they can help is learn more about the reason why public service professionals make certain decisions in the context of dilemmas: PSM and professionalism.

2.3 Introducing public service motivation into the study of decision-making in dilemma situations

This section introduces PSM into the study of behaviour in dilemma situations. After discussing different definitions of PSM, I will elaborate on the argument made in the Introduction that PSM is an interesting concept to be studied in the context of this research. An overview of current research on PSM will be provided and the remaining knowledge gaps will be discussed.

2.3.1 Public service motivation as explanatory variable in dilemma situations

In 1982, Rainey laid the foundation for the concept of PSM by asking a large sample of private and public managers to rate their desire to engage 'in meaningful public service' (p. 288). Over the past 30 years, interest in and research on PSM has increased immensely among both public administration scholars and practitioners (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008). Today there are several definitions of PSM. The original one, provided by Perry and Wise (1990), defines PSM as "a predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public organizations" (p. 368). Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) refer to it as "a general, altruistic motivation to serve the interest of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind" (p. 20). Brewer and Selden (1998) view PSM as "a motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service (i.e., community, and social service)" (p. 417). More recently, Perry and Hondeghem (2008) see PSM as "an individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society" (p. vii). Vandenabeele's (2007) definition goes a step further because it also refers to the origin of PSM. In his view, PSM is "the belief, the values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate" (p. 549). In spite of this variety, what unifies all definitions is the idea of providing 'meaningful public service' or serving the community.

PSM is frequently used as an explanation of behaviour-related variables such as (individual) performance, interpersonal citizenship behaviour, and commitment. (For an overview of this type of research, see Subsection 2.2.3). The immense interest in the consequences of PSM is grounded in one of the most fundamental assumptions about PSM, i.e., that "in public service organizations, PSM is positively related to individual performance" (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 370). Highly public service motivated individuals are expected to perform well, since they are working to provide services they perceive as meaningful (Perry & Wise, 1990; Wright & Grant, 2010).

Next to its explanatory value vis-à-vis behaviour in general, PSM is an interesting concept to include in this study, because in research PSM is assumed also to guide behaviour in situations where individuals need to make trade-offs. This assumption is supported in studies linking PSM and whistleblowing. Brewer and Selden (1998) found that highly public service motivated individuals report wrongdoings out of concern for the public interest more frequently than do individuals scoring low on PSM. These individuals do not consider the interest of the people responsible for the wrongdoings, but "act in ways that are consistent with the theory of PSM. This is, they are motivated by the concern for the public interest" (Brewer & Selden, 1998, p. 413). Similarly, Vandenabeele et al. (2006) argue

that when personal and organizational interests are in competition with the public interest, "the public interest should prevail" (assuming that the individual is highly public service motivated) (p. 14). Next to this, according to Vandenabeele (2007) PSM is embedded within what March and Olson (1989) describe as 'the logic of appropriateness' because it refers to the realization of certain institutional values rather than self-interest. A rational choice perspective – a logic of consequences – has limitations when applied to dilemmas because of its presumptions of relatively conscious, deliberate decision-making processes, and choices that are preceded by evaluation and judgment (Weber, Kopelman & Messick, 2004). Thus, PSM seems to be an interesting concept to use if we want to learn more about what drives the behaviour of individuals in situations characterized by dilemmas.

The first definition of PSM, provided by Perry and Wise (1990)[2], focuses on psychological motives of behaviour and implies that PSM has a pluralistic character. Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982) differentiate three categories of psychological motives, which they call rational, norm-based, and affective. *Rational motives* are concerned with the maximization of utilities. Working in the public sector is seen as a way to satisfy one's personal needs and image of self-importance, while serving public interests (Rawels, 1971). *Norm-based motives* involve actions generated to conform to recognized norms (Perry & Wise, 1990). They can be described as an altruistic desire to serve the public interest (Downs, 1967). *Affective motives* refer to commitment to a program based on personal identification with it (Perry & Wise, 1990). When affective motives are in play, employees commit to a public organization because they are convinced that the public organization serves the public good and that their work is socially important (Perry & Wise, 1990). A couple of years after the ground breaking work by Perry and Wise, Perry (1996) used Knoke's and Wright-Isak's distinctive motives to identify four different dimensions of PSM: Attraction to public policy making, Compassion, Commitment to civic duty/public interest, and Self-sacrifice. He mapped three of these four dimensions directly on to the motivational foundations identified by Knoke and Wright-Isak. *Attraction to policy making* is related to the rational choice processes; *commitment to civic duty/public interest* maps to normative motives, and finally, there is a link between *compassion* and affective motivation (Perry, 2000). However, Perry (2000) fails to link the last dimension *self-sacrifice* to a psychological motive for PSM; and neither do Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) in their theoretical approach to PSM, nor Kim et al. (2013) in their empirical study focussing on the dimensionality of PSM and the instrument to measure it. Therefore, we should exercise some caution in assuming a direct relation between psychological motives and different PSM dimensions.

2 PSM as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (Perry & Wise, 1990)

Overall, scholars agree that PSM is composed of multiple dimensions (Wright, 2008). However, because of growing concern about the reliability of separate dimensions of PSM in countries outside the American context (e.g., Leisink & Steijn, 2008; Liu, Tsang & Zhu, 2008; Vandebeele, 2008), new measurement instruments have been developed and the dimensionality of PSM has changed. Vandenabeele (2008), for example, found evidence of an additional PSM dimension in Belgium which he calls *democratic governance*. Very recently, a great number of international PSM scholars from twelve different countries combined their efforts: they systematically investigated the dimensionality of PSM and developed a questionnaire instrument with an improved theoretical and empirical basis to measure PSM internationally (Kim et al., 2013). The results indicate that PSM is a four-dimensional construct including the dimensions: Attraction to public service (APS), Commitment to public values (CPV), Compassion (COM), and Self-sacrifice (SS).

Attraction to public service is an action-oriented dimension. It focusses on the degree to which participants are dedicated to public service, community and common good, and are willing to participate in the public policy process. It is a redefinition of Perry's (1996) 'attraction to policy' dimension and measured by items that better represent action-oriented and instrumental motives (Kim et al., 2013). *Commitment to public values* is a redefinition of Perry's Attraction to public policy making dimension. It therefore is a value-based dimension assessing the "extent to which an individual's interest in public service is driven by their internalization of and interest in pursuing commonly held public values such as equity, concern for future generations, accountability and ethics" (Kim et al. 2013, p. 83). C*ompassion* can be regarded as a sense of patriotism and benevolence which is described by Frederickson and Hart (1985) as an extensive love for all people within the community and the imperative to protect them. Newly developed items measure the degree to which participants identify with the suffering and needs of others. Finally, the willingness to substitute services to others for tangible personal rewards refers to the dimension *self-sacrifice*. This dimension presents the altruistic or pro-social origins of PSM (Perry, 1996).

Summing up: Because of the explanatory value of behaviour and the embeddedness within the 'logic of appropriateness', I expect PSM to be an interesting concept to be included into this study as it (potentially) helps to understand what drives professionals' decision-making in the context of dilemmas. In the following section an overview of traditional PSM research is presented.

2.3.2 Overview of traditional public service motivation research

In PSM literature different strands of research can be distinguished, all primarily relying on quantitative data. A minor strand focuses on the antecedents of PSM. Already in 1997, Perry explicitly called for research on the impact of organizations on PSM. More recently, Perry's call was repeated by Brewer (2008), who argued that insufficient attention has been paid to organizational antecedents of PSM. This line of thought was also supported by Leisink (2004), who suggested that personnel policies may contribute to creating conditions at work that help to generate PSM. Nevertheless, the number of studies investigating organizational antecedents of PSM remains limited. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) were able to demonstrate that red tape is negatively related to PSM, whereas hierarchical authority and reform orientation have a positive impact on PSM. Camilleri (2007) found evidence that suggests a positive relationship between employee-leader relations and PSM and between specific job characteristics and PSM. Other scholars (e.g., Georgellis et al., 2011; Giauque et al., 2013) heightened the negative consequences of monetary incentives on PSM. Crowding-out theory (Frey & Jegen, 2001) offers a plausible explanation for this phenomenon. If payment is related to individual performance people can no longer perform an activity purely for the sake of it – which is a key element of intrinsic motivation. Therefore, monetary incentives might undermine PSM, which is a specific form of intrinsic motivation. (For a systematic review on the relationship between PSM and performance-based payment see Frey, Homberg and Osterloh (2013)). Very recently, attempts have been made to assess the organizational antecedents of PSM by investigating the impact of several HR practices on PSM (Giauque et al., 2013; Schott & Pronk 2014), while Vandenabeele (2010) focused on the various institutions one is affiliated with such as family, political affiliation, and age cohort as antecedents of PSM.

A relatively young strand of PSM research addresses the question of *how* the level of PSM develops over time. At the suggestion of leading PSM scholars (e.g., Bozeman & Su, 2014; Perry & Hondeghem, 2008; Wright & Grand 2010), longitudinal panel research on PSM is now being carried out (e.g., Brænder & Andersen, 2013; Kjeldsen, 2014; Kroll & Vogel, 2013; Wright & Christensen, 2010; Ward, 2014). This type of research is important as it helps to increase our knowledge of PSM as either a dynamic state or a stable trait (Wright & Grant, 2010). This knowledge is relevant, because it can help to explain the higher level of PSM generally found among civil servants as compared to individuals working in private organizations (e.g., Houston, 2006; Rainey, 1982; Steijn, 2008; Taylor, 2008). If PSM is a static trait, higher levels of PSM among public sector employees cannot be the result of socialization mechanisms but should be attributed to attraction-selection-retention

mechanisms. The latter are derived from the broader Attraction-Selection-Attrition framework (Schneider, 1987) and Person-Environment Fit Theory (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). The main argument then is that public service motivated workers are attracted by public sector work because of the opportunity it offers to contribute to the public interest and provide meaningful public services. Interestingly, the results of longitudinal PSM research are mixed. Georgellis and Tabvuma (2010) found that individuals who accepted a public sector job showed an increased level of PSM for at least five years. Ward (2014) and Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012) found that PSM declines over time after people join the labour market, but that the drop in PSM may be mitigated by positive (public) socialization. Kroll and Vogel (2015), on the other hand, found evidence that PSM is stable across time. Kjeldsen (2014) and Brænder and Andersen (2013) went a step further. The authors included work characteristics and Danish soldiers' 'deployment to war', respectively, into the analysis, in order to get a more complete picture of post-entry PSM dynamics. They found that the different PSM dimensions changed in different ways or stayed stable across time. This means that some studies wholly or in part support the idea of PSM being a stable trait, while others indicate that PSM is a dynamic state that can both increase and decrease across time. What is more, there are a number of scholars who argue that PSM might be both at the same time: a relatively enduring individual predisposition and a temporary psychological state (Liu, Yang & Yu, 2014; Wright and Grant, 2010). Support for this argument also comes from Fleeson (2001) who points out that even traits are not fully stable. Rather, they vary to a certain degree within persons because of their individual reactions to changing external circumstances. An explanation for the increase of PSM is, for example, provided by Brewer (2008), who argues that organizational socialization is likely to be a crucial mechanism for "transmitting a 'public institutional logic' and seeding public service motivation" (p. 149). Scholars argue that public values, which according to Vandenabeele (2010) are the basic principles of public institutions, are internalized or socialized in such a way as to result in a higher level of PSM. One often cited explanation for the decline of PSM across time is the 'reality shock' (Brænder & Andersen, 2013; Kjeldsen, 2014; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2012), a phenomenon that has been observed among, for example, social workers (Blau, 1960), police recruits (Van Maanen, 1975), and teachers (De Cooman et al., 2009). The argument is that newcomers who are initially motivated by their interest to help others become frustrated and disillusioned by the reality of their daily work; by negative attitudes of clients; complicated procedures; red tape; and by lack of gratitude and positive feedback. The term 'reality shock' goes back to the work of Hughes (1958) and is linked to unsuccessful organizational socialization. In various studies it has been used to describe the discrepancy between how nursing graduates understand their professional

nursing role on the basis of their training, and the working reality they are confronted with when entering the practice of healthcare services (e.g., Delaney, 2003; Duscher 2001, 2008; Kramer, 1974). However, reality shocks are not a unique characteristic of the transition from nursing graduate to professional; they have also been observed among teachers (San, 1999; Weinstein, 1988) and police recruits (Van Maanen, 1975). Next to this, Dean et al. (1988) showed that accountants who switch from one job to another can also experience reality shock. This means that reality shock plays a role not only during the transition from being a student to being a professional, but also in situations in which newcomers' expectations formed prior to organizational entry – for example, during the selection and recruitment process or earlier working experiences – are not compatible with the reality of the new working context. Fisher (1986) even goes one step further. The author argues that reality shock may even occur during an individual's career within the same organization, for example in response to a promotion after which expectations are not met. Building upon Wright and Pandey's (2008) critical note that just because public agencies can provide individuals with opportunities to act upon their PSM there is no guarantee that agencies actually will, I argue that public service motivated individuals may experience a reality shock after job entry, which results in a drop in PSM. Indeed, employees may be frustrated by high levels of red tape in public organizations (Boyne, 2002); lack of sufficient resources; vague policy goals; and formally circumscribed rules, regulations and directives from above (Lipsky, 1980) or clashes between an organizational focus and a focus on the public interest at the core of public service motivation (Steen & Rutgers, 2013). These characteristics of the public sector prevent PSM from being effectively put into practice. Individuals who expect their job to enable them to contribute to the public interest and make a difference for society may realize that the working reality it looks different and consequently lose their PSM.

Third, and most often, PSM is treated as an independent variable. The effect of PSM is measured most frequently by self-reported outcome variables such as job satisfaction (e.g., Bright, 2008; Wright & Pandey, 2008), organizational commitment (e.g., Camilleri, 2006; Crewson, 1997; Leisink & Steijn, 2009), interpersonal citizenship behaviour (e.g., Pandey, Wright & Moynihan, 2008), organizational performance (e.g., Brewer & Selden, 1998; Kim, 2005), and individual performance (e.g., Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Naff & Crum, 1999; Vandenabeele, 2009). However, the findings from these studies are inconsistent. Some studies support the PSM-performance relationship (e.g., Naff & Crum, 1999; Vandenabeele, 2009), whereas others report negative or mixed findings (e.g., Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Ritz, 2009).

Another strand of research based on exactly these uncertainties. Recently, the awareness has grown that the PSM-performance relationship is more complex than originally thought

and that contextual factors should be included in the analysis. Perry, Hondeghem and Wise (2010), for example, point out "that the effects of PSM are more nuanced than Perry and Wise (1990) projected" (p. 684). Wright and Pandey (2008) criticize the assumption, frequently found in studies on the consequences of PSM, that public organizations provide sufficient opportunities to satisfy the motivation of their employees to serve the public. Just because public agencies have the possibility to provide individuals with opportunities to act upon their PSM, there is no guarantee that they actually will do so. Steen and Rutgers (2011) follow up on this by raising the question of what happens if employees have no opportunity to put their PSM into practice. In their view this may result in frustration, leading to deviant behaviour. Thus, PSM could be a double-edged sword bringing risks of adverse effects, as also discussed by Maesschalck, Van de Wal and Huberts (2008), and Giauque, Ritz, Varone and Anderfuhren-Biget (2012). The former point out that PSM may result in unethical or illegal behaviour, the latter find that some dimensions of PSM increase resigning from work. Wright and Christensen (2009) conclude that instead of asking whether public service motivation affects employees' behaviour, such as self-selection and remaining with public organizations, perhaps it might be more appropriate to ask when and under what conditions PSM affects employees' behaviour. Some researchers attempt to take into account contextual factors, for example by including ideas on person-organization fit into the analysis of the PSM-performance relationship (e.g., Bright, 2007; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Wright & Pandey, 2008).

2.3.3 Two persistent knowledge gaps

In this section, two persistent knowledge gaps are pointed out and addred. First, what does it mean and, related to this, what does it imply to be public service motivated in the context of dilemma situations? Second, how and why does PSM change over time? The first question is discussed first

What does it mean and what does it imply to be public service motivated?

The discussion of current PSM literature shows that quantitative studies on the antecedents and consequences of PSM form a substantive part of PSM research. Next to these, there is a growing number of studies into the theoretical origins and dimensions of PSM (e.g., Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007, 2008). In his PSM measurement scale, Perry (1996) identifies four dimensions, each providing a unique contribution to a person's PSM. Perry's dimensions provide a theoretically grounded conceptualization of PSM, but at the same time it remains unclear what exactly PSM is, and how it incorporates the different

dimensions that are often found to be inconsistent in how they correlate with other factors under investigation (e.g., Andersen & Serritlew, 2012; Giauque et al., 2012; Taylor, 2007). This raises the question of whether we should continue to treat PSM as one single construct with an overarching meaning. The continuing unclarity of the construct is also illustrated by the ongoing efforts to improve the PSM measurement instrument (for example through testing for the validity and reliability of the Perry measurement scale across different cultures (Kim, 2009; Kim et al., 2013; Vandenabeele, 2008)); the frequent calls to check for (international) generalizability and cross-validation of study results (Andersen & Pedersen, 2012); and the attempt to contribute to the examination of the PSM construct by investigating how different roles relate to PSM (Johnson, 2012), and Bozeman and Su's (2014) critique that PSM too often shares space with related concepts such as 'helping others', 'service motivation', and 'altruism'.

Liu et al. (2008), for example, found evidence that the generalizability of PSM observed in the Anglo-Saxon culture and context is limited when it comes to China. Consistent with these findings, Giauque et al. (2011) argue that in PSM research the cultural and institutional contexts also need to be considered. They call for a conceptualization of PSM taking into account the institutional characteristics of the individuals under study, by measuring and identifying national characteristics of services. I agree that is important to integrate national values and norms into PSM studies. However, I want to go one step further and argue that it is important also to include the institutional context at lower levels of analysis. Professions have historically been a source of public service values (Perry, 1997), and therefore I put forward the argument that it is important to shed light on the question of whether PSM is affected by the professional context, too.

Unlike quantitative efforts to improve the PSM measurement instrument, however, "only a few articles exist which focus on the validity of the construct from a non-statistical viewpoint, carefully exploring the concept's definition" (Ritz & Neumann 2012, p. 2). Loon et al. 2013, for example, using interview data, showed that differences in the organizational logic are reflected in employees' expressions of PSM. In another qualitative study on PSM, Kjeldsen (2012) demonstrated that occupation and the employment sector have different relationships with the separate PSM dimensions. Ritz (2011) used 21 partially structured interviews to improve the dimension 'attraction to policy making' within the PSM measurment scale.

From my discussion of different definitions of PSM I could conclude that what unifies all definitions is that PSM is associated with providing 'meaningful public service' or serving the community. For this reason, I argue that PSM can be described as a personal orientation or commitment towards the public interest. In other words, the public interest is

by definition an integral aspect of PSM. This line of reasoning is supported by Vandenabeele (2008) who describes PSM as "the motivation (of civil servants) to contribute to the public interest in a disinterested way" (p. 15) and the observation that the public interest is not only an integral aspect of PSM as an one overarching concept, but is integral also to the separate PSM dimensions. As discussed in Subsection 2.3.1, for example, the dimension 'attraction to public service' focusses on the degree to which participants are dedicated to public service and common good. The public interest and the common good are certainly not the same, but in the words of Simm (2011) "there is much that they have in common" (p. 557). The definition of the PSM dimension 'commitment to public values' directly refers to the public interest: it is a redefinition of Perry's original PSM dimension 'commitment to the public interest'.

Unfortunately – as discussed in detail in Section 2.1 – there is no strict definition of 'the public interest' (Bozeman, 2007). Rather, the public interest is a very elusive concept, which makes PSM a fuzzy concept as well. What does it mean to be public interest (or public service) oriented? And in relation to this, what is the specific effect of such an orientation on behaviour? Do public service motivated individuals promote the idea of security, or will they act in the interest of transparency? We can use Rainey's (2009) words, who – while referring to Bozeman's (2007) notion that public values also exist at the individual level – argues that "individuals may vary widely in their conceptions of PSM" (p. 73). It is precisely because of this lack of insight into the meaning of the PSM concept itself that still "little is known about the effect of PSM on actual behaviour" (Andersen & Serritzlew 2012, p. 19). Only if we know what the public interest is will the meaning and behavioural implications of PSM become clear. In other words, I argue that the fuzziness of the concept of PSM, especially in dilemma situations, is related to the fact that it incorporates another vague concept: that of the public interest.

The fuzziness of the concept of public interest means that even in highly public service motivated individuals behaviour is likely to vary, depending on the person's interpretation of what constitutes the public interest, especially in situations of conflicting values and demands. Consider, for example, a school teacher confronted with the choice between either giving extra attention to a small group of disadvantaged children or keeping up with the prescribed content of the curriculum. After all, time is not infinite. What will she decide? It is doubtful whether the mere fact of being highly public service motivated helps to explain which choices she will make. More understanding is needed of how this teacher interprets her role of serving the public interest when confronted with such a dilemma, in order for us to make realistic predictions concerning decision-making and, ultimately, behaviour.

Including the context in the analysis of the PSM-performance relationship (e.g., Bright, 2007; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Wright & Pandey, 2008) can be an important step towards

explaining the inconsistent findings from previous studies. However, even if the context is included, a direct link between the two concepts is doubtful, because there are many situations in which the meaning of the 'public interest' - and hence the actions required to pursue it - is unclear due to its (possibly inconsistent) composition. Does being public service motivated imply specifically helping individual students with learning difficulties, or being effective and preparing the greatest number of 'average' students for final exams? Next to being aware of the context, it is even more important to include individual interpretations of the public interest in the PSM-performance analysis. Only then will we get to know the potential power of PSM and can more accurate predictions about the behavioural consequences of the construct be made.

How and why does PSM develop over time?

As summarized in Subsection 2.2.3, recently a growing number of scholars have started to use longitudinal panel research designs to disentangle the attraction-selection-attrition versus socialization mechanisms, and address the question of whether PSM is a stable trait or dynamic state (Brænder & Andersen, 2013; Georgellis & Tabvuma, 2010, Kjeldsen, 2014; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2012; Kroll & Vogel, 2015; Ward, 2014, Wright & Christensen, 2010). The findings from these studies are mixed. I argue that in order to develop this debate further and make it possible to draw stronger conclusions regarding the nature of PSM, it is necessary to focus more closely on the mechanisms explaining possible changes in PSM. The longitudinal studies discussed above try to isolate the attraction-selection-attrition and socialization mechanisms, assuming that this makes it possible to attribute changes in the dependent variable – changes in PSM – to one of the two. However, most researchers do not succeed in fully isolating these two mechanisms. The study by Wright and Christensen (2010), for example, measures the PSM of current employees and analyses the relationship between PSM and employment sector at different moments in time. The findings, therefore, might be due to "adoption (post-employment rationalization or socialization) rather than attraction selection processes" (Wright & Christensen, 2010, p. 168). The same is true for the studies by Geogellis and Tabvuma (2010) and Ward (2014). To our knowledge, only Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012) and Kjeldsen (2014) go one step further. The authors administered questionnaire to a panel of physiotherapy students and social work students, both before and after their first made their job choice, "which provides a unique opportunity to test the 'pure' attraction and socialization effects associated with PSM and the employment sector" (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, p. 2). Next to the problems related to successfully isolating attraction-selection-attrition and socialization mechanisms, current longitudinal studies provide

only limited explanations for the often found drop in PSM, which cannot be the result of any of these two mechanisms. Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012) found that PSM decreases; similarly, Kjeldsen (2014) found that the PSM dimension of compassion decreases. The authors of both studies argue that this decrease might be explained by the reality shock. However, they do not measure the reality shock directly but derive this conclusion from the fact that PSM drops after the individual has entered the labour market. A mechanism underlying the decrease of PSM which did get tested is the socio-psychological mechanism of dehumanization resulting from dramatic events: the deployment of soldiers to war (Brænder & Andesen, 2013).

The above shows that the research designs of traditional longitudinal studies have their limitations. They show *how* PSM changes over time, but cannot sufficiently explain *why.* As mentioned above, the 'reality shock' is often mentioned as one possible explanation for the drop in PSM over time. However, as far as I know, its effect on the development of PSM over time has not yet been empirically tested.

I argue that if we want to increase our understanding of *how* PSM develops over time (whether it stable or changeable) and beyond that, *why* it changes (what mechanism underlie the potentional changing process) we need to overcome the limitations of current longitudinal PSM research. Qualitative research is a particularly useful way to identify settings and contextual factors yet unkown to the researcher, find out how these relate to the phenomenon of interest, and describe complex processes (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Thus, I suggest interviews as a suitable research method in this context. If a small group of employees is studied intensively, the socialization and attraction-selection mechanims can be held constant and we can investigate not only *how* PSM develops over time but also whether the 'reality shock' can explain the *why*. This approach is in line with Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012), who explicitly invite scholars to conduct qualitative research because this makes it possible "to get closer to the mechanism underlying individual adaption processes" (p. 22).

2.3.4 Conclusion

This discussion of PSM literature indicates that in dilemma situations we cannot be sure what kind of behaviour to expect from somebody who is highly public service motivated. Despite the large number of 'quantitative' articles on PSM, we still have limited knowledge of particularly the meaning of PSM and how individuals actually put their PSM into practice if they are confronted with complex real-life situations that force them to make trade-offs. This can be explained by the fact that the integral and central aspect of PSM, i.e.,

the 'public interest', is also a very elusive concept. I argue that in order to fill in the gap in current PSM literature it is necessary to complement PSM with concepts and theories that are clearer about the meaning of the public interest. Only if we treat the public interest as an interpretation rather than an ideal, and if we gain insight into what it means to individuals to serve the public interest in a specific situation, can we say something about the actual effect of being public service motivated.

Next, it also becomes clear from this discussion that our knowledge of how and, in particular, why PSM develops over time is still very limited. The results of longitudinal studies on PSM are mixed. Most of them do not succeed in entirely eliminating socialization effects and, beyond that, they do not empirically investigate the mechanism explaining the drop in PSM that is frequently found. If we want to deepen our understanding of the nature and development of PSM over time, potential explanations for changes in PSM – such as the 'reality shock' – need to be empirically investigated.

2.4 Introducing professionalism into the study of decision-making in dilemma situations

Having introduced PSM as an explanatory variable in dilemma situations and pointed out knowledge gaps in current PSM research, I will now discuss the second variable explaining decision-making in dilemma situations that is central to this study: professionalism. This is followed by an overview of approaches to professionalism that are of interest to this study, including 'new' perspectives in which classical sociological approaches to professionalism are reinterpreted. Finally, remaining knowledge gaps are pointed out.

2.4.1 Professionalism as explanatory variable in dilemma situations

For many years sociologists have studied professionalism, which has resulted in one dominant view of the subject: *the sociology of professionalism*. Traditionally, professionalism is perceived as the collective control of specialized theoretical knowledge, applied to specific cases, based upon institutionalized procedures and ways of working, as well as socialized professional norms and values (e.g., Abbott, 1988; Elliott, 1972; Freidson, 2001). Professionals are granted autonomy in order to apply their (often tacit) knowledge to complex cases (Evetts, 2003; Freidson, 1994), whilst their professional behaviour is socialized, supervised, and sanctioned within and by the professional group. Professional associations are formed to regulate professional practice by transmitting practical skills, theoretical knowledge, and self-defined codes of conduct; this results in predominantly

uniform professional behaviour. From this perspective, medicine, engineering and law are clear and classic examples of 'true' professions (e.g., Krause, 1996). Practitioners have an academic degree, the entrance to their professional practice is strictly regulated, they have a lot of autonomy in their function based on the application of systematic theoretical knowledge, and professional norms and values are maintained and outlined by the professionals as a group (Flexner, 1992). It should be acknowledged that other scholars use the concept 'professionalism' in a less restrictive manner (e.g., Adler & Kwon 2013; Andersen & Pedersen, 2012; Moore, 1970). Andersen and Petersen (2012), for example, claim that professionalism needs to be seen as a comparative occupational variable. They argue that university lecturers have a higher level of professionalism than secondary school teachers, who in turn have a higher level of professionalism than primary school teachers. In this study the professionals under study – veterinary inspectors – are seen as 'true' or 'classic' professionals.

Supervisors often do not have the same professional background as the professionals they monitor. Being non-experts, they do not possess the theoretical knowledge that professionals have. Hence, unlike professional peers, they are often unable to evaluate whether or not members of a certain occupation did the most appropriate thing within a given situation (Roberts & Dietrich, 1999). This is one of the reasons why "it is impossible to analyse the work of any public employee from the time he (or she) steps into the office in the morning until he (or she) leaves at night without discovering that his (or her) act is a seamless web of discretion and action" (Gulick, 1933, p. 61). Because of the political desire to reduce escalating costs of the public sector, empower consumers, increase quality, reduce the risk of individual making wrong decisions and provide equal treatment for everybody, more business-like management techniques – such as rigorous performance measurement and output control – were introduced into the public sector from the late 1970s onwards. However, control mechanisms can never completely cover each and every case and circumstance, so that there will always be situations where professionals exercise discretion. As mentioned in Section 2.1, the inevitability of professional discretion is an important precondition of this study. If individuals had no option for discretion, rules and regulations would serve as clear guidelines for behaviour in situations where values and interests conflict. Individuals would simply follow the rules and there would be no need for trade-offs between the different interests and values that are omnipresent in the public sector.

In the sociology of professionalism, professionalism is viewed as a determinant of behaviour. Through professional socialization – for instance by shared educational backgrounds, professional trainings, membership of professional associations – professionals adopt certain values and develop a shared professional identity (Evetts, 2003, 2006). Because of this shared identity and the "urge to do a job creditably in the eye of one's professional peers" (Miller, 2000, p. 307), it is assumed that professionals develop similar work practices and procedures, shared ways of perceiving problems and their appropriate solutions, and common ways of dealing with customers and clients (Evetts, 2006). In other words, it is assumed that merely belonging to a certain occupation has behavioural consequences. This deterministic view on professionalism is summarized by Andersen (2009) who – referring to Andersen and Blegvad (2002) and Goodrick and Salanik (1996) – points out: "the sociology of professions expects that firm professional norms prescribe a given behaviour, the professional will act accordingly, regardless of other motives" (p.82). It is also related to March and Olsen's (1989) 'logic of appropriateness'. According to Suddaby, Gendron and Lam (2009), professionalism is a logic that is based on rationalized mythologies, value structures that are taken for granted as strong assumptions of appropriateness. Because of the limitations of a rational choice perspective in the context of dilemma situations (see earlier Subsection 2.3.2), professionalism is expected to be an interesting concept by which to learn more about why public service professionals make certain decisions in situations characterized by dilemmas.

Summing up: Because of the strong explanatory value of behaviour, the embeddedness within the 'logic of appropriateness', and the inevitability of professional discretion, I expect professionalism to be another interesting concept to be included into this study. I assume that professionalism – next to PSM – is valuable concept to be studied as it (potentially) helps to understand what drives professionals' decision-making in the context of dilemmas. In the following section, different sociological approaches to professionalism are discussed.

2.4.2 Overview of traditional and recent approaches to the sociology of professionalism

Within the classic sociology of professionalism there are two contrasting sociological interpretations, which differ as to the content of the shared professional identity: the functionalistic and the neo-Weberian approach. Next to these, there is also a more balanced approach. In more recent perspectives on the concept of professionalism, scholars argue that it cannot be detached from its context – especially the organizational context.

These approaches are: organizational professionalism, occupational professionalism and hybridized professionalism. In this section, I elaborate on each of these approaches to professionalism separately and pay attention to the interfaces between them.

Within the *functionalistic approach*, professionalism is viewed as a normative value system. Central here is the idea that professionals are driven by altruistic motives and aim to work in the best interest of society (Parsons, 1951; Goode, 1969; MacDonald, 1995). Scholars have argued that professionalism presents a bulwark against threats to stable democratic processes (Marshall, 1950) or a force against the threat from governmental and industrial bureaucracies (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933).

Proponents of the *neo-Weberian approach* (also called post-functionalistic approach) approach professionalism as an ideology of occupational powers. In line with this, DiMaggio and Powell (1983), following Larson (1977), interpret "professionalization as the collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work, to control the production of producers" (p. 49). The main argument is that distinct professions are collectively self-interested and eager to maintain a monopoly in the market for their own services (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977). Professionals collectively aim to increase their status and upward mobility within the social order, through controlling the license to practice and protecting their elite positions.

From the 1990s onwards, researchers began to consider the possibility that professional self-interest and public interest are not necessarily at opposite ends of a continuum, but that the pursuit of self-interest might be compatible with serving the public interest (Saks, 1995), thus creating a more balanced approach to professionalism resulting in the *re-evaluation or reappraisal of professionalism as a normative value system* (Evetts, 2006, p. 136). It has been argued, for example, that professions might need to close markets in order to guarantee specialized knowledge, and sufficient training and education, but once this has been achieved professionals could then concentrate more fully on the performance- and service-related aspects of their work (Evetts, 2006). Freidson (2001) points out that professionalism should be regarded as a unique form of occupational control (next to consumer control and managerial control), which he calls the 'third logic'. Similarly, Fournier (1999) emphasises that the appeal to the discursive resources of professionalism in new occupational domains may act as a "'disciplinary mechanism' that serves to profess 'appropriate' work identities and conducts" (p. 280). This re-evaluation approach, therefore, presents a more balanced assessment of professionalism as a normative value system. Professionalism is no longer seen as a pure altruistic motive to act in the state's best interest but as a form of decentralized occupational control which is important in civil society (Durkheim, 1992).

Unfortunately, this sociological approach to professionalism rather ignores the notion that professionalism cannot be detached from its context, even though "most professional activity now takes place in organizational settings' (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011, p. 390) and 'organizational capacities" are called for, 'also inside professional domains' (Noordegraaf, 2011, p.1349). Seen in this light, the classic perspective on professionalism is rather one-dimensional. Changing circumstances mean that classic characteristics of professionalism, such as technical knowledge, autonomy, and professional norms and values (professional principles) are subjected to many pressures (e.g., Noordegraaf & Steijn, 2013). They are no longer self-evident and are therefore no longer sufficient for defining professionalism. In studying what professionalism means today, therefore, we also need to consider organizational and societal factors. They make it necessary to develop new perspectives on professionalism as classical characteristics of the sociology of professionalism are hollowed out. According to Noordegraaf, (2011, 2013) principles of new public management provide a threat to professional autonomy and more critical customers question the authority of professionals. Societal pressures (e.g., distributed information, demographic changes) lead to fragmented professional fields and enhance interdependencies, which implies that the legitimacy of professionals is (negatively) affected. In the following paragraphs, three different approaches to professionalism, including rather recent ones, are reviewed, namely: *occupational professionalism*, *organizational professionalism* and *hybridized professionalism*. These approaches present reactions to the external pressures that hollow out the classic characteristics of professionalism.

One reaction to safeguard professionalism in times of contextual change is to return to more 'purified' forms of professionalism. This implies a criticism of extending the notion of professionalism beyond the field of the 'true' professions. So-called 'new' professions, such as education, social work, or policing are disparaged because they lack substantive content and institutional control (Noordegraaf, 2007). Only those who directly render services to clients are viewed as professionals, not those who support these services (e.g., consultants, managers, auditors). Purified professionalism fits well into the research literature on *occupational professionalism* and shares some similarities with the reappraisal of professionalism as a normative value system. Professionalism as an 'occupational principle' (cf. Freidson, 1994), as well as an occupational value, can be interpreted as a distinctive way of organizing and controlling professional work and professionals that has genuine advantages for both the professionals themselves and their clients (Elliot, 1972; Evetts, 2012; Freidson, 1983). Compared to the reappraisal of professionalism as a normative value system, however, literature on occupational professionalism is clearer about the origin of occupational principles. Working conditions, professional objectives and standards are

assumed to be set by professionals themselves. This makes occupational professionalism a bottom-up approach. Next to this, the interrelatedness of professionalism and serving the state´s interest is less central to occupational professionalism than to the reappraisal of professionalism as a normative value system. The work of Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000) may be categorized as fitting the occupational professionalism perspective. The authors argue that even though public service professionals acknowledge that they are government employees – because it is the state who pays their monthly paycheck – they emphasise that they primarily work for their clients and families. At a more practical level this means that, instead of working in the state's interest, professionals stretch rules in order to put the interest of the client first.

A second approach to professionalism in the light of modern knowledge societies is *organizational professionalism* (Clark & Newman, 1997; Larson, 1977). Organizational and commercial logics are used to promote and facilitate occupational change and to assure appropriate behaviours on the part of professionals. It is not professional values and principles, but organizational objectives that define client-practitioner relations and set achievement targets and performance indicators (Evetts, 2012). In other words, professionalism is depicted as a top-down strategy that can be used instrumentally by organizations to control professionals. Professional service firms become 'significant actors' as well as 'sites' of professional control and regulation (Suddaby et al., 2007). This perspective can be linked to debates on professional service firms (e.g., Greenwood et al., 2005; Von Nordenflycht, 2010), in which professional services are embedded within corporate organizational structures and principles. Large corporations increasingly emerge as primary loci of professionalization. Through organizational structures, strategies and reward systems they increasingly activate and secure professional values, objectives, and rewards connected with professionalization (see also e.g., Brivot, 2011).

Third, there is an increasing number of scholars who take a more integrative approach to professionalism (Adler & Known, 2013; Cooper & Robson, 2006; Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2008; Gleeson & Knights, 2006). Professional control is no longer seen as either a bottom-up agency by professionals, or a top-down strategy by managers. Instead, professionalism is seen as the co-product of both parties being involved. The distinction between managerialism versus professionalism, or the debate about occupational versus organizational professionalism becomes blurred. Faulconbridge and Muzio (2008), for example, focus on the interconnection between different mechanisms of organizational and occupational control through the concept of *occupational or organizational professionalism*. Others focus on *hybridized professionalism*. Reay and Hinings (2009) identify four strategies for managing conflicting work logics that make it possible for rivalry logics to coexist.

On the basis of this overview of professionalism literature, I argue that there are large differences between the six different approaches to professionalism as to the question of which behaviour can be expected from professionals. The two classic approaches – functionalist and post-functionalist – represent two extremes on a continuum. According to the former perspective, professionals are assumed to follow professional norms which are grounded in altruism and directed at society. However, proponents of the latter perspective argue that professional norms are a way to uphold professional privileges – from this perspective, the driving force is professional self-interest. The reappraisal of professionalism as a normative value system is a more balanced approach; it does not exclude the possibility that professional self-interest and the public interest are compatible. More recent approaches to professionalism have a different focus. They do not concentrate on the question of whether professionals are guided by altruistic or by self-interested motives, but rather argue that professionalism can no longer be studied without integrating the broader context. This has resulted in three approaches – occupational, organizational and hybridized professionalism – that each provide a different answer to the question of how professionalism is re-defined in times of increased external pressures. *Occupational professionalism* presents a purified type of professionalism in which professional norms and values – set by the professional associations themselves – are assumed to present guidelines of behaviour without engaging. Within *organizational professionalism*, large corporations are seen as the main loci of professionalism and professionalization. Organizational forces are expected to facilitate occupational change and assure appropriate behaviours of professionals. From the perspective of *hybridized professionalism*, professionalism is seen as a co-product of both organizational forces and professional norms and values. In the next section, I will elaborate on the claim that there are large differences between the six different approaches to professionalism regarding the question which behaviour can be expected from professionals, and discuss a persistent knowledge gap in current professionalism literature.

2.4.3 Persistent knowledge gap

This review of the sociology of professionalism literature shows that the concept of professionalism may work as a normative values system (functionalist approach), as an ideology of occupational power (neo-Weberian approach), or as a mechanism of professional control (re-appraisal functionalist approach). In more recent work on professionalism, the concept is defined by the way professionals cope with external pressure: relying on purified professional norms and values (occupational professionalism), adhering to organizational

forces (organizational professionalism), or combining professional and organizational values (hybridized professionalism). As a result, the theory of professionalism is vague as to which behaviour can be expected from professionals. Where do professionals place their loyalties? Do they go for quick solutions that benefit the occupation (neo-Weberian approach)? Do they base their actions on professional norms directed at society at large (functionalist approach and reappraisal of the functionalist approach)? Are organizational, or professional principles dominant (occupational or organizational professionalism)? Or do these principles co-exist (hybridized professionalism)? In short, the question whether professionals are loyal primarily to their clients, or to the organizational rules and regulations? Or do they find new ways that allow them to live up to both? To make matters even more complex, we need to consider whether the approaches can be strictly separated. Is it always clear where the loyalties lie? Or can professionals be equally loyal to more than one interest at the same time, which would imply that they experience conflicts since they cannot serve all 'masters' at the same time? The question then arises what this implies for professional behaviour in situations where the demands from different stakeholders clash and trade-offs have to be made.

Empirical research on these questions has been very limited. Most articles on the state of professionalism are of a theoretical nature (e.g., Adler & Kwon, 2013; Events, 2003, 2006; Fournier, 1999; Noordegraaf, 2007; 2011; 2013; Fournier, 1999; Freidson, 2001; Gleeson & Knight, 2006). A small number of scholars have contributed to this discussion empirically by applying qualitative research methods within exploratory research designs. Faulconbridge and Muzio (2008) and Reay and Hinings (2009) found support for the idea of co-existing logics – or hybridized professionalism – within an organizational field. In an exploratory document analysis of the training of British and Dutch medical doctors, Noordegraaf (2011) identified some new connections between professionalism and organizations at the level of organizational guidelines. Quantitative studies on professionalism in the discipline of public administration primarily focus on the effects of professionalism on various outcome variables such as performance (Andersen, 2009), career path (Teodoro, 2009), and administrative decisions and actions (Demir, 2011).

Besides this variety of theoretical presumptions about professionalism, research indicates that individuals with the same professional background still behave differently in practice. This provides a challenge to the fundamental assumption in the sociology of professionalism i.e., merely belonging to a certain occupation has behavioural consequences. For example, Bucher and Selling (1977) point out that not all psychiatrists have the same ideas about their field and about how one should act as a professional; nor do all of them share the same beliefs about the efficiency of competing treatments or therapeutic approaches. Selden,

Brewer, and Brudney (1999, p. 172) note that "popular stereotypes and scholarly depictions do not provide a clear understanding of how public administrators perceive their roles and responsibilities or how they use their considerable discretionary power". Similarly, Clouder (2003) shows that occupational therapy students perceive the profession of occupational therapy in different ways, which suggests that this occupation implies more than one ideal professional role. Gould and Harris (1996) found that, in spite of identifying with general traits such as "'caring people', social workers indicate that they are 'not tied to any particular image" (p. 229). In a qualitative study, Van Kleef, Schott & Steen (2015) found evidence that some veterinary inspectors are very strict in applying rules and regulations, whereas others are sensitive to the particular needs of the individuals – the owners of animals – being inspected. Using Q-methodology, De Graaf (2011) identified four different types of public top administrators (by-the-book professionals, society's neutral servants, personally grounded servants, and open and principled independents), depending on the way they weigh their loyalties to their different masters (elected official, colleagues, the public good, moral imperatives, the law, and the organization's clients). The author points out that these typologies matter because they have behavioural implications - "they indicate how administrators behave and make decisions" (De Graaf, 2011, p. 285). This is in line with, for example, research by Nias (1989) and Tickle (1999). These authors found that teachers' perceptions of their professional identity influence their judgements and behaviour. Overall, it seems that the behaviour of professionals is influenced by more than just one set of overreaching norms.

2.4.4 Conclusion

There are different theoretical perspectives on professionalism, and the personal interpretation that individuals bring to their professional role seems to matter as well. Research shows that the behaviour of professionals is influenced by more than just one overreaching occupational norm, as described in the sociology of professionalism. This implies that the uniformity and stability of professionalism (as described in the sociological perspective on professionalism) can be challenged. Mechanisms of professional socialization alone do not provide a sufficient explanation for variance in professional behaviour. What follows from this is that the predictive power of professionalism concerning behaviour is less strong than initially predicted proponents of the sociology of professionalism. Merely being a professional does not show how people interpret their professional role and, related to this, where their loyalties lie. Following a limited number of scholars (Demir, 2011; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe & Pandey, 2006; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997), I want to stress the need to approach professionalism at an individual level. Rather than

treating professionalism at an occupational level, these scholars refer to professionalism as a *professional identification* with a certain occupation through membership and active involvement in professional organization or associations. This individual approach allows for differences between individuals on the level of identification with the profession and in its behavioural implications. It explains the probability that people will act according to professional standards as dependent on the strength of their identification with the profession. However, this approach again ignores the fact that different professionals may view their professional roles differently and hence provides only a partial explanation for the fact that individuals with the same educational background may act differently in practice. I argue that to investigate the impact of professionalism on behaviour, especially in situations of conflicting values and demands, a different conceptualization of professionalism is needed: a conceptualization that goes beyond the idea of professional socialization implying that all professionals within a certain occupation develop a shared professional identity and act in accordance with it. This implies seeking an approach that enables us to integrate the different approaches of the sociology of professionalism by taking into account the different interpretations individuals bring to their professional role.

This review of the literature on professionalism and PSM has shown that both concepts can be used to partially explain behaviour. However, our critical discussion of the remaining knowledge gaps also shows that PSM and professionalism alone – as they are conceptualized in current literature – do not have sufficient explanatory value in the context of this study, i.e., in the context of dilemma situations. The following two questions, therefore, need to be addressed first:

- *How can the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM be clarified?* (SRQ3)
- *How can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified in the context of dilemma situations?* (SRQ4)

Another question that deserves closer attention in the context of this study relates to the relationship between PSM and professionalism. Andersen and Pedersen (2012), for example, ask the question: "does socialization within an occupational group […] increase public service motivation (PSM), or is altruistic motivation replaced by professional norms or even occupational self-interest?" (p. 46). This refers to the question of '*what is the relationship between PSM and professionalism*' (SRQ5). Do they fundamentally clash, or do they supplement each other? And, if the latter is true, could combining them be helpful to reduce the fuzziness of the PSM concept?

2.5 The interrelatedness of PSM and professionalism

In order to answer the questions about the interrelatedness of PSM and professionalism, I will here review relevant theoretical and empirical literature on the relationship between these two concepts and pay attention to the question of how professionalism is viewed by the different authors.

On the basis of the idea that professionals are focused on protecting their markets (post-functionalistic approach), Wilbern (1954) points out that the very nature of the public service in a constitutional democracy is incompatible with the self-interest aspects of professionalism. According to Wilbern, professionalism is part of the tendency of professionals to move professional loyalty to larger portions of the population, and insulation from political control with professionals' self-interest. Similarly, Van Wart (1998) predicts that through the use of exclusive rights professionals set their own standards, regulate the members of their occupational area, and insulate themselves from democratic control. Even more decisively, Pugh (1989) argues that "to ensure that public administrators uphold their traditional roles as guardians of the public interest, any and all attempts toward professional status ought to be sedulously avoided" (p. 5).

A clash between PSM and professionalism is also expected if professionalism is treated as occupational professionalism, i.e., if norms and values are perceived as being set by the professionals themselves. Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000), for example, observed that public service professionals see themselves as agents for the clients rather than the state. They are working in the interest of individual clients, not as agents for public organizations charged with serving the public interest. Lipsky (1980) points out that public service professionals experience conflicts between their professional concern for the (individual) client on the one hand, and the general social role of the agency and the need of the organization to process work quickly on the other.

Finally, if professionalism is approached as a distinctive form of decentralized occupational control (reappraisal of professionalism as a normative value system) or from a functionalistic perspective, PSM and professionalism are expected to supplement one another. Pandey and Stazyk (2008) claim that professional organizations typically have ethical codes which promote the public interest. In the course of their education, professionals are expected to become socialized to "an ideology that asserts greater commitment to doing good work than to economic gain" (Freidson, 2001, p. 127). In line with this, Vinzant (1998) notes that "professional role motivation theory and public service motivation are not mutually exclusive [] [but have] considerable overlap" (p. 357). To my knowledge, there have been no studies combining PSM with the more recent approaches to professionalism: organized professionalism and hybridized professionalism.

Most of the studies discussed above are theoretical; some are empirical studies in which qualitative research designs were used. Next to this, there are a limited number of studies addressing the PSM-professionalism relationship via questionnaire data. Moynihan and Pandey (2007), for example, found a positive relationship between PSM and professional identification. In contrast, Perry (1997) concluded that professional identification has no positive overall effect on PSM. He finds that professionalism is negatively related to the PSM-dimension 'attraction to policy making', positively associated with 'commitment to the public interest' and 'self-sacrifice', and not related to 'compassion'. Andersen and Pedersen (2012), too, noticed an unclear relationship between professionalism – treated at an occupational level – and PSM. The authors emphasize that the degree of professionalism (ranging from low, such as health assistants, to high, such as physicians) shows varying relationships with the separate dimensions of PSM. These findings are supported in a qualitative study by Kjeldsen (2012), who found that the degree of professionalism has varying relationships with the separate PSM dimensions.

The above review of the literature on the interrelatedness of PSM and professionalism suggests that there is no clear answer to the question of how professionalism and PSM relate to one another. This conclusion is supported by Andersen (2009) who points out that "professionalism and PSM are clearly not the same, but they seem to be related in ways that have not yet been fully analysed" (p. 95). This observation is not surprising, since different authors have different views on professionalism. Some argue that a high degree of professionalism by definition implies commitment to an altruistic service ideal directed at safeguarding the public interest rather than personal gains, whereas others warn against the collective self-interest of individuals belonging to a professional group. Some view professionalism at the occupational level, while others study it at an individual level. Hence, the diverse theoretical arguments and empirical findings on the relationship between PSM and professionalism cannot be rigorously integrated, because this entails the risk of comparing apples with oranges. I argue that this problem can be solved by using a different conceptualisation of professionalism, a conceptualization that – as pointed out above – is clearer about the meaning of the concept by integrating the different perceptions of what it means to be a professional.

In order to answer SRQs 3, 4 and 5, I introduce identity theory into the study of professionalism and PSM. Identity theory is used to reduce the knowledge gaps in traditional PSM and professionalism approaches, and helps to clarify the interrelatedness of the two concepts. The theory offers a line of reasoning for understanding behaviour by focusing on the reciprocal relations between the self and society, and has been soundly confirmed in well-defined research within psychology and, particularly, sociology (Burke &

Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000). The theory can provide insights into the way in which individuals attach personal meaning to the public interest and their professional role. After outlining the main aspects of identity theory in Section 2.6, I will combine it with PSM and professionalism in Section 2.7.

2.6 Introduction to identity theory

Central to identity theory is the idea - originating from structural symbolic interactionism - that society is a mosaic of relatively durable patterns of interactions and relationships embedded in an array of groups, institutions, and communities (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000). It is assumed that the self, which emerges out of the interaction with these complex social structures, provides the link between the environment and individual behaviour. In other words, identity theory offers a line of reasoning for individual behaviour, using the context and the self as explanatory variables.

The self is not a one-dimensional construct but consists of a collection of role identities, each of which is based on the individual's occupying a particular role in social intercourse (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Stets & Burke, 2000). Somebody may, for example, occupy the roles of friend, a family member, a professional, a member of a certain organization, and public servant all at the same time.

Hogg, Terry and White (1995), define role identity as "self-conceptions, self-referent cognitions, or self-definitions that people apply to themselves as a consequence of the structural role positions they occupy" (p. 256). Role identities are the interpretations that individuals bring to the roles they hold in society. Roles, in this context, can be seen as "the cultural expectations tied to social positions in the social structure that actors try to meet" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 39). The 'role' concept in identity theory shows strong similarities with 'social identity' as defined in self-categorization theory, which was built upon Tajfel's (1972) social identity theory. From this perspective, individuals "are perceived as, are reacted to, and act as embodiments of the relevant in-group prototype rather than as unique individuals" (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 261). They tend to classify others and themselves into social categories which serve as guidelines in ordering the social environment, and enable individuals to position themselves in complex social settings (Leisink & Steijn, 2008). This approach, however, cannot explain why professionals with the same occupational backgrounds – individuals who are members of one specific group – behave differently in practice. Also, within this theory there is no room for our assumption that individuals interpret the meaning of the public interest differently, which implies different behavioural consequences. Rather, from the perspective of social identity theory, being public service

motivated – or belonging to the social category of public service motivated individuals – is associated with one specific kind of behaviour.

The idea that roles (or social roles) can be interpreted in different ways is empirically supported by Gouldner's (1957) findings of several decades ago. Gouldner identified two types of organizational roles within academic communities: *cosmopolitans* (individuals who are committed to their professional skills and values) and *locals* (individuals who are loyal to their organizations). These broad types can be further refined into subtypes, depending on the degree of commitment to either organizational or professional values. Recent empirical support has come from Johnson (2012), who identified distinct roles among city planners.

What follows from the differentiation between role and role identity is that, by definition, behaviour is determined by both general guidelines or norms of behaviour integrated within a given role, and the interpretations individuals bring to these directives. This means that both social structures and personal agency have an impact on behaviour which explains why not all individuals holding a particular role automatically behave in the same way or in line with their social category (or role) at all times. The concept of role identity shows how the role of, for example, being a student and acting like one can be interpreted differently. If an individual interprets the role of student as 'academi', this person is likely to attend class regularly, take notes, and score high on exams. On the contrary, if a person has a student identity that stresses being 'social', this person can be expected to go to parties and spend a lot of time socializing with friends.

Because of the inherent multiplicity of role identities that constitute the self, the question arises how role identities are arranged within the self in order for the person in question to decide on a specific behaviour. According to identity theory, the various role identities within the self are organized in a hierarchical way: not all role identities held by an individual are equally important to the self. Role identities at the top of this hierarchy are called *salient identities*. Stets and Burke (2003) define a salient identity as an "identity that is likely to be played out (activated) frequently across different situations" (p. 135). Thus, in any situation a salient identity is more likely to have behavioural consequences than other identities. The identity theory concept of role identities and identity salience suggests stability in role identities and their salience across time and situations (Stryker & Burke, 2000). For some individuals, concerns for the family come before those for their work, while for others the occupational role identity might be the most dominant aspect of the self.

According to Stets and Burke (2003), *commitment* is an important determinant of identity salience. Commitment is referred to as "the degree to which persons' relationships to others in their networks depend on possessing a particular identity and role" (Stryker &

Burke, 2000, p. 286). Commitment is a two-dimensional construct (Stets & Burke, 2003). The "quantitative" dimension reflects the number of persons that one is tied to through a particular identity. The "qualitative" dimension refers to the strength of these particular ties. The greater the commitment (both qualitative and quantitative) to an identity, the higher the identity will be positioned in the salience hierarchy, and in turn the more likely the actor is to play out behaviour confirming that identity in a particular situation. This implies that the hierarchy of identity salience is unique to every individual.

There have been a number of empirical studies on the relationship between salient role identities and actions. McAdam and Paulsen (1993), for example, found that individuals' willingness to apply for recruitment to activism is related to the salience of relevant identities. Charng (1988) found that individuals with a very salient blood donor identity donate blood more often than individuals without such an identity.

2.7 New approaches to the study of public service motivation and professionalism

In the previous sections some gaps in traditional PSM and professionalism research were pointed out which need to be addressed first if we want to find an answer to the primary research question: *what is the combined impact of public service motivation and professionalism on public servant professional's decision-making in dilemma situations*? First, we need to know how the meaning and the behavioural consequences of PSM and professionalism can be clarified (SRQs 2 and 3). In the following I develop, by combining literature on PSM and professionalism with insights from identity theory, new approaches for studying the two concepts that are clearer about their meaning and consequences – approaches that overcome the limitations of traditional research. With regard to PSM I argue that PSM had better be viewed as a *role identity-dependent* rather than an abstract ideal. Concerning professionalism I argue that treating the concept as *professional role identity* helps to explain why professionals with the same professional background show varying behaviour in practice, and which behaviour can be expected from public service professionals. Third, the new approaches to PSM and professionalism are combined in order to learn more about the relationship between PSM and professionalism (SRQ 4). Finally, the concept of decision-making and the new approaches to PSM and professionalism are combined within one conceptual model that helps to increase our understanding of the role the two concepts may play in professional public servants' decision-making (PRQ).

For each secondary research question, one or two propositions/hypotheses are formulated that – expect for one – I have empirically investigated/tested, as described in the empirical part of this dissertation. As mentioned before, the term 'proposition' is used to indicate that qualitative methods were primarily used and 'hypotheses' if quantitative methods played a more important role to verify the propositions/hypotheses.

2.7.1 Approaching public service motivation as a role identity-dependent concept

Combining the concepts of PSM and role identity does not conflict with current research on PSM. Important scholars such as Perry and Vandenabeele (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008) have earlier viewed PSM from an institutional perspective. Central to this approach is the idea that by means of mechanisms such as socialization, social identification, cultural preferences, and social learning, public institutional logics are transmitted and individuals "acquire a new social identity as member of the institution" (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008, p. 60). Accordingly, PSM can also be referred to as 'public service identity' (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007, Vandenabeele, 2008). This approach to PSM shows strong similarities with the 'role' concept as described in social identity theory, and assumes that the behaviour of public service motivated individuals is guided by public institutional logics (public values, norms, rules, public interest) imparted by institutions. As a consequence of this institutional perspective, individuals scoring high on PSM are expected to show similar behaviour in practice.

The problem with viewing PSM as a social identity, or role, is that the meaning of the concept itself and its behavioural consequences remain fuzzy. According to identity theory, behaviour is influenced by both some general guidelines or roles and the interpretations individuals bring to them. This implies that if we want to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM we should not only consider the general expectations related to serving the public interest, but also be aware of how individuals interpret their tasks of serving the public interest from the different roles they occupy in society.

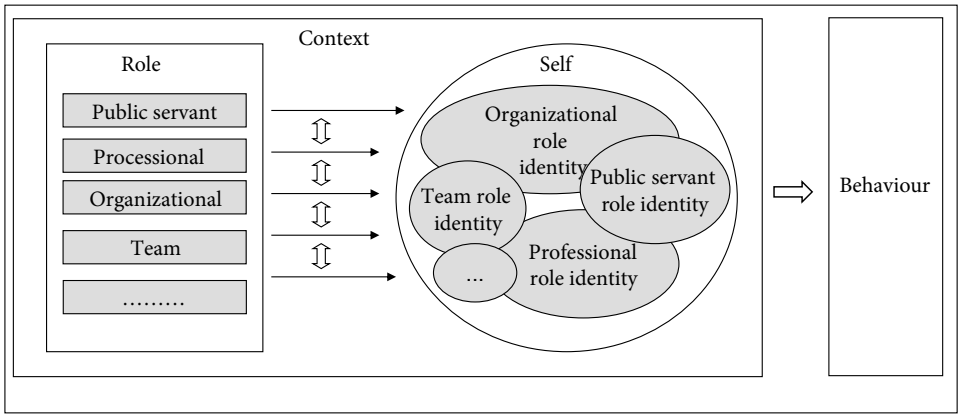
Living in a complex society, especially working in the public sector, implies holding many different roles and being confronted with even more expectations related to serving the public interest. Moreover, we need to consider the fact that in some circumstances different roles can be conflicting. Behaviour expected in one role may clash with expectations associated with other roles (Piliavin et al., 2002). Interestingly, we can even trace this line of reasoning regarding role identities, conflicting roles, and different expectations as to what constitutes the public interest, back as far as Max Weber's (1989) discussion of 'personae',

'life order', and 'value spheres'. According to Weber, different personalities are formed to fit the different life spheres in which an individual is engaged, e.g., family, business, or official relations. He points to the discrete ethical domains these different life spheres are linked to. Rather than seeing one unified moral personality and one universal ethic, Weber claims there is a plurality of 'value sphere' potentially in conflict with each other. (For a more extensive analysis of Weber's discussion on 'persona', 'life orders', and 'value spheres', see du Gay (2000)).

In organizational stress research, such situations are described as 'role conflicts' (Tummers, Vanmeeren, Stijn & Bekkers, 2012). Piliavin et al. (2002) consider the case of reporting health care errors from the viewpoint of a nurse. The expectations associated with the occupational role imply that "reporting errors" is essential, as this is closely related to a core value of nursing, namely integrity. As a team member, however, a nurse is unlikely to be expected to report misconduct: doing so will destroy relationships with direct colleagues and cast a damaging light on the team. Tummers et al. (2012) identify three role conflicts that mental health care professionals experience when implementing policies: policy-client, policy-professional, and organizational-professional conflicts. For example, a policy-professional role conflict occurs when professionals perceive that the behaviour demanded by the policy (such as following strict rules) is incompatible with the values and norms set by the profession. This raises the question of what happens in the case of a role conflict. Which expectations will be acted on, and which ignored?

The idea of a hierarchy of identity salience offers a line of reasoning by which we may explain how role conflicts are solved internally, and hence what behaviour can be expected. The relative levels of an individual's commitment to different role identities determine which role identity is positioned highest in the identity hierarchy (for a schematic overview of the self, see Figure 1), and consequently what meaning is given to being public service motivated. For example, if public service motivated individuals have a great number of connections with people that are valuable to them through the team identity, we may expect that their commitment to the team identity will be stronger than the commitment to other role identities. Consequently, it is the team identity that becomes salient, and behaviour will be guided primarily by the person's interpretation of how to serve the public interest as a team member.

Figure 1 Schematic representation of the self with a salient organizational role identity



This theoretical discussion about combining PSM with insights from identity theory and approaching it as a role identity-dependent concept can be summarized in the following propositions:

> P2: *The meaning of public service motivation, and its behavioural implications, depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society.*

> P3: *The effect of public service motivation on behaviour is influenced by the hierarchy of the role identities within the self.*

2.7.2 Approaching professionalism as professional role identity

I suggest combining professionalism with identity theory, because this can help to overcome the limitations of the dominant view on professionalism: the sociology of professionalism. From this traditional perspective, professionalism is here seen as a shared professional identity resulting from socialization mechanisms (Evetts, 2003, 2006). However, the problem with this perspective is that it cannot explain the variations in professionals' behaviour and differences in their views on their professional role (e.g., De Graaf, 2011). As explicitly described in identity theory, role identities by definition include both the general guidelines of what it means to occupy a certain role and the personal interpretations that individuals bring to their role. Hence, professional role identities may vary as individuals interpret their role in different ways. Professionals all have their own frames of reference which is influenced not only by professional socialization, but also by, for example, their personal and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, for this type of research I suggest approaching professionalism as *professional role identity*. Only if we take into account how

individuals interpret their professional role and where their loyalties lie can predictions about behavioural consequences of professionalism be made, especially in the situations of conflicting values and interests that I study.

This approach is not new. The idea that roles (or social roles) can be interpreted in different ways is empirically supported by Gouldner's (1957) findings of several decades ago. Gouldner saw two types of organizational roles within academic communities: cosmopolitans (individuals who are committed to their professional skills and values) and locals (individuals who are loyal to their organizations). These broad types can be further refined into subtypes, depending on the degree of commitment to either organizational or professional values. More recently, Chreim, Williams and Hinings (2007) – referring to Ibarra (1999) and Pratt and Dutton (2000) – defined professional identity as "an individual's self-definition as a member of a profession" (p. 1517). The authors stress that the way professionals view their professional role is crucial, because it is central to how they act in work situations. However, research at the individual level on professional role identity construction has been limited. This kind of research is generally done from a sociological perspective and tends to "ignore the individual dynamics associated with professional role identity reconstruction" (Chreim et al., 2007, p. 1517). In order to illustrate the concept of professional role identity I again refer to the case of the primary school teacher. The way she thinks of her work is the result of professional socialization. During training, she internalizes certain professional norms and values. However, there are other forces likely to influence the way she perceives her work. The fact whether she is a mother or not, the school where she is employed, her years of employment, and political and religious convictions, for example, can also play a role. This leads to our next proposition:

> P4: *Individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities.*

These professional role interpretations are likely to have clearer behavioural consequences than the broad, sociological concept of 'professionalism'. This assumption can also be illustrated with the example of the primary school teacher. As time is not infinite, she will frequently be confronted with the choice between either giving extra attention to a small group of disadvantaged children, or keeping up with the prescribed content of the curriculum. Teachers who primarily view their professional role as helping the disadvantaged will interrupt the class to pay attention to the children lagging behind. In contrast, teachers who think that their main task is to prepare as many children as possible for secondary school will stick to the official schedule. By researching how individuals give meaning to

their professional role, we can learn more about how professionals interpret their role and which decision-making behaviour we may expect. This leads to the first hypothesis:

> H1: *Decision-making in dilemma situations is influenced by professional role identity, i.e., the way individuals interpret their professional role.*

2.7.3 The relationship between public service motivation and professionalism, and the combined effect on decision-making in dilemma situations

In the previous sections it has been pointed out that we cannot be sure what kind of behaviour can be expected simply from knowing that somebody scores high on PSM, because the integrated and central aspect of public service motivation, namely the 'public interest', is a very elusive concept. I have proposed that the meaning of public service motivation and its behavioural implications depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society (P2). Next to this, I have suggested that in this context the idea of a hierarchy of identity salience is useful, because it may explain how conflicting interpretations of the concept of public interest (which are tied to the different roles individuals occupy in society) are solved internally. Depending on whether an individual has a dominant professional, organizational or team role identity the meaning of 'public interest' is likely to differ (P3).

However, our discussion of the professional role identity has told us that individuals not only have varying roles, but also differ regarding the way they perceive the same (in the school teacher example) professional role, which results in the proposition that individuals differ regarding the way they interpret their professional roles: they have different professional role identities (P4). This implies that the meaning attached to what constitutes the public interest – viewed as an integral element of PSM – depends not only on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society, but also on the way they interpret specific roles. Put differently, the meaning of the public interest may vary both *between* and *within* roles.

Because this study aims to increase our understanding of the relationship between PSM and professionalism (SRQ5) and the role these two concepts together play in public professional servants' decision-making in dilemma situations (PRQ), it seems obvious to combine PSM with professional role identity – not with other role identities – in order to demonstrate how this can help to further clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM.

Consider the case of physicians. Some physicians might focus on providing cost-efficient treatments, because they think in terms of the economic robustness of the health care system when considering the 'public interest' of their role as of physician. Depending on the degree of PSM, the physician is more or less likely to make decisions that are consistent with these economic considerations. On the other hand, other public service motivated physicians would always stand up for public health (e.g., providing precautions against common diseases), regardless of cost and efficiency considerations, because this is exactly their perception of what it means to work for the public interest.

Another example is the case of police officers. Some officers might argue that considering the personal circumstances of persons involved in a crime is crucial, as they view focusing on the 'really bad guys' and fighting 'real crime' as important aspects of serving the public interest. Others might argue that being a strict enforcer of rules and regulations is an important aspect of their role as a police officer, because they interpret their task of working for the public interest in terms of providing reliable judgments and actions the society at large. Now consider the situation that an officer catches a woman driving too fast and without a seatbelt on her way to the hospital because her child has been seriously scalded with boiling water. Depending on the extent to which the officer is public service motivated, and the officer's interpretation of what it means to serve the public interest, the officer will either let the woman pass quickly or will make her wait until all details have been noted down.

On the basis of these examples, I assume that by investigating what professional practices and values are considered by professionals to be important aspects of their work, we can learn what it means to them to serve the public interest as a professional in a dilemma situation. This leads to the following proposition:

> P5: *Professional role identity provides meaning to being public service motivated and is reflected in decision-making in dilemma situations.*

On the basis of our theoretical discussion and the examples, I conclude that identity theory can help to increase our understanding of the roles of PSM and professionalism in dilemma situations. By approaching professionalism as professional role identity, and linking PSM with role identities in general and with professionals role identity in particular, I have developed new approaches to study PSM and professionalism that might be clearer about the meaning and behavioural consequences of the two concepts in question. Differences in the aspects individuals find important in their work help to understand why equally highly public service motivated individuals make different choices in the face of dilemmas. Put differently, professional role identity gives meaning to PSM. The remaining question then is what effect the level or strength of PSM exactly has on decision-making, and ultimately on

behaviour in dilemma situations. How is the level of PSM reflected the behaviour of public servants? Does an individual who scores low on PSM make different decisions in dilemma situations than somebody who is highly public service motivated? I expect no direct effect of the strength of PSM on decision-making because of the fuzziness of the concept. Rather I expect that even though two individuals have the same PSM score, they may make different choices in the face of dilemmas because of the role identity dependency of the concept of PSM. However, I expect that a high level of PSM will drive individuals to decisions that are consistent with their interpretation of what it means to serve the public interest in their specific role. Individuals who score low on PSM, in contrast, will more easily adhere to a pragmatic solution that might involve sacrificing their personal interpretation of the public interest. Put differently, I expect highly public service motivated individuals to behave more in accordance with their interpretation of what it means to serve the public interest in their specific role than individuals who score low on PSM. Therefore, I argue that the strength of PSM influences the relationship between role identity and decision-making in dilemma situations.

As this study aims to increase our understanding of the role PSM and professionalism together play in public professional servants' decision-making in dilemma situations (PRQ), it is on obvious thought to combine PSM with professionalism – seen from a new perspective, as in the case of professional role identity – in order to investigate exactly what influence the level of PSM has on decision-making. The leads us to the second hypothesis:

> H2: *Public service motivation moderates the relationship between professional role identity and decision-making in dilemma situations.*

Critical readers might argue that P5 and H1 are in conflict with each other, because in P5 professional role identity influences PSM, and in H2 PSM influences the effect of professional role identity on decision-making. Therefore, I stress that P5 is about the *meaning* of PSM, while H1 is about the strength of PSM. In other words, professional role identity provides meaning to PSM and the *strength* of PSM influences the impact of professional role identity on decision-making.

2.8 Summary of the theory and outline of the conceptual model

In the previous sections the core concepts of this study have been discussed: 1) key characteristics of the public sector, 2) decision-making, 3) PSM, and 4) professionalism. I have pointed out gaps in current literature, and provided theoretical answers to the five secondary research questions raised in the Introduction. These questions need to be addressed first if we want to increase our understanding of the role that PSM and

professionalism together play in public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations. In this final section of the theory chapter I summarize the most important theoretical insights and propose a conceptual model (Figure 2) to be tested by quantitative questionnaire data. This section is concluded with a table (Table 1) listing the primary and secondary research questions, with the sections from the empirical part of this book where the answers may be found.

Individuals working in the public sector are frequently confronted with the need to make decisions in the face of dilemmas. In this study I set out to increase our understanding of what determines the behaviour of public service professionals in dilemma situations, so that it is important to specify what the dilemma situations of public service professionals are (SRQ1) and what kind of decisions they make in these situations (SRQ2). I have discussed three key characteristics of the public sector, which (partly) explain why public service professionals are frequently confronted with dilemmas, and put forward the proposition: Public service professionals experience dilemmas in situations where equally important values clash, various stakeholders' demands are in conflict, or 'the public interest' is the guideline of behaviour (P1). Next to this, I have introduced coping behaviour as a useful typology to operationalize decision-making. Because SRQ 2 is addressed in an exploratory way, I have not put forward any proposition here; rather, the empirical results are linked to the typology of decision-making afterwards. In Section 5.1 I empirically identify real-life dilemma situations using interview data, and link them to the key characteristics of the public sector. In Subsection 7.1.4 I demonstrate that respondents experience these situations as stressful. Section 5.2 I report on my empirical investigation of the kinds of decisions veterinary inspectors make in dilemma situations, and shows how they relate to the research on coping behaviour. The results of these analyses have then formed the basis for the development of a measurement instrument that captures public service professionals' decision-making in frequently encountered real-life dilemma situations; this is discussed in Subsection 7.1.3.

In the public management literature, two concepts are frequently discussed as having exploratory value regarding behaviour: PSM (e.g., Frank & Lewis, 2004; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Naff & Crum, 1999; Vandenabeele et al., 2006) and professionalism (e.g., Andersen & Blegvad, 2002; Evetts, 2003, 2006; Goodrick & Salanik, 1996). This dissertation, therefore, aims to shed light on the role these two concepts play in public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations. However, the critical literature reviews of PSM and professionalism research have shown that there are important knowledge gaps in current literature.

Regarding PSM, the question *how can the meaning and behavioural consequences of*

PSM be clarified in the context of dilemma situations? has been raised (SRQ3), because if we use traditional approaches to PSM we cannot be sure what the meaning of PSM is and what kind of behaviour in dilemma situations we can expect from somebody who is highly public service motivated. I have argued that the reason for this relates to the fact that 'the public interest', which is an integrated aspect of PSM, is a fuzzy concept (Bozemann, 2007). Therefore, if we want to increase our understanding of its meaning and behavioural consequences it is necessary to complement PSM with concepts that are clearer about the meaning of the public interest. In Section 5.3 the fuzziness of PSM is empirically shown via interview data. I suggest introducing identity theory into the study of PSM, because this theory provides an answer to the question (SRQ3) raised above. Identity theory provides insights into the way in which individuals attach meaning to 'the public interest' from their specific roles in society. Because of this, I suggest viewing PSM as a role identity-dependent concept rather than an ideal, and put forward the propositions that *the meaning of public service motivation and its behavioural implication depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society* (P2), and that *the effect of public service motivation on behaviour is influenced by the hierarchy of the role identities within the self* (P3). In Sections 5.5 and 7.3, research proposition P2 is subjected to quantitative and qualitative research methods, respectively. The investigation focuses especially on the question if the meaning of the public interest varies across different roles. P3 was not empirically investigated in this research project because the focus of this study is on how people interpret their professional role, not on how they see the other roles they also hold in society and how this is related to the meaning of the public interest. In Subsection 5.3.1 another knowledge gap in current PSM research, revealed in the literature review, is empirically addressed: the question of *how and why PSM develops over time.* Longitudinal PSM research primarily focuses on isolating attraction-selection-attrition and socialization mechanisms in order to find an explanation for the higher level of PSM often found in public as compared to private organizations. Because neither mechanism can explain the decrease in PSM often found, I here empirically investigate the effect of the 'reality shock' on the development of PSM. Reality shock is a phenomenon often used by PSM scholars to provide an explanation for a drop in PSM (Brænder & Andersen, 2013; Kjeldsen, 2014; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2012).

Regarding professionalism I have formulated the question *how can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified in the context of dilemma situations?* (SRQ4). The review of the literature on sociology of professionalism suggests that the concept of professionalism may work in different ways: as a normative values system, an ideology of occupational power, a mechanism of professional control, or a coping mechanism for external pressures. This means that we cannot know what kind of behaviour to expect from

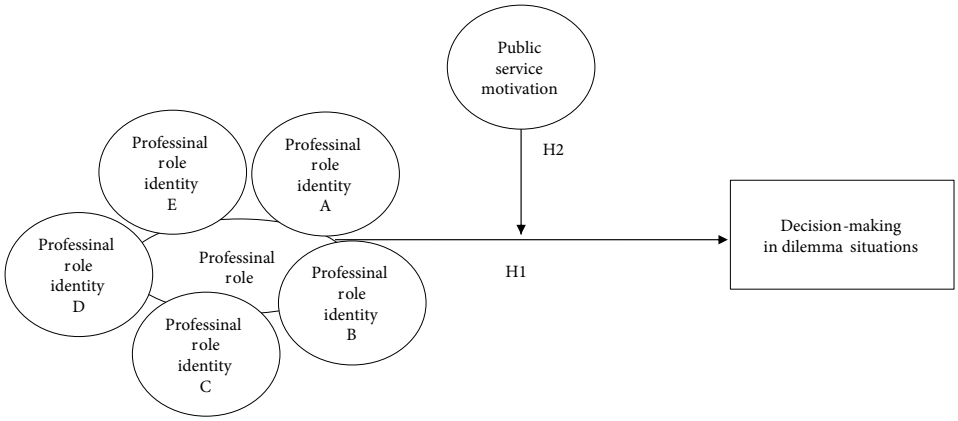
professionals by simply using the concept of professionalism. Next to this, I have reviewed relevant literature viewing professionalism at the individual level (e.g., De Graaf, 2011). What becomes clear from these writings is that professionals vary with regard to the way they interpret their professional role. This contradicts the central idea of the sociology of professionalism, i.e., that professionals develop similar work practices and procedures, shared ways of perceiving problems and their appropriate solutions, and common ways of dealing with customers and clients (Evetts, 2006). On the basis of insights from identity theory I suggest approaching *professionalism as professional role identity,* i.e., the perception individuals bring to their professional role. In order to empirically investigate whether this new conceptualization can be used to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM, I put forward the proposition that *individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities* (P4), and the hypothesis that d*ecision-making in dilemma situations is influenced by professional role identity, i.e., the way individuals interpret their professional role* (H1). In Sections 5.4 and 5.5, the interview data on P4 are discussed. On the basis of the results of these analyses, a measurement instrument was developed that captures different interpretations of the professional role. Section 7.2 and 7.4 examine if the results of the qualitative analysis can be verified using quantitative data. Section 7.4 also discusses H1.

After theoretical answers to secondary research questions 1 to 4 have been provided, the remaining secondary research question is: *what is the relationship between PSM and professionalism?* (SRQ5). I have argued that by linking PSM with professionalism – viewed as professional role identity – the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM can be further clarified. Differences in the aspects individuals find important in their work help to understand why individuals scoring equally high on PSM make different choices in the face of dilemmas. Put differently, professional role identity gives direction to the meaning of PSM, or *professional role identity provides meaning to being public service motivated and is reflected in decision-making in dilemma situations (P5)*. The use of qualitative data to investigate P5 is described in Section 5.5. Section 7.2 examines if the qualitative results can be verified using quantitative data. This analysis is not only relevant to gain a better understand of the relationship between PSM and professionalism, but also helps to verify the argument that PSM should be approached as a role identity-dependent construct rather than an ideal; it thus helps us to further answer secondary research question 3.

Finally, I have argued that the level of PSM strengthens the relationship between professional role identities and decision-making in dilemma situations. Highly public service motivated individuals make decisions that are more consistent with their interpretation of what it means to serve the public interest than do individuals scoring low on PSM. Individuals scoring low on PSM are expected to more easily adhere to a pragmatic

solution that might involve sacrificing one's personal interpretation of the public interest. This leads to the hypothesis that *PSM moderates the relationship between professional role identity and decision-making* (H2). The testing of this hypothesis (represented in Figure 2), which provides an answer to the primary research question by means of questionnaire data, is described in Section 7.6.

Figure 2 Schematic representation of the conceptual model



Below a table is provided that lists the research questions, with the sections and subsections from the empirical part of this dissertation where the answers can be found.

Table 1 Research questions, related hypotheses/propositions, and section(s) in the empirical part of this book

	Secondary research questions	**Hypothesis/ Proposition**	**Section in empirical part**
1	What are the dilemma situations that public service professionals are frequently confronted with?	P1	5.1 7.1.5
2	What kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?		5.2 7.1.3
3	How can the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM be clarified in dilemma situations?	P5 P2	5.5 7.3
4	How can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified in dilemma situations?	P4 H1	5.4/5.5 7.2/7.4
5	What is the relationship between PSM and professionalism?	P5	5.5 7.2
	Primary research question		
	What is the combined impact of PSM and professionalism on public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations?	H2	7.6

Chapter 3

OVERALL EMPIRICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter I explain the overall research setup of the empirical part of this study, which is a mixed-methods design (3.1). I also describe the case of this study – veterinary inspectors working at the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority – and answer the question why this case is interesting in the context of this research (3.2). More detailed information about the qualitative and quantitative methods involved will be provided in Chapters 4 and 6.

3.1 Research design: mixed-methods research

According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p. 17) mixed-methods research is seen "as the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches and concepts into one study". In other words, different techniques build upon each other in order to expand our understanding of the topic in question. The results of the quantitative analysis, therefore, go beyond just double-checking the results of the qualitative analysis (or vice versa) or providing an additional perspective - which would have been the case in a multiple methods design.

I decided to use a mixed-methods research design since it offers the best chances to obtain useful answers to the research questions. The key concepts of this study – PSM, public interest, professionalism and conflicting values/demands – are highly intangible. This provides a challenge for an empirical approach, which however can be overcome by the use of a blend of methods. Here, I follow the approach taken earlier by, for example, Jørgensen (2007), who studied values in public organizations through a combination of systematic investigation of values mentioned in the relevant literature, identification of values embedded in formal rules, formal value statements from public organizations, a structured questionnaire, case studies observing behaviour, and interviews. In doing so I reject the critique from purists, who claim that quantitative and qualitative research paradigms cannot be mixed (cf. the incompatibility thesis (Howe, 1988)). Rather, I follow a great number of other scholars (e.g., Coppedge, 1999; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Sechrest & Sidani, 1995) and argue that in many cases mixing methods is superior because such an approach can incorporate the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms. Qualitative research is well-suited to developing complex concepts and making inferences about causations for a limited number of cases. Quantitative methods, on the other hand, are much stronger when it comes to testing generalizations and complex relationships or models (Coppedge, 1999). In this study, qualitative methods were used to investigate the meaning and behavioural consequences of the concepts of PSM and professionalism in dilemma situations, and to learn more about the causal mechanism underlying the development of PSM over time. In

a second part of this study, I used a questionnaire to test the combined effect of PSM and professionalism on public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations. Combining qualitative and quantitative methods means that stronger conclusions can be drawn, resulting in "more complete knowledge to inform theory and practice" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 21).

Two different setups of mixed-methods research can generally be distinguished: large-N questionnaire research followed by, for example, a small number of in-depth interviews, or small-N analysis followed by a large-N approach. The former setup makes it possible to learn more about the mechanisms that underlie the relationships between two or more concepts found in quantitative research. The second type helps to improve the generalizability (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) of small-N analyses which are intended, for example, to develop or check concepts, or discern potentially relevant causes. In this study the second type of mixed-method approach was applied: from small-N qualitative research to large-N quantitative research. I first probed the key concepts of this study, and on the basis of the qualitative data found first answers to the five secondary research questions. After that, the results of the qualitative analysis were combined with existing measurement instruments for quantitative research (e.g., the PSM measurement instrument by Kim et al. (2013)), to develop a questionnaire which enabled us to further develop answers to the secondary research questions, check for generalizability and answer the primary research question. (Table 1 in Chapter 2 summarizes which parts of the qualitative and quantitative chapters address which secondary research question). For a schematic overview of the mixed-methods research design applied in this study, see Figure 2.

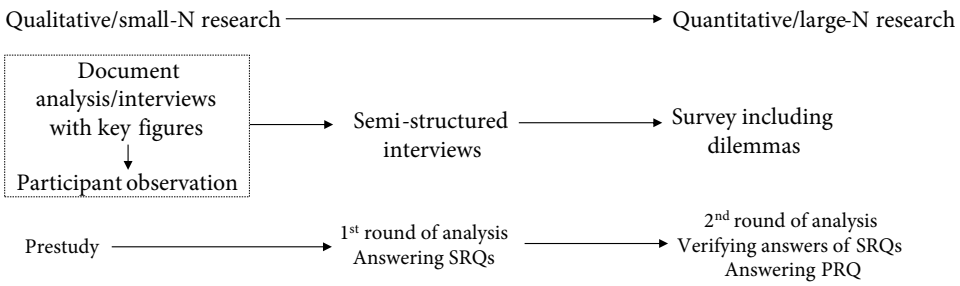
The methods used in the qualitative study were document analysis, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews with actors in the case – veterinary inspectors – and key figures: the three team leaders, one top manager, and one quality management officer. The three qualitative methods build upon each other: the document analysis helped to be better prepared for approximately ten days of participant observation, during which I – together with my colleague Daphne van Kleef – followed six veterinary inspectors. For the document analysis, we primarily focused on the policy document 'Reform of enforcement policy and modernization activities living animals and products' (VWA, 2007), the research reports of the committee Vanthemsche (2008, 2011), which led to major reforms in the organization, and texts used to advertise for future veterinary inspectors. To complete our picture of the NVWA, I used general information, such as documents on the organizational structure and mission of the NVWA and the interviews with key figures. According to Macionis and Plummer (1997), participant observation is "a data collection method by which researchers systematically observe people while joining in their routine activities"

(p. 48). The inspectors were observed at various work places in order for us to become acquainted with all facets of their work. For example, I went to small and large abattoirs, abattoirs for cattle and for chickens, turkey and pig farms, but also to cold storages in which processed food is stored that needs to be controlled by veterinary inspectors. Before the work shift, we asked the employees to 'think aloud' about what was happening and to tell us why they did as they did. During observations we took field notes describing the veterinary inspectors' actions and the explanations they gave of the reasons for and consequences of their actions. The participant observation, in combination with the document analysis, provided the context for developing interview guidelines (De Walt & De Walt, 2002). In other words, the observation period can be seen as a pre-study that helped us to formulate relevant interview topics and to become better interviewers.

The work of veterinary inspectors is very specific and complex, and was rather new to us. Seeing the inspectors' actual work places, knowing what tasks they have and what problems they encounter on a daily basis, made it easier to proceed directly to relevant interview topics. We did not need to spend any additional time collecting information about the content and contextual circumstances of veterinary inspectors' work, an essential basis for being able to ask questions about the research topics I was actually interested in and, beyond that, for a correct interpretation of the answers given. As mentioned earlier, previous empirical research on PSM and professionalism (at an individual level) has been primarily of a quantitative nature. Because it was one of the aims of this study to increase our knowledge of the meaning and consequences of these two concepts, it seems obvious that qualitative techniques should be used to complement the large body of existing questionnaire research. Detailed information on semi-structured interviews, the qualitative method primarily used in this study, is provided in Chapter 4.

In the second phase of the mixed-method study, I combined the results of our qualitative analysis with existing measurement instruments, and developed a questionnaire which we tested by conducting two pilot studies. This made it possible to include highly realistic dilemma scenarios requiring respondents to make a specific decision. The questionnaire is intended to test for the generalizability of the qualitative findings and provide an answer to the primary research question. More information on the questionnaire can be found in Chapter 6.

Figure 3 Schematic overview of mixed methods-research design



3.2 Case selection and description

As mentioned earlier, veterinary inspectors employed by the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority (*Nederlandse Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit*, NVWA) provide an interesting case. In this chapter I will elaborate on this claim and provide information about the NVWA organization in general (3.3.1) and the profession of veterinary inspectors in particular (3.3.2).

3.2.1 The case: Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority

The outbreaks of animal diseases such as BSE and foot-and-mouth disease in the 1990s, bird flu in the beginning of the 20th century, the dioxin-contaminated eggs from Germany ten years later, and most recently, the scandal of undeclared horse meat in convenience products show that there is a strong need for systematic surveillance of the food chain. Another cause of continuing concern are bacteria such as *E. coli* and *Salmonella* in meat products (Sofos, 2008). The necessity to act upon these challenges is exacerbated by an increase in international trade (Staerk et al., 2006) and changing consumer expectations. A growing number of today's consumers, for example, have a strong preference for minimally processed food (Sofos, 2008).

In the Netherlands it is the task of the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority (*Nederlandse Voedsel en Warenautoriteit*, NVWA), an independent agency (*agentschap*) in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and a delivery agency for the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, to prevent and act upon these crises by monitoring food and consumer products in order to protect human and animal health, and animal welfare. The authority does so by a) supervising the entire production chain, from raw materials and processing aids to end products, b) providing risk assessment, and c) communicating these among all stakeholders. Other important activities of the NVWA are providing

policy advice for the Ministry of Economic Affairs and other ministries, and maintaining international contacts, because most food safety policies are regulated at European level. One important partner, for example, is the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) which was established in 2002. The EFSA co-ordinates the activities of all European food safety authorities and advises the European Commission about issues related to risk assessment and risk communication associated with the food chain. The NVWA itself consists of seven parts: five divisions (Customer service & Contact, Veterinary & Import, Agriculture & Nature, Consumer & Safety, Criminal Investigation Department), the Risk management & research department, and the Board of Directors headed by Inspector General Harry Paul. The NVWA as we know it today has gone through a number of major reorganizations reflecting the general trend towards improved cooperation between public agencies in order to increase efficiency. In 2002, the Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority (*Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit*, VWA) was set up integrating the Food and Inspection Department (*Keuringsdienst van Waren*) and the Cattle and Meat Inspection Department (*Rijksdienst voor de Keuring van Vee en Vlees*). However, it was not until 2006 that the two departments merged into one national organization. In 2009 another large merger project started under the working title 'New Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority' (*nieuwe Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit*, nVWA) affecting the General Inspection Service (*Algemene Inspectie Dienst*), the Phytopathology Service (*Plantenziektenkundige Dienst*), and the Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority (VWA). In January 2012 the merger was completed and the three formerly independent organizations now operate as the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority (*Nederlandse Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit*, NVWA).

However, it is not only the formal structure of the NVWA that has changed over the last decade; their surveillance philosophy changed as well. According to Mertens (2011), the NVWA has developed from a surveillance agency providing direct and constant surveillance to a meta-surveillant using self-regulation and responsibility shared with the private sectors as basis. In this context, the NVWA introduced reduced surveillance (*inspectievakantie*) for organizations that can provide proof of solid self-regulation, and concluded 17 covenants in 2012 (Yearbook NVWA, 2012). The final responsibility, however, remains with the Minister of Economic Affairs.

3.2.2 The profession: veterinary inspectors

This study focusses on veterinary inspectors work at three subdivisions of the Veterinary & Import division (Livestock, Abattoirs, and Import), since they constitute a test case *par excellence* for this research. Veterinary inspectors are in permanent contact with living

and dying animals. They are involved in face-to-face interactions with different types of inspectees (large abattoirs, small family farms, truck drivers, etc.) who have strong economic interests. It is their primary task to enforce European law (e.g., Regulation EC 1/2005 on the protection of animals during transport), national law, and rules set by the organization directed at safeguarding public and animal health and animal welfare. Because these different aspects of the work of veterinary inspectors are not always compatible, the inspectors are frequently confronted with situations characterized by dilemmas. These dilemmas are exacerbated by the ambiguity inherent in their work. NVWA guidelines encourage employees to 'inspect with mind and heart' and to enforce 'softly where possible and strictly where necessary', which already indicates the complexity of their work and the wide discretion they have (Yearbook NVWA, 2012). Beyond that, especially if scandals occur, many different parties such as the (Dutch) animal protection society, (Dutch) consumer protection agency, political parties, as well as various trade unions of cattle farmers also pipe up. This results in a close scrutiny of the work of veterinary inspectors (Mertens, 2011).

Veterinary inspectors are organized in teams consisting of 20 members on average. These teams include one or two senior veterinary inspectors and a team leader. The Livestock subdivision consists of about six teams; Abattoirs has about ten, and Import about four. The configurations of the teams undergo frequent changes. Therefore, the exact numbers of teams in the subdivisions cannot be given.

Next to regular veterinary inspectors, the NVWA also employs so-called *practitioners*. Practitioners have job responsibilities comparable to those of the regular veterinary inspectors. What makes this group of employees different is their type of employment contract. Most practitioners have two different sources of income: they are on call for the NVWA, and next also hold positions as independent veterinarians in private practices or in other jobs. In this book the term 'veterinary inspector' refers to both types of employees, practitioners and permanently employed veterinary inspectors. In situations in which I explicitly want to distinguish between these profiles, I refer to practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors, respectively.

Traditionally, human medicine and law are examples of occupations with a high degree of professionalism. Veterinary medicine also fits into this type, because it includes several elements which, according to Rainey (2009), occur in many definitions of professionalism. First, veterinary medicine creates and transmits practical skills and theoretical knowledge through professional training institutions which, in turn, confer authority and autonomy.

Second, the number of students who gain access to the study of veterinary medicine is strongly regulated (*numerus clausus*). Third, all veterinarians are "part of one single profession that is governed by - at least on a national level - a central professional body that sets down the codes of ethics and professional conduct to which all veterinarians are expected to adhere" (Swaabe, 1999, p. 113). And finally, there is professional peer control. Colleagues keep a close eye on each other (De Graaf, 2003).

On top of their academic education in veterinary medicine, veterinary inspectors are also educated within the NVWA. The NVWA offers different pre- and post-entry courses and options for work placement. Depending on the year they started employment, inspectors enjoyed different types of trainings: it was not until 2001 that the NVWA introduced an obligatory basic training for all newcomers. In 2008, Vanthemsche et al. published a highly critical evaluation rapport about the functioning of the NVWA. They concluded that the authority was neglecting its tasks in terms of enforcing rules and regulations consistently and strictly. As a result, the basic training was expanded by introducing an assessment centre for newcomers and intensive courses focusing on the theory and practice of rule enforcement and behavioural skills. The primary aim of these trainings is to establish a more uniform policy of rule enforcement among veterinary inspectors (Vanthemsche, 2011). In contrast, during their academic education veterinarians follow lectures on mainly animal diseases, their prevention and treatment, and natural sciences. Next to this, they also have courses on, for example, the economic aspects of farming and the social responsibility of veterinarians.

However, it is not only the education of veterinarian that is double-tracked; so is the nature of their work. The job tasks and responsibilities of veterinary inspectors working at the NVWA are quite different from those of veterinarians working in private practices. As De Graaf (2003) puts it, "veterinarians are businesspeople: they make a living out of their practice, they are in charge of several employees and they compete with each other" (p. 86). They are service-oriented, used to sort things out right away, and to consider to consider economic aspects of animal farming in their work. The work of inspectors, on the other hand, is highly regulated, because it is important that inspectors should behave consistently towards the individuals they are inspecting; that they work transparently and independently (Mertens, 2011). Rule enforcement as a means to protect the core values of the NVWA - public health, animal health, and animal welfare - and managing potential risks for society is the key task of every inspector. In relation to this, the service logic is very different for veterinarians than for veterinary inspectors. According to Patterson (1998), "as a customer one is typically in a voluntary relation. But dealings with bureaucracies are often non-voluntary". Rather than creating values for their clients (or inspectees), the inspectors' (regulators') job also entails negative and unwanted services (Alford & Speed, 2006). It is

the inspectors' task to enforce laws and regulations even though they encounter resistance. In contrast, animal owners contact veterinarians voluntarily and are often willing to pay large amounts of money for their animals' heath care. This means that inspectors often experience resistance and low appreciation, while veterinarians enjoy a high social standing and much interest in their work.

Conclusion

The fact that veterinary inspectors are trained by two different institutions – the university and the NVWA (in the form of pre- and post-entry trainings) – and the fact that many of the veterinary inspectors also have (previous) working experience in private practices support my claim that veterinary inspectors are an ideal case for this study. Veterinary inspectors are both classic professionals with strong professional norms, internalized during their long academic education, and public servants working for a large public organization and holding a function that requires them to enforce organizational objectives. This combination, and the fact that ambiguity is inherent in their work, means that veterinary inspectors are often confronted with situations in which different values and demands are in conflict and trade-offs have to be made. In particular, situations occur in which the (economic) interests of stakeholders conflict with both international law and with rules set by the organization responsible for safeguarding animal welfare and public health. It is interesting then to study where veterinary inspectors' loyalties lie in such situations. Do they, for example, stick to the organizational objective or do they comply with their professional veterinary norms? And, most important in our study, are PSM and professionalism useful concepts by which to predict what decisions they will make in complex real-life situations?

Chapter 4

QUALITATIVE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

This chapter elaborates further on the research design of the qualitative part of this study. In the first section (4.1), the research method, semi-structured interviews, is introduced and I discuss the structure of the interviews and the reason why I consider semi-structured interviews to be most suitable in the context of this study. As indicated in the previous section, I also conducted document analyses, participant observation, and interviews with several key figures of the NVWA. Because these methods were used as preparation for for the semi-structured interviews – they represent a pre-study – I do not discuss them. In the next section (4.2), the composition of the two interview panels and the selection of interviewees are described. In Section 4.3, the coding process is described and explained. Finally (4.4), I assess the quality of the research by discussing its reliability, validity, and limitations.

4.1 Research method: semi-structured interviews

According to Boeije (2010), who is referring to Maso (1987, p. 63), an interview is "a form of conversation in which one person – the interviewer – restricts oneself to posing questions concerning behaviours, ideas, attitudes, and experiences with regard to social phenomena, to one or more others – the participant or interviewees – who mainly limit themselves to providing answers to these questions" (p. 61). Qualitative research is intended to describe and understand social phenomena in terms of the meaning individuals bring to them (Boeije, 2010). Interviews provide deeper insights into the ways individuals interpret and experience the roles they hold in society (Grotevant, Thorbecke & Meyer, 1982) and help us to learn more about the question of how individuals interpret 'constructs' (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This makes interviews a suitable method to research the meaning of PSM and of professionalism seen as professional role identity. The interviews used in this study were semi-structured, which means that the phrasing and order of the questions were not present. Rather, a list of topics - which can be found in the Appendix (Tables A1a, A1b, and A1c) - was designed beforehand on the basis of the literature discussed in Chapter 2 and the information gained in the pre-study. In this way, interviewees were able to speak freely, while at the same time all topics were systematically addressed. The semi-structured interviews enabled me to gain in-depth knowledge of the concepts I am interested in and so investigate the propositions put forward in the theory chapter.

Each interview lasted on average one hour. About half of the interviews were taken by myself together with a colleague and the remaining half by either of us individually. The reason why we took a great number of interviews jointly was that many interviews (up to five) were scheduled on one day. Taking interviews is a demanding activity, because the researchers have to decide on the spot how to formulate questions and which order to

follow (Boeije, 2010). In order to avoid fatigue and lack of concentration these interview-intensive days were taken by two researchers together.

All interviews had a similar structure. The interviewers introduced themselves, explained what the interview would be about, and assured the interviewees that anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. After that, the interviews were started very broadly by asking the inspectors why they had studied veterinary medicine in the first place, how they had ended up at the food safety authority, and what motivated them in their work. Other topics addressed were work-related dilemmas (how were these perceived and solved?) and the interviewees' perceptions of the role of veterinary inspector. For example, I would ask "What situations do you find difficult in your work?" or "Can you give us a situation in which you found it difficult to make a decision". If respondents told us about a dilemma situation or a situation in which they had difficulties reaching a judgement, I then went on to ask "how did you solve this difficult situation?", "What did you base your decision on?" In order to learn more about the way respondents interpret their professional role, I asked "What do you think are the most important characteristics a good veterinary inspector needs to possess?" As will be explained in detail in the following section (4.2), the qualitative results of this dissertation are based on two interview panels: one large interview panel presenting a representative sample of the entire population, and a longitudinal panel of all individuals who very recently started to work at the NVWA as veterinary inspectors: a panel of newcomers. The interviews with newcomers are important because they enabled us to hold organizational socialization mechanisms constant. In the interviews with the newcomers I addressed work and organizational expectations, via questions such as "What did you expect from the NVWA as an employer?" and "Did you have any prior expectations of the work of a veterinary inspector?" In order to learn more about the reality of the work, we asked in the second round of interviews with the newcomers "Is the job any different from what you had expected"? and "Any problems you encountered?" The interviews also included topics that are not part of this dissertation, such as organizational socialization tactics; these will be analysed by Daphne van Kleef in a different dissertation, also part of the NWO VIDI 'Double Bind' project.

4.2 Selection of interviewees: two interview panels

This study is based on two interviews panel: one large representative panel and one longitudinal panel consisting only of newcomers to the NVWA. Both panels will be discussed in detail; I will pay particular attention to the composition of the panels and the reason why especially these two groups of veterinary inspectors were interviewed.

The large interview panel

Following Ziebland and McPherson (2006), who claim that the purpose of sampling strategies in qualitative research is to present a wide range of perspectives and experiences, we applied the principle of purposive sampling. The respondents were selected on the basis of such characteristics as age, gender, years of employment, team, and type of employment contract (Table A2a in the Appendix provides an overview of the respondents' characteristics). After the executive of the Veterinary & Import division had informed the interviewees by e-mail of their selection, I contacted them directly, or indirectly via their team leader. After having talked to 38 interviewees I no longer heard no new information; rather 'new' answers started to resemble 'old' answers. Therefore, I decided not to interview any more additional employees, and the size of the interview panel was limited to 38 (N=38).

'Regular' veterinary inspectors (those directly employed by the NVWA) were able to adjust their regular working schedule so that they were free for the interview. Practitioners were not paid by the NVWA for the hours they spent taking part in the interviews, and hence we gave them a voucher worth 50 Euros (to be redeemed at a great variety of shops) for their time and trouble. Most veterinary inspectors were very cooperative and willing to participate in this study. Four were more sceptical; they either wanted to know exactly what the interview would be about, or indicated that a voucher worth 50 Euro would not cover one hour's work. In the end, all participants agreed to take part in this study. Most of the interviews were performed on NVWA premises. However, because it was more convenient for some interviewees, a few inspectors were interviewed at their homes or at the places where they were working on the day of the interview.

The analysis of the results for the large interview panel had several purposes: 1) show the fuzziness of PSM and investigate if insights from identity theory – approaching PSM as a role-dependent concept – are indeed useful to clarify the meaning of PSM; 2) learn more about whether insights from identity theory are also useful to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism, how veterinary inspectors perceive their professional role (professional role identity), and how this perception is related to behaviour; 3) increase our knowledge about the relationship between PSM and professionalism; 4) identify dilemma situations and learn more about the considerations that influence decision-making in these situations, and finally 5) identify the types of decisions public service professionals make in dilemma situations. In other words, these interviews were a first step towards answering the five secondary research questions.

The longitudinal interview panel of newcomers

Unlike the large panel, the interviewees in the longitudinal panel of newcomers were not selected individually. Rather, I talked to all veterinary inspectors that had recently entered employment at the NVWA, because their number was rather small: 15 employees (Table A2b in the Appendix provides an overview of the respondents' characteristics). There were no practitioners in this panel, so no vouchers had to be distributed. The first round of interviews took place shortly after the respondents had started work at the NVWA. They were still in training at that moment (October 2012). The second round followed on average 15 months later (spring 2014), which means that I talked to each interviewee twice over a period of a little more than one year. The first round of interviews took place at NVWA premises. In the second round, I talked to most of the interviewees face-to-face (also at NVWA premises). Five interviews were conducted by telephone. This might be seen as a threat to the quality of the research design: one disadvantage of telephone interviews is that interviewees cannot be observed while they are answering (Van der Velde et al., 2004). Moreover, it is more difficult to create a positive interview climate on the phone. However, because I had already talked to the interviewees face-to-face in the first round, I am convinced that the telephone interviews constituted an acceptable research method in these particular cases.

The analysis of these interviews was primarily aimed at gaining a better understanding of how and why PSM develops of time. Except for one, the interviewees had no prior working experience in the public sector. They had either just graduated from university or had been working in the private sector as practicing veterinarians.

4.3 Strategies for analysing the interviews

All interviews were recorded, anonymized, transcribed[1], and coded using the MAXQDA qualitative analysis software. The strategy for analysing the interviews for both panels – the large panel and the panel of newcomers – consisted of two phases: open coding and axial coding. Both strategies will be described in detail for both panels. In the Appendix (Table A3a, A3b, A3c), complete coding schemes are provided for both the 'large' and the 'newcomer' interview panel.

1 Most of the interviews were transcribed by student assistants. Eight interviews were transcribed by myself and Daphne van Kleef.

4.3.1 Strategy for analysing the results for the large interview panel

I started the coding process with open coding, which means that after reading the interviews very carefully I divided the interviews into fragments and compared these with each other. The purpose of open coding is to explore the data. All fragments dealing with the same interview topic are marked with a code. For instance, all elements mentioned by the respondent as being motivating were coded as 'motivation'. In a similar way, all aspects mentioned by veterinary inspectors as their interpretation of their professional role were coded as 'professional role', all situations in which respondents say they experience tensions were coded as 'dilemma situations', all considerations in dilemma situations were coded as 'considerations in dilemma situations', and all concrete ways of dealing with these dilemma situations as 'decision-making in dilemma situations'.

From the code 'motivation' I derived four subcodes distinguishing PSM from public sector motivation, motivation based on contact with others, and motivation based on task variety. The coding scheme for PSM was specified beforehand on the basis of the theoretical description of the construct provided by, for example, Kim et al. (2013). For each dimension of PSM, one or two subcodes were developed. The subcodes for the other types of motivation were developed in an exploratory way. The coding scheme for the role of veterinary inspectors was developed in advance, on the basis of the document analysis described in the previous chapter and interviews with team leaders and key figures within the food safety service. (For more information on the coding scheme for the professional role of veterinary inspectors see Van Kleef et al. (2015).) The most important codes are 'strict rule enforcement', 'safeguarding values', 'communication and social skills', and 'knowledge base'. On the basis of the 38 interviews I was able to develop subcodes for different interpretations of the professional role on the part of veterinary inspectors: subcodes for different professional role identities. Interpretations of the role of veterinary inspector that were in line with organizational objectives such as safeguarding public health and strict rule enforcement, were categorized as 'organization-focused professional role identity'. Interpretations related to values prominent in the university veterinary medicine courses, such as the economic aspects of farming and animal welfare, were labelled as 'veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity'. The subcodes for the 'dilemma situations' code were worked out on the basis of the theoretical description of three key characteristics of the public sector: contrasting demands, value pluralism, and the objective to safeguard the public interest, although new subcodes based on relevant interview statements, such as unworkable rules, were also added. The subcodes for 'considerations in dilemma situations' and 'decision-making in dilemma situations' were worked out in

an exploratory way. Considerations could be divided into two subcodes: 'inspectee-related consideration' and considerations related to the activity of inspecting itself. From both subcodes, several subsubcodes could be derived which can be found in the Appendix (Table A3a). The decisions most frequently made by veterinary inspectors either favoured one value or demand above another, or deferred the decision, which resulted in the subcodes 'biasing' and 'avoidance'; two types of behaviour known from coping literature. In the second phase of the analysis I performed axial coding, which refers to "a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories" (Strauss & Corbin, 2007, p. 96). This technique makes it possible to investigate whether differences in behaviour in dilemma situations could be traced back to differences in professional role perception, and how these professional role perceptions relate to PSM.

4.3.2 Strategy for analysing the results for 'newcomers' panel

As with the coding strategy for the large interview sample, we started the first and second rounds of the interviews with newcomers with open coding. All elements mentioned by the respondent as being motivating were given the code 'motivation'. From this general code I was able to I derived six subcodes, distinguishing PSM from public sector motivation and other types of motives such as interaction and responsibility. The coding scheme for PSM was specified beforehand on the basis of the theoretical description of the construct. The subcodes for the other types of motivation and work expectations were developed in an exploratory way. All elements mentioned by respondents in the context of what they had initially expected from the job as veterinary inspector and from the NVWA organization were given the code 'organizational/job expectations'. The subcodes for this general code were developed in an exploratory way. Examples of subcodes are 'no expectations', 'rule enforcement' and 'resistance'. In the second round of interviews, all elements that reflect how interviewees experience their actual work and work context were given the general code 'working reality'. The subcodes of this general code – for example 'unwieldy organization' and 'lack of uniformity'- were also developed in an exploratory way.

By performing axial coding in the second step of the analysis, we were able to investigate how PSM developed over time (i.e., whether it increased or decreased) and the effect of a potential mismatch between the individual's initial job expectations and the actual working reality within this development. Put differently, we investigated in-person variation of PSM between two rounds of interviews of all 15 employees separately, and investigated whether this variation could be linked to a discrepancy between 'organizational/job expectations' and 'working reality'.

4.4 Quality of the qualitative research: reliability and validity

Two important criteria indicating the quality of research are validity and reliability (Boeije, 2010). Validity can be seen as truthfulness and reliability as dependability or consistency (Neuman, 2014). In this section I explain how I tried to maximize both quality indicators, and discuss the limitations of using interviews.

Flexible research methods – such as semi-structured interviews – may pose a threat to reliability (Kirk & Miller, 1986). In other words, repeated interviews might result in different outcomes. For this reason I ensured that all topics were covered in every interview by making notes as soon as a topic had been covered. In order to make it possible for the reader to retrace what I have actually done – how I handled and transformed the data – topic lists and coding schemes are included in the Appendix (Tables A1a, A1b, A1c, A3a, A3b, A3c).

To maximize face validity, which can be defined as the extent to which measures cover the topic under study based on expert judgements (Dooley, 2001), I discussed the topic list and interview questions with a small group of experts before performing the interviews. Exchanging opinions and views helps to ensure that all relevant topics are covered and that the questions do indeed measure the intended concepts (Boeije, 2010). Besides that, the first eight interviews were jointly coded by Daphne van Kleef and myself, and we consulted with each other every time we were unsure about how to code a certain sentence or sequence of sentences. This approach helped to ensure that the variety of codes and subcodes were applied consistently and accurately.

To maximize internal validity – which refers to the extent to which the observed causal inference is due to the presumed cause or to some other causes or causal mechanisms (Dooley, 2001) – I also took two measures. First, I ensured that I researched a representative sample of the population (large interview panel) or even the entire population (longitudinal sample of newcomers). Next to this, I tried to create a positive interview climate by stressing anonymity and emphasizing that I was not in a position to judge whether the answers were good or false. I hoped that by creating a positive climate I could ensure that interviewees would not remain silent or would not be dishonest about sensitive topics, which would lead to biased results. Another threat to internal validity in qualitative research is that "results are more easily influenced by researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 20). In order to counter this weakness, I frequently discussed the findings within a small group of experts.

A third type of validity that I want to address here is external validity which, indicates the degree to which findings may be generalized to the world outside the research setting,

other populations, times, and places (Dooley, 2001). The problem with data from interviews is that the knowledge gained may not be generalizable to other people or settings, because of the relatively small sample size (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). I tried to counter this problem by selecting the interviewees especially, on the basis of variations in age, gender, years of employment, and team. However, critics may argue that the generalizability of my findings is low. For this reason, I used quantitative research methods in the second part of the analysis, which enabled us to verify if some or all of the qualitative results apply to or the entire population – veterinary inspectors working for the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority. The combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods contributes to the general validity of this study.

Chapter 5

QUALITATIVE RESULTS: PSM AND PROFESSIONALISM AND THE CONTEXT OF DILEMMA SITUATIONS[1]

1 Parts of this chapter are based on Schott, C., Kleef van, D.D. and T. Steen (2014). What does it mean and imply to be public service motivated? *The American Review of Public Administration*. DOI: 10.1177/0275074014533589

In this chapter the results of the qualitative analysis are presented. First, to answer secondary research questions 1 and 2, situations are identified in which veterinary inspectors experience dilemmas (5.1) and the decisions they actually make are discussed (5.2). After investigating PSM among veterinary inspectors (5.3) and discussing the question of how and why PSM changes across time (5.3.1), I provide an answer to the question of whether insights from identity theory are indeed useful to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM, professionalism, and the interrelatedness of the two concepts (SRQ3, SRQ4, SRQ5). Particular attention is paid to the question of how veterinary inspectors interpret different aspects of their professional role (5.4). Section 5.5 focusses on the questions whether professional role perceptions influence the meaning of PSM, and whether these are reflected in the behaviour of public service motivated individuals. In Section 5.6 considerations influencing decision-making in dilemma situations are described. Each subsection ends with a paragraph summarizing the most important research findings.

All the results discussed are based on data from the large interview panel, except for the results presented in Subsection 5.3.1 – these are based on data from the longitudinal interview panel of newcomers. The translations of interview transcripts from both the interview panels, presented below, are our own; the original Dutch texts of the interview statements used in the study may be obtained from the author on request. The transcripts were selected on the basis of their explanatory power; i.e., if they clearly supported or contradicted my theoretical assumptions and if they brought out new, unexpected information.

5.1 Situations in which veterinary inspectors experience dilemmas

In this section I aim to provide an empirical answer to the question *what are the dilemma situations that public service professionals are frequently confronted with?* (SRQ1) and to this end investigate the following proposition: *public service professionals experience dilemmas in situations in which equally important values clash, various stakeholders' demands are in conflict, or the 'public interest' is the guideline of behaviour.*

In the interviews, the majority of veterinary inspectors clearly indicated that they regularly experience dilemmas in their work (n=29). On the basis of the interviews two types of dilemmas could be differentiated: the first related to the nature of the work instructions, the second to conflicts between different values and demands. The proposition that public service professionals experience dilemmas in situations where equally important values clash, various stakeholders' demands are in conflict, and the 'public interest' is the guideline of behaviour (P1) is in accordance with these two types. Both dilemma categories will be discussed in detail.

Veterinary inspectors stated that they encounter dilemmas in their work because the rules they have to enforce do not always appear to be feasible in practice. Frequently cited examples of impracticable rules were loading standards for animal transporters, and the zero-tolerance policy regarding fecal contamination and condensation. Next to this, vague formulations of behavioural guidelines also cause problems. Many interviewees felt that especially animal welfare – an aspect of the public interest – was a grey area. Rules and regulations state that sick animals are not allowed to be transported, because this would cause additional suffering. The problem, however, seems to be that there is no clear definition of when an animal can be considered 'sick' and when not.

> *There are dubious cases. Is an animal well enough to get on a transporter? This is a grey area. A sick animal is not allowed to get on a transporter. But when is an animal sick? (R18)*

> *That's another grey area. The law says: sick animals cannot be slaughtered. Yeah, what is a sick animal? A cow that has a mineral deficit right after giving birth? Is that a sick animal? That's subject to debate. (R35)*

Most dilemmas could be categorized as value/demand-related dilemmas. Most frequently, these included conflicts between the objectives set by the NVWA to safeguard animal welfare/health and public health on the one hand, and economic demands from various stakeholders such as farmers, owners of abattoir, and animal carriers on the other. For example, inspectees often refused to thoroughly disinfect transporters and abattoirs because this is a time-consuming, and therefore costly, activity. However, inadequate cleaning poses a serious threat to public health. Another frequent dilemma concerns the unloading of animals without supervision by a veterinary inspector. Again, economic interests are under pressure here, because meat must be destroyed if the living animal has not been seen and approved by a veterinary inspector. Unsupervised slaughtering, on the other hand, is a risk to animal welfare and puts public health under pressure.

Besides the situations in which the demands set by the organization are in conflict with economic interests, there are also cases of value pluralism: situations in which animal welfare and rules to safeguard public health cannot be realized at the same time. Think, for example, of situations in which weak and suffering animals are the last in line to be slaughtered to ensure that there is no risk for public health. If these animals are slaughtered last, veterinary inspectors have more time to ensure that there is no problem with good meat being contaminated. This procedure is conform the objectives of the NVWA. However, several veterinary inspectors told us they struggled with this (life-preserving) rule, because they saw it as conflicting with animal welfare.

> *Well, sometimes an animal is delivered to a slaughterhouse that makes you think: what am I going to with it. For example, if there is something wrong with the animal it should be slaughtered last. So actually, what you are doing is extending its suffering and anxiety…well, I think that's a very uncomfortable rule, to make the animals suffer any longer. (R31)*

However, there was also a small group of respondents who were not affected by either of the two dilemma categories. It seems that the reason for this lies in the individual personality. In contrast to the other inspectors, they indicated they had a tough character and were not familiar with feelings of doubt. This might indicate that dilemmas are dependent on individual and subjective experiences: there are only dilemmas if veterinary inspectors 'allow' them to be.

> *That's not who I am. So that sort of situation will not occur easily. (R1)*

Conclusion

In this section I presented an analysis intended to answer secondary research question 1: *What are the dilemma situations public service professionals are frequently confronted with?* The results indicate that veterinary inspectors frequently encounter dilemma situations in their work. For the most part these are situations in which conflicting demands from different stakeholders, such as the objectives set by the NVWA, cannot be combined with the economic interests of, for example, farmers and owners of abattoirs. Other dilemma situations are situations of value pluralism: public health and animal health are in conflict. Finally, situations in which the work instructions are either not feasible in practice or not clear – as in the case of animal welfare – can also be classified as dilemma situations. Assuming that animal welfare can be used as an aspect of 'the public interest', we can accept the proposition *public service professionals experience dilemmas in situations in which equally important values clash, various stakeholders' demands are in conflict, or the 'public interest' is the guideline of behaviour* (P1).

5.2 Decision-making in dilemma situations, and the link with coping strategies

In this section I try to provide an empirical answer to the question of *what kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?* (SRQ2) Since I am more interested in the reasons underlying public service professionals' decision-making than their actual decisions, I have not formulated any proposition in the theory chapter; rather, the empirical

results have been linked to the typology of decision-making afterwards. The results of the interview analyses indicate that public service professionals make different kind of decisions in perceived dilemma situations: these situations exist 'within the individual'. Two kinds of decisions were predominant: inspectors either prioritized one of the conflicting values or demands that are in conflict, or they deferred the decision. Sometimes I noted that veterinary inspectors came up with new, creative ways of solving a dilemma situation. For example, one veterinary inspector came across a cow with an abscess which was so serious that – according to formal work instructions – the animal should have been rejected right away in order to prevent any risk to public health. He decided to pass the rear end of the animal, while rejecting its midsection. By doing so he limited the financial damage, but also ensured that public health was not put under pressure. Another veterinary inspector indicated that she had ordered a large number of carcasses to be put in cold storage, after a technical defect had been found during the slaughtering process at the end of the day. She decided to do this because she wanted to examine more carefully the next day whether the carcasses could still be used for human consumption. By this decision she showed that she tried to minimize the risk for society while also remaining sensitive to the financial damage caused by the destruction of such a large number of animals. More often, however, I saw that in dilemma situations veterinary inspectors prioritized either economic interests or the objectives set by the organization responsible for animal welfare and public health. For example, one veterinary inspector who clearly put public health first said the following:

> *The atmosphere is explosive. They think, and I do understand them… I mean, I had just ordered a horse to be destroyed; a healthy horse, which however had no declaration of used meds. So that was really a good piece of meat put straight into the bin. They find that difficult. (R19)*

Other veterinary inspectors indicated that they made decisions in accordance with inspectees' economic interests. However, it should first be emphasized that they only decided to go with the economic interests if animal welfare and public health were not seriously threatened. For example, if there was 'only' one animal on the transport with a limp, some veterinary inspectors did not impose a fine, although they knew that colleagues would have made a different decision.

In dilemma situations in which a lot of money was involved, such as destroying a large number of animals because they had been slaughtered without supervision or because the documents were not in order, veterinary inspectors said that they deferred the decision. They did not decide on the spot, but rather, talked to their supervisor first, in order to play safe and pass on the responsibility. Other dilemma situations in which some

veterinary inspectors said they would contact the supervisor first were those in which a lot of aggression was involved: the atmosphere was threatening, and there were no other colleagues who offered support. This seemed to be the case especially for relatively new employees – veterinary inspectors with little work experience.

Note that a link can be drawn between these results and the typology of coping strategies. Value conflicts were most frequently solved by the two decoupling coping strategies of 'biasing' and 'building firewalls'. 'Biasing', in this context, means that some values – either economic interests or public health/animal welfare – are no longer recognized as important. 'Building firewalls' means shifting the conflict to elsewhere in the system. In our case, veterinary inspectors used 'building firewalls' by not deciding on the spot what needed to be done, but passing the decision to a supervisor. In some cases, veterinary inspectors made decisions that could be related to the coupling strategy of 'hybridization': they figured out new ways of doing their work that made it possible to accommodate both conflicting values at the same time. This means that, in some rare cases, difficult situations present no dilemmas if veterinary inspectors can solve the problem in such a way that multiple values or demands are realized at the same time. Most of the time, however, veterinary inspectors either prioritize one value or demand above another or defer the decision to a higher authority, which implies that many situations are perceived as dilemma situations.

Conclusion

The results indicate that veterinary inspectors make different decisions in dilemma situations. Most of the time they decouple conflicting values by using one of the two coping strategies of 'biasing' and 'building firewalls'. Sometimes, they also cope via 'hybridization'. This raises the question of why individuals actually make different decisions. What drives their decision-making in dilemma situations, and can the concepts of PSM and professionalism be used to teach us more about this question? Before I return to this question, I will first present the empirical confirmation of the fuzziness of PSM. And then investigate if combining PSM and professionalism with insights from identity theory is indeed useful to clarify the meaning and consequences of the two concepts.

5.3 Public service motivation among veterinary inspectors

This section focuses on PSM among veterinary inspectors in order to determine whether the critique that PSM is a fuzzy concept is justified. In Subsection 5.3.1 the question of how and why PSM develops over time is addressed, with particular attention for the potential effect of the 'reality shock' on a drop in PSM.

A small group of veterinary inspectors directly referred to PSM when asked: "What motivates you in your work?" or "What do you like about your work?" These inspectors stated that their motivation was the desire to be able to contribute to the public interest.

> *It is not always easy or fun working at abattoirs. But you are contributing to the public interest! (R29)*

Many others – about half of the panel – were more detailed and mentioned various aspects or dimensions of PSM as motivational factors in their work, such as public health, animal health, and animal welfare. It is noticeable that these three aspects are frequently mentioned together rather than seperatly.

> *Actually, what motivates me most is what the NVWA stands for: public health, animal health and animal welfare. That's what I stand for, too. That's what motivates me.* (R18)

> *What is motivating are the core responsibilities. I am able to do my own thing. As a veterinary you have a say in what happens! (R7)*

Other inspectors were very clear that what motivated them was related to being able to eliminate abuse and deception in the meat-packing industry, break through bad habits and change processes and the behaviour of inspectees for the better.

> *Sometimes, I'm visiting a place where nobody smiles so to speak, there's a lot of irritation and annoyance, which often leads to a negative downwards spiral. I make a point of breaking through that atmosphere and then you see that things can in fact be done differently. That things are going in the right direction. I like that very much and it's a challenge in the work I'm doing here for the NVWA. (R1)*

Besides the willingness to contribute to the public interest, safeguard certain public values, and to eliminate abuse some veterinary inspectors also indicate that being able to support others who are more vulnerable is part of their daily motivation at work. They highlight that it is important to ensure that children and the elderly are provided with healthy food, for example, because these groups are highly sensitive to the consequences of salmonella infection.

Another motivational factor besides PSM that could frequently be derived from the interviews is the interaction with different stakeholders such as colleagues, the individuals that are inspected, and animals. Next to this, changing tasks and locations (e.g., visiting different abattoirs or farms) and public sector motivation (e.g., regular working hours, regular periods of vacation and a stable salary) are also mentioned as motivational factors.

Working together with people is one of the positive things. A different location, different people each day. (R19)

It's the diversity. No day is like another. (R36)

I don't want to go back [to my own practice]. Been there, done that. Also because I like it here a lot. You quietly slip into the working hours. They are very pleasant. You start early and you finish early…[]…It's very nice. And what I consider the fringe benefits – they are simply great. This makes the work a pleasure, as well. (R18)

Conclusion

Even though the inspectors described their motivation in different ways, I found that in general the level of PSM and general job satisfaction among veterinary inspectors was high. Some respondents referred to PSM directly by mentioning that their motivation was the desire to contribute to the public interest, others referred to the seperate dimensions of PSM by indicating that what motivated them in their work was the possibility to safeguard public values, right any wrongs, and support people in need. The only subcode in the concept of PSM that could not be derived from the interviews was 'making sacrifices', which relates to the PSM dimension of 'self-sacrifice'.

However, the interview statements not only show that veterinary inspectors working at the NVWA seem to be public service motivated, but also indicate that simply asking veterinary inspectors about their motivation for their work is not enough to get a clear idea of the meaning of PSM. The respondents either refer to the abstract concept of 'public interest', or mention different aspects of it (public health, animal health and animal welfare). However, these different aspects cannot always be realized at the same time due to their conflicting characteristics (for more information on this see previous section). This finding can be interpreted as supporting my criticism on traditional PSM research: that PSM as viewed in traditional research is a fuzzy concept. As will be shown in Section 5.5, a better picture of what it means to be public service motivated can be gained by asking individuals how they perceive their role of veterinary inspector, and what interests they represent in this role. Before I combine PSM with professional role identity, however, I will first discuss how and why PSM changes over time (5.3.1) and the concept of professional role identity itself (5.4).

5.3.1 The development of PSM over time

The topic of this section is the empirical investigation of the question of how and why the strength of PSM develops across time, using longitudinal interview data of newcomers working at the NVWA. I will start by comparing the presence of PSM in the first and second rounds of the interviews, and then focus on the mechanisms explaining possible changes in the level of PSM. I investigated particularly whether a decrease in PSM could be explained by a mismatch between organizational and job expectations and the experienced working reality.

How does public service motivation develop over time?

The results indicated that PSM plays an important role among newcomers at the NVWA. In the first interview round almost all respondents (12 out of 15) mentioned that what motivates them in their work is the opportunity to safeguard animal welfare and/or public health, or to improve things. Animal welfare and public health were sometimes mentioned in combination, but animal welfare was most frequently mentioned on its own (six times). Other aspects of PSM – such as the opportunity to eliminate abuse, to stand up for vulnerable people, and ideas related to 'self-sacrifice' – were not mentioned.

> *I like my work and it motivates me if things actually get better…if I do this they comply… you're making things better together with the people from the abattoir… they listen to you… they value what you say and they try to cooperate. (R14)*

> *Listen, I'm all about animal welfare. You can make a difference. It should happen gently and slowly. …[]… I find this very important… not overloading trucks… It has to be done, everybody knows it, but it needs to be done properly. That's one of my responsibilities, and I think the best one. (R13)*

Next to PSM, public sector motivation – which refers to being motivated to work in the public sector because of assets such as regular working hours, income and holiday periods –, task variety, and the interactions with different stakeholders were mentioned by inspectors. Practical reasons such as physical complaints and troubles with former employees were also often mentioned as factors of work motivation. Beyond that, in the first round of interviews newcomers also stressed that the opportunity to develop their competencies had a motivating effect. This is not surprising, because all interviewees were in the middle of an extensive training programme. In the second round, having more responsibilities was often mentioned as being motivating. This is not surprising either; all respondents who stressed a higher level of responsibilities as a motivational factor had received a promotion

just before the second round of interviews took place. This raises questions concerning causality. Are individuals motivated first of all by the opportunity to develop and be given responsibilities, and is that why a) they decided to apply for a job in which they are obliged to follow an entire training programme and b) they received a promotion? Or is it the other way around? Are they motivated because they have the opportunity to develop and because they have more responsibilities in the new function? At first sight the results indicated that the latter explanation fits better. An increased level of responsibility was mentioned as a motivational factor only in the second round of interviews, and the opportunity to develop was mentioned more frequently in the first round than in the second. However, if we take a closer look it becomes clear that the motivations build upon each other, and that only individuals who personally asked for the promotion are motivated by the higher level of the work. After a year of working at the NVWA, some interviewees indicated that they started to have the daily working practice well in hand. This means that they did not feel any need for additional training in order to master their daily tasks and feel competent; rather, they started to look for new challenges in their work such as holding increased responsibility.

> *At this moment I have more responsibilities. I really do feel that I have more responsibilities and that it's me who has to hold things together and get everybody on the same page. I experience this as a challenge. (R14)*

> *In the meantime I have become a veterinary inspector with managerial responsibilities. That makes working interesting again. If this was not the case I would think: well is that really it? (R5)*

Comparing the statements about PSM in the first round of interviews with those in the second round, we note that the importance of PSM as a motivator generally seems to decrease. In other words, in the second round, five interviewees who initially indicated they were public service motivated seemed to have lost their PSM when they were interviewed for the second time: they did not mention any motivation that could be associated with PSM. Therefore, in this study I speak of a 'loss' of PSM while aware of the fact that the level of PSM might also merely decrease. However, the qualitative method applied here makes it impossible to detect minor changes in the level of PSM. Next to this, the data showed that of those who were not public service motivated when joining the NVWA, there was nobody who indicated 15 month later that they were motivated by the opportunity to contribute to the public interest or safeguard certain values such as animal welfare and public health. Together, these two findings go against both the hypothesis that PSM is unchangeable and the socialization hypothesis. PSM did change, but it did not increase if individuals spent

more time within the organization. This raises the question of why PSM vanishes across time among some individuals, but not among others. In the next section I focus on the five individuals who had lost their PSM, compare them with individuals who remained public service motivated across time, and analyse whether the loss in PSM can be explained by a mismatch between the interviewees' job expectations and the working reality.

Why is PSM lost over time? Pre-entry expectations

For the empirical assessment of the reality shock as a potential explanation for a drop in PSM, I analysed veterinary inspectors' expectations of their work and the organization prior to their actual working experiences at the NVWA. It is noticeable that, when first interviewed, individuals who remained public service motivated over time expressed much clearer expectations with regard to their future work and employer than people who were later found to have lost their PSM. They expected that working as a veterinary inspector implied knowing all different kinds of rules and regulations, and enforcing them in order to safeguard animal welfare and public health. At the same time, they realized that they were likely to encounter resistance: that the people they had to inspect might work against them, or at least try to stretch the rules, and that in much of the work they would be on their own.

> *I find it very difficult to describe what I expect from the work. On the one hand you hope that you don't encounter difficult situations. What you want most is that the operator of the abattoir follows the rules nicely. But people also want to make money and that's why they try to stretch the rules in order to sell a little more […] On the one hand I find such situations challenging. On the other hand I am also a little afraid whether I will be able to handle this. I hope I will have sufficient background in law and legislation, by trainings etcetera. (R10)*

> *Actual surveillance at slaughterhouses. Not only ensuring that everybody follows the rules and animal welfare is not put at risk, but I also expect it to be some kind of mentoring of the organization. Not mentoring at the level of management, but focused on animal health, public health and animal welfare. (R6)*

> *What do I expect? Running ahead of things, I think it is a disadvantage that you work on your own. […] At a slaughterhouse you work alone. And you have to get up very early. (R11)*

In contrast, all five veterinary inspectors who 'lost' their PSM (as compared to the seven respondents who stayed public service motivated) seemed to have had no clear expectations of the work of veterinary inspectors. One individual indicated that she phoned

two inspectors she knew, in order to gain a better picture. Another explained that he had watched an introduction video. A third mentioned that she had some expectations because of her father, who also works at the NVWA. Nevertheless, none of them came up with concrete expectations concerning the content of the work.

> *Not that much actually. I did not have any expectations. You can watch an introduction video on internet, where you see a little of what they [veterinary inspectors] do. But what they really do on a daily basis? I had no clue. This made the job application difficult too, because I had no clear idea. (R3)*

> *What my expectations were? I had none, I was just going to wait and see. (R2)*

> *Yes, that's difficult. Of course I knew my father's stories, but that's not the same as doing it yourself. I got a little bit the idea that you go and check that everybody does their work properly. But concerning the actual process I really had no clue. (R4)*

At the start of their employment with the NVWA the group of interviewees who remained public service motivated over a period of 15 months had a much clearer picture of what working as a veterinary inspector implied in practice than the group of employees who 'lost' their PSM. They were better informed not only about the actual content of the work, but also about potential difficulties such as aggression and the loneliness on the work floor. Therefore, reality shock as traditionally defined (i.e., the discrepancy between how individuals think of their future work and how they experience the working reality) seems not wholly adequate to explain the loss of PSM. Because individuals who lost their PSM did not have any clear expectations regarding their work, there could be no discrepancy between these expectations and the working reality. Rather, it might be argued that they experienced a slightly different sort of shock; perhaps not because of the traditionally expected discrepancy between work expectations and working reality, but rather because of the mismatch between their ability to cope with difficult work demands and the working reality. In other words, could it be that because they were less aware of the potential difficulties of the job beforehand, they lacked the ability to deal with troubles? And does this consequently mean that this group of veterinary inspectors experienced the 'dark side' of their work as more stressful, which leads to a loss of PSM? This question is addressed in the next part of the analysis.

Why is PSM lost over time? Working reality

The fact that the NVWA is a large and unwieldy organization was noted and criticized by almost all newcomers in the second round of interviews. However, it seemed that this did not come as a surprise to any of the interviewees. Individuals actually indicated that this is what they had expected; however, they also said that it was frustrating that every time they wanted to take up a task – every time they wanted to be assertive – this could not be realized right away. Often it was not clear to them who needed to be involved or contacted in order to get things done.

> *What I don't like? The organization. Our head of team is a great guy… […]…but if you go further up in the hierarchy and you want to get things done at that level, you find it's really a spineless public organization. It takes hours to achieve something – typical of government, I think. If you need something, you first have to fill in three applications and three people have to look at it. If you're lucky, you'll get it, but it is also possible that you have to wait for another three months. (R2)*

> *Well, I realize that the NVWA is a large organization. Sometimes this makes it hard to find the right people if you have a question... […]… Sometimes it takes quite a while before you get an answer. That's why everything works slowly and that's a pity. (R6)*

Another frequently cited source of frustration is the lack of uniform rule enforcement. Both groups of interviewees – those losing and keeping their PSM – indicated that they had a hard time dealing with inconsistent rule enforcement. In particular, they were not happy with their impression that some colleagues do not want to enforce the law in order to spare themselves trouble with the inspectee. They emphasized that it is very important that everybody moves in the same direction, because otherwise the inspectors' authority is put under pressure and future rule enforcement becomes more difficult.

> *What I find disappointing is that everybody has their own opinion and their own way of doing things and it is very difficult to bring people into line a bit […] For example, you say: 'I have warned so-and-so a couple of times, shall we be a bit more strict next time? ' Then somebody else says: 'No, I don't want that! It would only make them turn against us and that's going to be difficult'. […] You cannot expect everybody to do exactly the same, but uniformity is needed! (R3)*

A third source of disappointment was the attitude and behaviour of the individuals inspected. In particular, the disappointment came from the impression that many of the inspectees could not be trusted because they would try to manipulate and stretch rules, and the working atmosphere was often tense. An interesting finding was that not all newcomers

experienced this negative working reality as frustrating and stressful to the same extent. Individuals who had clear expectations of what the job of veterinary inspector implies – i.e., that resistance might be part of it – seemed to experience resistant behaviour as less stressful and frustrating than individuals who had no prior working expectations. This group of employees seemed to have found ways to deal with resistance, such as paying more attention to covering themselves or accepting resistant behaviour as a negative, but unavoidable, part of their job.

> *Well, sometimes things happen that should not happen and that means that you have to impose fines . That is not always fun to do, but it happens. But OK, that is what you expect and you just know that it's part of the job. (R9)*

> *There's one slaughterhouse where they're always glad to see the back of us, and I was not looking forward to going there. Well, it is not always easy that's for sure. But you just cover yourself even better. Three times better than at other places. (R15)*

Interviewees who started to work rather 'unsuspecting', on the other hand, clearly indicated that they felt very uncomfortable about inspectees' attitudes and behaviour and the reactions to their work. They clearly said that this was against their expectations and that they felt upset and had trouble getting used this aspect.

> *I'd heard earlier: 'you cannot trust them' [inspectees] […] when it comes to the crunch they talk back to you. However, if you don't have anything on paper, you cannot achieve anything. For me, this was a learning moment, or rather it was really a surprise. I hoped that they would be honest all the time. But no! If their own interests are at stake, they start lying […] At that moment, I was upset, very upset! (R1)*

> *And what also disappointed me is that I just have to get used to working in the commercial sector. That people manipulate you and are dishonest. I have to get used to this. I tend to believe everybody, but they are just lying right in your face. (R4)*

Conclusion

The stressful and difficult working reality of veterinary inspectors is reflected in the large and unwieldy organization of the NVWA, the lack of uniform rule enforcement, colleagues' resistant attitudes, and behaviours of inspectees. The bureaucratic characteristics of the NVWA do not surprise any of the newcomers, and the lack of uniform rule enforcement is acknowledged by both individuals who maintain and individuals who lose their PSM over the first months of working at the NVWA. Clear differences were found in the way interviewees experience resistant behaviour. On the one hand, individuals with clear prior

work expectations seem to be able to deal with it, but individuals who start their work as veterinary inspector rather naively seem to have much more trouble dealing with lies and manipulation. They indicate that they are disappointed and upset. I argue that this might explain why this group of individuals lose their PSM and why they are no longer willing to contribute to society.

5.4 Interpretations of different aspects of the professional role of veterinary inspectors

In this section I aim to take a first step towards answering the question of *how can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified in dilemma situations* (SRQ4)? In the theory chapter I argued that professionalism had better be approached as professional role identity than as an abstract ideal. In order to verify this argument I will first discuss the questions whether veterinary inspectors' interpretations of central aspects of their work vary, and whether there are differences between 'regular' veterinary inspectors and practitioners concerning the ways they interpret the central aspects of their work. Asking individuals how they perceived their role of veterinary inspector, and what interest they represented in this role, enabled us to distinguish different interpretations of the role of 'veterinary inspector'. The interpretations vary concerning four central aspects of the work of a veterinary inspector: *communication and social skills*, *knowledge base*, *strict rule enforcement*, and *safeguarding organizational values.* In this section I will focus on the different interpretations respondents bring to these four aspects and discuss them in detail (see Figure 4 below).

Communication and social skills

The majority of respondents saw communication and social skills as important competences in the work of a veterinary inspector. For most of them, communication and social skills mattered because they are regarded as necessary for law enforcing. Being able to explain to different stakeholders the purpose and inescapability of rules and regulations was seen as an instrument to reach rule compliance. However, there were also inspectors who stressed the importance of communication with colleagues, because they saw it as a way to improve uniform enforcement of rules. Other inspectors did not mention a specific object of communication. Rather, they emphasized the importance of being able to deal with people in a socially appropriate way in general.

Yes, that's actually true for everybody. You have to have communication skills. You have to be able to consult with others [inspectees]. You have to be able to explain what you base your decisions on. (R24)

The decision doesn't change, but what you can do is deliver the message in a certain way. I think that is one of the most important skills that you need [as a veterinary inspector]. (R31)

Knowledge base

About half of the large interview panel mentioned that know-how is an important aspect of their role as veterinary inspector. Some inspectors remained vague about what exactly they mean by having know-how; others were more explicit. They clearly indicated what they based their decisions on. Most of them referred to knowledge of inspection tools such as legislation, rules, regulations, and instructions. However, there were also some veterinary inspectors who emphasized veterinary medicine as a knowledge base, or referred to a combination of veterinary medicine and knowledge of inspection tools.

[A good veterinary inspector is] somebody who knows rules and regulations inside out, who knows what is illegal and what is allowed. (R9)

Knowledge of veterinary medicine is very important. (R16)

First of all – and this is typical of veterinarians – you need to have the medical expertise […], knowledge of the basic rules and regulations is inherent in the inspection work we are doing. (R10)

Strict rule enforcement

Enforcing rules and regulations is one of the core tasks of all types of inspectors. The data showed a wide divergence in veterinary inspectors' attitudes and the levels of importance they attach to strict rule enforcement. Some inspectors had a positive attitude towards enforcement and indeed saw it a as their key task. Others said that enforcement is an aspect of their work they liked less, and that generating voluntary compliance was a much better way to get things done. Two primary reasons for a positive attitude towards strict rule enforcement could be distilled from the data. First, inspectors supported enforcement if they perceived rules as legitimate and useful. Strict enforcement was seen as the only way to safeguard the organizational objectives of public health, animal health, and animal welfare, and to eliminate wrongs systematically.

> *In the past, I've seen lots of things. Lenient supervision, bad supervision bring so much misery and trouble. That's not what you want. You'd better not even think about it. (R23)*

Second, veterinary inspectors also had a positive attitude towards strict rule enforcement if they saw enforcement as an inherent aspect of their work. They emphasized that strict rule enforcement is a way to guarantee uniformity and transparency towards all stakeholders, and that this was one of the primary reasons why they had been hired in the first place. Interestingly, they did not necessarily support strict rule enforcement personally, but because they accepted law enforcement as part of the job, they considered it an important aspect of their work no matter what.

> *The people at the [inspected] plant just will not give you the time of day for a couple of weeks. They are angry at you. But that's what we've been hired for, and this takes us back to the willingness to enforce and the question in how far we are actually able to enforce. (R18)*

> *I think you have to be aware of your position very clearly. You have been hired by the government to supervise, and these supervisory tasks are set out in and tested against legislation. And that's something, I mean that's what you have to focus on. (R24)*

> *Yes, you just have to follow the law. I cannot come up with my own rules because that is not clear for the inspectees. I try to stick to the law as closely as possible. That's how it works. I did not write the legislation. But I do try to enforce it. It does not matter whether I support it or not. (R35)*

I also found two reasons for a negative attitude towards strict rule enforcement. First, there was a group of veterinary inspectors who believed that there are better ways to safeguard the organizational objectives of public health, animal health, and animal welfare than strict rule enforcement. They were convinced that social skills are a better tool to reach this goal, because in this way they could create understanding for the necessity of rule compliance. They highlighted the importance of empathy and dialogue in their job.

> *You can also try friendliness to persuade individuals to perform the actions necessary, and make them actually want to do that. If you manage that I think you have achieved a lot. (R9)*

> *You can, so to speak, reach a goal in many different ways and I always try to use a bit of humour, and give an example, for instance 'if you give up two things you can get back three'. That's how it works. But if you just stand there and bluntly announce 'this is the law and this is how it's got to be done' you won't get anywhere. (R17)*

Other veterinary inspectors opposed strict rule enforcement for personal reasons. These inspectors did not feel comfortable enforcing regulations in an authoritarian manner, because this did not fit their self-perception (the awareness of the characteristics that constitute one's self). They were sensitive how others saw them and wanted to be liked.

> *Only, enforcement is not my thing and it won't ever be. I'm someone who wants to please people and by definition you don't please anyone here. Everyone dislikes you, and that is sometimes difficult. (R19)*

Safeguarding values

There were variations in the hierarchy of values as to which values veterinary inspectors considered more and less important to be safeguarded in their work. Some explicitly put public health at the top of their list, others prioritized animal welfare over public health. Finally, there was also a group of veterinary inspectors who did not mention public health but only stressed animal welfare (and animal health) as a value that should be fostered. Interestingly, the reverse situation was not the case. No veterinary inspectors mentioned only public health as a crucial interest to be safeguarded.

> *Yes, well, it's animals! Animals are the only living creatures that cannot stand up for themselves. That's what I work for. (R25)*

> *A veterinarian also needs to serve the interests of human beings. That's why I think public health is important. I'm also for animal welfare… yes, but public health comes first for me. (R20)*

> *There is a fundamental difference between human beings and animals. For me that is very clear. So, public health comes first! (R15)*

> *I consider public health very important, just like animal welfare. This is a real challenge! That's the way I see it. (R38)*

Even though it was not immediately mentioned when we asked the inspectors what values they represent as professionals, it seemed that next to the public interest, animal welfare and animal health they also saw safeguarding economic interests as part of their professional role. Several interviewees clearly indicated that the economic interests of stakeholders should also be taken into account, because these stakeholders are key figures in the Dutch economy. They pointed out that rigidly sticking to all rules would mean the end for a large number of small businesses, and overregulation of the sector.

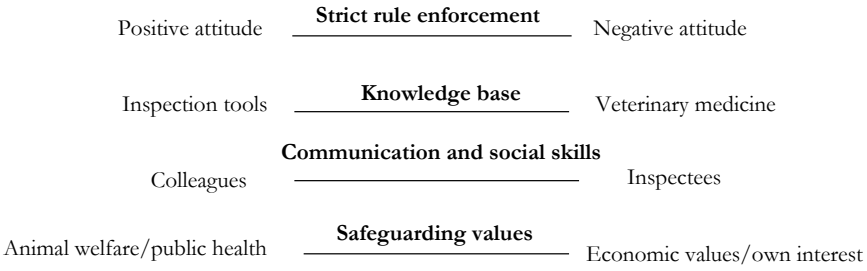
> *To a certain extent you also have to think along with the business you are inspecting. Making a profit is necessary, or they'll go broke. (R22)*

> *In my view we are also a service-oriented organization. We are not only environmental inspectors so to speak, but we also promote The Netherlands Ltd. (R8)*

The reason why economic interests was mentioned only implicitly as an answer to the question "What values do you represent in your work?" is probably related to the phenomenon of social desirability. The NVWA strongly emphasizes that inspectors need to be immune to the (economic) interests of the inspectees – they work autonomously and transparently. There was also a group of inspectors who clearly distanced themselves from inspectees and emphasized that economic interests was the very last thing on their minds.

> *Me, I never consider whether something harms the operators. They are human beings. They can stand up for themselves. But animals, they cannot make decisions. (R13)*

Figure 4 Schematic overview of the different aspects of the role of veterinary inspectors



Differences between practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors

As pointed out in Chapter 3, next to 'regular' veterinary inspectors the NVWA also employs so-called *practitioners,* many of whom also have their own practice as independent veterinarians. These practitioners indirectly depend on the well-being of the private sector, since it is entrepreneurs who provide their income. Moreover, their distance to the NVWA is larger. They work fewer hours for the NVWA than 'regular' veterinary inspectors – 13 as compared to 24 per week – and, beyond that, they do not always participate in team meetings. Some practitioners indicated that they were not invited or not willing to attend meetings. If team meetings were scheduled on a day, or part of a day, that they did not work for the NVWA, some of them did not go to the meeting because it would cost them their day off or they had other responsibilities. Another reason for not attending the meetings is

that the work in the abattoirs continues, also during meetings. Because an unbroken chain of supervision is needed, it is the practitioners who have to take over at the abattoirs.

> *Often we do not go to the team meeting. For example, if the meeting is scheduled at five o'clock, and if you finish working around one in Putte and you have to be in Zwolle at five o'clock – that is not working. This means you lose a whole day. We just don't do this. (R11)*

> *Team meetings are scheduled regularly. But we are not invited. (R9)*

On the basis of the practitioners' distance to the NVWA, it might be argued that practitioners internalize organizational values and objectives to a lesser degree than 'regular' veterinary inspectors do. Because of this and their involvedness with the private sector it would be interesting to investigate whether there are differences in the way practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors interpret certain aspects of their role. The interview analyses suggest that there are some differences between these two groups regarding the ways they perceive their professional role. However, these differences are rather small, and because the group of practitioners is small (n=9) the results need to be interpreted with caution.

All veterinary inspectors who clearly expressed a positive attitude towards strict rule enforcement – i.e., who consider it an inherent and necessary aspect of their work – were 'regular' inspectors. In contrast, none of the nine practitioners had a positive attitude towards strict rule enforcement; nobody ever mentioned it as a crucial aspect of their work. This finding supports my assumption that practitioners internalize organizational values and objectives to a lesser degree than do 'regular' veterinary inspectors. However, the differences between these two groups of employees are not that clear-cut. I found both 'regular' veterinary inspectors and practitioners advocating convincing rather than forcing inspectees to follow the rules as an important aspect of their work. Next to this, I saw individuals from both groups who indicated that considering economic interests was part of their work. One explanation for this finding might be that these 'regular' veterinary inspectors – those who considered the economic interests – had worked in private practices for many years before they were employed by the NVWA as civil servants. Therefore, they still might think as private practitioners. They might not yet (?) have entirely internalized strict rule enforcement, and economic interests might still be part of their perception.

Conclusion

This first analysis was intended to partly answer secondary research question 4: *How can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified in dilemma situation* (SRQ4)? In the theory chapter I suggested that professionalism had better be approached as professional role identity, and put forward the proposition that *individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities* (P4). The results seem to support this proposition. They show that veterinary inspectors indeed have different interpretations of four central aspects of their work – communication and social skills, knowledge base, strict rule enforcement, and safeguarding organizational values –, which supports my argument that approaching professionalism as one overarching concept is inadequate, and that it can better be approached as professional role identity. This raises the question of how the interpretations of these work aspects are related. Would it be possible to identify different types, or conceptualizations, of the role of veterinary inspector? What is more, do the different interpretations have behavioural consequences (second part of SRQ4)? These questions – and the question of how PSM and professionalism are related to one another (SRQ5) – are addressed in the next section.

5.5 Different professional role identities and the link with PSM: clarifying the meaning and behavioural consequences of these concepts

In this section I take a second step towards answering the question *how can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified in dilemma situations* (SRQ4) by investigating the proposition *individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities* (P4). Also, I aim to find a first empirical answer to the question *how can the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM be clarified in dilemma situations* (SRQ3)*?* In the theory chapter I argued that the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM can be clarified by approaching the concept as a role-dependent rather than an abstract concept. In order to verify this line of reasoning the following two propositions must be investigated: 1) *the meaning of public service motivation, and its behavioural implications, depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society* (P2) and 2) p*rofessional role identity provides meaning to being public service motivated and is reflected in decision-making in dilemma situations* (P5). Finally, the analysis should provide us with insights into the relationship between PSM and professionalism (SRQ5).

As found in the previous section, respondents emphasized different aspects of the public interest, depending on the way they interpret certain aspects of their role of professional. Some, for example, strongly focused on public health whereas others paid more attention to animal welfare or even considered economic interests. Put differently, depending on how veterinary inspectors interpret their professional role, the meaning of the concept of public interest – and hence also the meaning of PSM – varies. The concept of professional role identity, therefore, seems to be useful if we want to clarify the meaning of PSM. By asking individuals how they perceived their role of veterinary inspector and what interests they represented in that role, we acquired a better picture of what it means and what it implies to be public service motivated. In the following, I will focus on two public service motivated respondents – I will call them *John* and *Anna* –, show that they have different professional role identities, and investigate whether the choices they make in their work as inspectors differ as well. I decided to focus on these two individuals because they present two cases with very clear and opposing professional role identities. Next to this, focusing on such a small number of cases makes it possible to study them in-depth and to trace back exactly how their professional role identity is reflected in the decisions they make in dilemma situations. However, we also need to be aware of the fact that there are individuals with less clear professional role identities, and hence less clear – or even multiple – interpretations of the public interest. I will describe this group of individuals, too.

In his work, John advocates animal welfare. He holds a service-oriented attitude towards the people he is inspecting, being responsive to their needs. In addition to animal welfare, he also consideres economic well-being an important aspect of public interest. He is not the strict enforcer of rules and regulations the NVWA wants him to be. On the contrary, he is rather lax regarding enforcement and more sensitive regarding economic interests. This should not surprise us, as animal welfare is an important reason for young people to start studying veterinary medicine (De Graaf, 2003), and next to being taught natural science and clinical matters, students of veterinary medicine also have courses on the economic aspects of farming. Thus, John can be categorized as having a *veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity*. He focusses on animal welfare and is concerned about the economic interests of the person inspected.

> *For me, animal welfare is very important. Actually that is for me the most important thing. At least, that is my opinion. That's what I work for. (John, R5)*

> *Some abattoirs can hardly survive. Twenty pigs less and there is a financial loss that day. If you do enforce all rules the business gets sucked down the drain. That leads to*

> *bankruptcy and you cannot always let things get that far. And then they tell you in a training: "That's the abattoir's problem, you're here to enforce the law". It is sometimes difficult to do. (John, R5)*

This identity is activated frequently. When encountering a dilemma situation, for example pigs being treated badly, John ensures animal welfare without sticking rigidly to rule enforcement, sparing the inspected trouble. This makes John's behaviour in line with his perception of the professional role as emphasising animal welfare while at the same time remaining sensitive to the needs of the individuals being inspected.

> *I talked to the people, also included the boss… that will do for a while […] I don't need to report everything…. every anomaly… I don't have to make everything official! (John, R5)*

Now consider the case of Anna, who is also a veterinary inspector working for the NVWA and holds exactly the same position. To the same question (how do you perceive your role of a 'good' veterinary inspector?), she gives a very different answer. Her primary concern is enforcing rules and regulations to guarantee integrity, consistency and public health. This emphasis fits in well with the mission of the organization. Willingness to be strict in rule enforcement has become an important selection criterion for new employees (NVWA, 2012). Anna can be categorized as having an *organization-focused professional role identity*.

> *(The) Willingness to enforce has to be there. To be principled is I think very important. To be consistent… not doing something different if you are wearing a different hat. (Anna, R16)*

Like John's, in dilemma situations Anna's behaviour is in accordance with her perception of the professional role. Rule enforcement in order to guarantee consistency is the guiding principle of her behaviour, whereas other interests such as public health and animal welfare aere less important and concern for the inspectee does not come in to it at all.

> *At such a moment, I'm very willing to enforce the rules. That's how it is written in the legislation. That's how it has to be done…[..]… if you think about it… regarding public health…it might not even be very dangerous. But it's stated very clearly in the legislation… [..]… I stick to the law, even if I know that the risk for public health is limited. (Anna, R16)*

> *An animal must be seen by a veterinarian. Otherwise I have to reject the animal. Very strict rule enforcement. After that you have to consider public health and ask yourself: Do you see any risk for public health? (Anna, R16)*

There were also many respondents who were less clear as to which category of professional role identity they belonged: veterinary inspectors who are neither strict enforcers nor customer-oriented public servants. I call them veterinary inspectors with a *mixed or hybrid professional role identity*. This can best be illustrated by looking into work-related dilemmas: how the inspectors solve them and what they base their decisions on. I will now describe this group of veterinary inspectors.

The behaviour of the respondents from this group is not consistently guided by a specific interpretation of the professional role across time and space. They do not rely on rule enforcement as a guiding principle of behaviour at all times and in all situations, but neither are they especially sensitive and perceptive to the needs of inspectees and eager to safeguard animal welfare. Rather, the question of which type of veterinary inspector they belong to – veterinary inspectors with an organization-focused professional role identity or veterinary inspectors which a veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity – seems to be influenced by external circumstances. For example, the respondents mention that if a wrong occurs for the first time without previous warning having been given, and inspectees have plausible explanations for their behaviour, they will be lenient in enforcing rules and regulations. However, with inspectees who break the law frequently and show an obstinate attitude, the organizational identity of this group of veterinary inspectors tends to become the salient one, leading them to considerably stricter enforcement.

> *The most important thing is actually that you gradually pull the net tighter. If you see an abuse - for example a sow with crippled toes - then you have to register it, record it, and if this happens a couple of times… you keep telling them, but the owners just act dumb …. then at a certain point you can't go on being easy about it … then you have to make a written report. (R29)*

> *If I think that they have a fairly plausible explanation for [overloading the truck]…all right then! For this once I will look the other way. But they know, next time, if there is something similar, they will hang. (R13)*

Because the *mixed professional role identity* is context-dependent, this conceptualization is less helpful as to generally clarification of the meaning and consequences of PSM than *veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity* and *organization-focused professional role identity*. In other words, the explanatory value of the mixed professional role identity depends on external circumstances. Respondents with such a professional role identity could strictly enforce rules in one situation and consider the economic interests of inspectees in another, depending on contextual circumstances.

As expected in identity theory, next to the differences between inspectors' interpretations of 'public interest' according to different types of veterinary inspectors (within-role differences), we also found role-dependent differences. That is, the meaning of the concept of public interest depends not only depend on the ways individuals interpret their (professional) role, but also on the fact that these individuals have multiple – possible conflicting – roles in society. One female respondent, for example, indicated very clearly that the interest she supports is role-dependent. In her professional role of a veterinarian she advocates animal welfare, whereas in her role of a mother she focuses on public health.

> *I'm a veterinarian. That's why I'm certainly for animal welfare. But clearly I'm also for public health. I have children of my own. They have to be able to eat safe and healthy food. (R22)*

Conclusion

I summarize three important results. First, the findings enable us to differentiate between three different types or conceptualizations of veterinary inspectors rather than one shared professional identity as predicted by the sociology of professionalism: inspectors with a *veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity,* who safeguard animal welfare without sticking rigidly to rule enforcement, sparing the inspectee trouble; inspectors with an *organization-focused professional role identity,* who strongly focus on rule enforcement and safeguarding public health; and inspectors with a *mixed or hybrid professional role identity,* who are more sensitive to external circumstances. The three different professional role identities should be seen as broad categories. A few individuals could be identified who fitted perfectly well to the description of one of the three categories. However, there were also people who only mentioned one aspects of a certain professional role identity. Therefore, an exact distribution cannot be provided. These findings support our proposition that *individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities* (P4). This means that viewing professionalism as professional role identity is valuable: this new approach clarifies the meaning of the concept. In the 'quantitative' part of this dissertation (Chapter 7) I will return to the question of whether this approach is also useful to clarify the behavioural consequences of professionalism.

Second, I have shown that, depending on respondents' type of professional role identity, the meaning of 'public interest' – and hence also the meaning and consequences of PSM – differs. This provides support for my proposition that *professional role identity provides meaning to being public service motivated and is reflected in decision-making in dilemma*

situations (P5). In other words, the results suggest that viewing PSM as (professional) role identity-dependent concept rather than as an ideal is useful, because this new approach seems to make the meaning and behavioural consequences of the concept of PSM clearer. Moreover, I have shown that the meaning of 'public interest' also depends on the different roles individuals hold in society. I have no data indicating that this, in turn, has behavioural implications, which implies that the second part of the proposition, *the meaning of public service motivation, and its behavioural implications, depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society (P2)* cannot be investigated in this study.

Regarding the final secondary research question *what is the relationship between PSM and professionalism* (SRQ5), the results suggest that PSM and professionalism, seen as professional role identity, are not in conflict. Rather, it seems that the concept of professional role identity gives meaning to PSM. In the 'quantitative' analysis, I will return to this question and present additional findings to answer it.

5.6 Considerations influencing decision-making in dilemma situations

In the previous section I have shown that PSM and professionalism (viewed as professional role identity) are reflected in the decisions made by veterinary inspectors. In this section I will focus on the respondents' considerations in situations of conflicting values, and analyse what additional factors play a role in inspectors' decision-making at these moments. I was able to distinguish two types of considerations in decision-making in dilemma situations. The first relates to the characteristics of the inspectee, and the second to the inspecting activity itself. In Table 2 all considerations are summarized. Next to this, commitment to the inspectee also seemed to play an important underlying role, which was reflected in both inspectee-related and inspection activity-related considerations. However, I need to emphasize strongly that these considerations were only relevant if none of the core values of the NVWA (public health, animal health/animal welfare) was seriously threatened. All veterinary inspectors stated that in situations in which these values were under threat they would closely stick to all rules and regulations and would rigidly enforce compliance. In other words, the type of rule that is broken seems to determine whether additional considerations play a role or not. Next, veterinary inspectors with a mixed professional role identity were particularly sensitive to additional considerations (other than PSM and professionalism).

> *Delivery of shipment documents that do not entirely meet the requirements… yeah, that is not really a serious violation of the rules. You do not need to turn an abattoir inside out for that. Such a thing can easily be corrected. But in cases that concern animal welfare, with animals suffering, when they are made to suffer, you can imagine that you have to act immediately. (R24)*

> *There are some things… yes, whatever… when you think: just this once I am fine with it: public health or the welfare of animals are not directly under threat. That's when you can leave it like it is for once. It is more important that you know what really matters, what the issues are that you really have to enforce. And yes, enforcing will not be a problem then. (R13)*

Inspectee-related considerations

One important factor influencing inspectors' decision-making seemed to be related to their perceptions of the people they are inspecting. If they had the impression that, in a general sense, the inspectee worked hard and meant well they tended to be lenient, knowing that it is simply not always possible to live up to intentions in each and every situation. For example, they gave 'good' inspectees more time and made arrangements for support.

> *Slaughterhouses need time to fix problems. They know if something is not allowed and they do everything to fix it, but you can't fix everything within a quarter of an hour. (R14)*

> *Sometimes it is difficult, in situations of overloading. You have to take several steps before you either have to give a warning or make a written report… when you know darned well that the operator can't do anything about it, and they are doing their best to solve the problem. We will always take this into consideration… like, all right he is absolutely doing the best he can… Do we leave it las it is this time or do we make a written report. (R21)*

On the contrary, if the inspectees talked back or did not cooperate, veterinary inspectors tended to be less tolerant of the problems and stories. They kept the reins short and rigidly enforced rule compliance regardless of external circumstances.

> *I make a remark about it [the suffering of the animal has probably increased during transport] and if they start talking back I am quickly done with them. (R1)*

> *I do remember things, and the next time I see this guy then… I won't say anything, he would deny it anyway, but I remember: 'Johnny or Tommy, a number of times you put one over me. . Yes, you learn to be sharp. (R5)*

Another reason why inspectors distanced themselves from rigid enforcement is that they want to maintain good working relationships with the people they inspect. They visit many

entrepreneurs on a regular basis, and an exaggerated focus on rules and regulations was seen as harmful to these relationships.

> *Look, nine out of ten sows have it [damaged withers]', so I do not even notice it any longer. A colleague of mine said: 'These sows cannot be exported'. My answer: 'That's a good one! You just go and inspect the whole lot!' You'll get a lot of flak [from the operators], because you then have to reject 90% of the animals. (R6)*

> *For the people from the general inspection services it's pretty easy. They visit an abattoir for one day; they see the weighing receipt, they see the trucks, they measure everything and say: 'Sorry, this one is overloaded'. Written warning or written report. We, on the other hand, we are there every single day and sometimes you have to look closely. 'Okay, it's overloaded by so much'. Sometimes you have to handle a situation with a bit more delicacy. (R13)*

However, I also talked to a small group of inspectors who argued the other way around: inspectors with an organization-focused professional role identity. From their point of view, consistent and rigid rule enforcement is absolutely necessary because otherwise it will become even more difficult to safeguard future compliance with rule and regulations. They explained that if you are not strict in the first place, entrepreneurs will try to push the rules even further in the future.

Inspection-related considerations

Another set of considerations influencing veterinary inspectors' decision-making refers to the nature of their work. Inspectors clearly indicated that they consider whether their action will have consequences in practice. If, for example, they knew that their efforts were likely to frizzle out because the breach of rules could not be proved in court they were much more likely to refrain from imposing a fine. It seems that inspectors first calculated what the chances were that judges would inflict a penalty on the inspectees. If the chances were considered to be small, some inspectors indicated that they would drop charges.

> *And I also think that if you are taken to court, many reports are wiped off the slate immediately. In other words, reports have to be realistic. I think your work should have an effect. (R34)*

> *What I do is, I make a list of arguments… why should I do this and why not… and in case I'm brought before court can I argue why I've done it this way… using well-funded arguments. And why not? (R16)*

Veterinary inspectors also indicated that what sometimes kept them from pursuing a penalty was the limited amount of time they have to do their work in. Drastic interventions, for example, entail a lot of time-consuming administrative work. On days with tight working schedules, 'time' was described as a consideration in making the decision whether to intervene or not. However, not only in the case of drastic intervention did 'time' seem to play a role. Veterinary inspectors indicated that they sometimes tolerated a minor violation of the law while knowing they should intervene simply because everything happens very quickly within a very limited amount of time.

> *You don't have heaps of time, but you have to do everything, especially when writing a statement of animal abuse [*diergeneeskundige verklaring*]… you have to be very clear and accurate about all the facts and that, that is difficult within that short a time. (R38)*

> *Sometimes you arrive somewhere and there is a cow and you think, this cow should really never have been transported. The truck driver have been given a warning or been given warning or statement of animal abuse [*diergeneeskundige verklaring*], but then everything happens so quickly… you get there… yeah, well. (R5)*

Next to the expected effect of the intervention and the time pressure, veterinary inspectors also mentioned that it mattered whether a certain behaviour on the part of the inspectee had already been seen and tolerated for years. In other words, prior role enforcement also played a role. This applied in particular to small companies that have difficulties adapting to specific standards because of their lack of financial capacities and space.

> *Yes I think, if you're dealing with small enterprises, small family butchers, where things have happened in a certain way for the past 40 years, maybe… mmmm… it's not that easy then to apply all the rules. (R24)*

> *That happens daily. Maybe things have been done wrong for 10 years. In such a case, I think it's not appropriate to write a report. With things like that, you have to have a conversation with the operator. That way you get more done than by writing a report. Because I think 'they've been doing it wrong for 10 years'. It strongly depends on how serious it is and for how long the situation has been as it is.* (R18)

Table 2 Summary of considerations in dilemma situations

Inspectee-related considerations	**Inspection activity-related considerations**
Characteristics of the inspectee	Expected effect of intervention
Retaining positive working climate	Time pressure
Facilitate strict rule enforcement in the future	Prior rule enforcement
Size of company	

The link with organizational ethics literature

Interestingly, these results are partly in accordance with the frequently tested and extensively used typology of 'ethical climates' initially developed by Victor and Cullen (1987, 1988) and mentioned in the Introduction above. Maesschalck (2004), for example, used this typology to classify 'ethical standards', which he defines as 'prescriptions about the way public servants should reason in ethical situations' (p. 472). Victor and Cullen's (1988) theoretical typology – which combines ethical theory, the constructs of cognitive moral development, and locus of analysis – has two dimensions: ethical criterion and locus of analysis. The 'ethical criterion' dimension consists of three propositions that correspond to the three stages (pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional) of Kohlberg's (1969) moral reasoning: egoism, benevolence, and principle. 'Egoism' refers to self-interested behaviour. Individuals who apply the 'benevolence' or 'utilitarianism' criterion consider the consequences of their decisions in terms of the well-being of the collective. The 'principle' criterion focusses on duty founded upon laws, rules, policies and procedures. The 'locus of analysis' dimension consists of individual, local and cosmopolitan sources. By combining these two dimensions we can describe the perceptions of how the members of organizations typically make decisions (Victor and Cullen, 1988). This merge results in a 3 x 3 matrix consisting of nine theoretical ethical standards (summarized in Table 3) which partly reflect the veterinary inspectors' considerations in decision-making identified above.

Table 3 Nine ethical standards

Locus of analysis/ ethical criterion	Individualism	Local	Cosmopolitan
Egoism	Self-interest	Organizational interest	Efficiency
Benevolence	Friendship	Team interest	Stakeholder orientation
Principle	Personal morality	Organizational rules	Laws and public interest

Source: Maesschalck, 2004

Most of the considerations found to be relevant in this study can be linked to the ethical criterion of 'egoism' at different loci of analysis. 'Retaining a positive working climate' and 'prior rule enforcement' fit the ethical standard of self-interest. Individuals who applied this criterion aimed to maximize their own interests. They wanted to work in a pleasant environment without encountering antagonism. Neither the organization nor society benefits from this. The 'facilitating strict rule enforcement in the future' consideration also refers to maximizing self-interest. In this case, however, the locus of analysis is less clear. If rules are enforced strictly, it is not only the individuals' interest but also the organizational

interest will benefit because strict rule enforcement is one of the NVWA's key objectives. The ethical standard of efficiency is reflected in 'expected effect of intervention'. Refraining from imposing a fine because the effort is expected to frizzle out is a consideration of efficiency. 'Size of the company', on the other hand, is an example of the ethical criterion 'benevolence'. Deciding to adopt certain standards for small companies matches the ethical standard 'stakeholder orientation'. People who applied this standard considered the well-being of individuals outside the employing organization. They considered the fact that strict and consistent enforcement would lead to bankruptcy in the case of small businesses. None of the considerations reflects the ethical criterion 'principle'. This is not surprising because they relate to constructs such as PSM and professionalism, which were described in the analyses above. In the quantitative analysis I combine and analyse all types of considerations: inspectee-related, inspection-related, and professionalism-related activity (7.1.4).

Next to the parallels with research on the theory of ethical decision-making, there are also parallels with empirical studies on ethical decision-making. In a qualitative study on the mechanisms of ethical decision-making among Belgian police officers, Loyens and De Schrijfer (2012) show that efficiency considerations determine whether police officers break, follow or bend rules. If bending the rules benefits the progress of the investigation, it is considered 'justified'. 'Displacement of responsibility' is another mechanism that was found in both studies. Both Dutch veterinary inspectors and Belgium police officers indicated that they deviated from rules and regulations if significant others were 'okay' with it or acted in a similar way in the past.

Commitment to the inspectee

Next to inspectee- and inspection-related considerations, commitment to the inspectee seems to be another, more implicit, consideration with an effect on decision-making. If veterinary inspectors had known the inspectee for many years or were attached to the person for various reasons, they were less likely to make a decision that had negative consequences. 'Good guys' are helped as the following example illustrates.

> *Next to all the legal and formal stuff, you have to deal with many emotions […] I assume that colleagues do this too. I had to certify lamas for transport to Belgium. I get to the address and I ring the bell. An old lady opens who is on the verge of collapse. Not very strange, because she was suffering from cancer and if she did not get a kidney transplantation soon these would be her last months. Everything was pointing in that direction. Fortunately, everything worked out all right but it did not look all right at the time […] The woman's last wish was to go to an international lama show. Everything had been fixed. […] You need lots of paperwork. For example, blood test results. And there were no results yet. What do you do? […] In the end, I drove back [to the lady] Saturday morning at 6 am […] These*

kinds of decisions are tough. This is the human aspect of the work, which actually I like very much. (R15)

But also considerations such as 'retaining a positive working climate', time pressure and the expected effect of the intervention seem to grow in importance if veterinary inspectors were highly committed. In many cases, veterinary inspectors indicated that they had trouble rigidly enforcing rules and regulations if they were committed to the inspectee, and hence would consider deviating from them.

Of course, everybody has doubts from time to time about when to intervene. It's the seriousness of the transgression, and it also depends on the moment. Look, as veterinary inspectors, we are in a special situation because we visit the same business very often. So you develop a relationship with the people who work there. And that does play a role. You can't deny it. It's just the way it is. (R24)

Look, time matters. It's a combination. Say, you get to a place where you know the people very well, but you only have half an hour. You have to be at the next location on time. Yeah, what do you do if you find a serious case of animal welfare under threat? (R36)

Conclusion

Two types of additional considerations (next to professionalism and PSM) influencing veterinary inspectors' decision-making in dilemma situations – provided neither animal health nor public health are seriously threatened – can be distinguished: inspectee-related and inspection-related considerations. Interestingly, the results are partly in accordance with the frequently tested and extensively used typology of 'ethical climates'. Next to this, an important underlying, implicit consideration seems to be the degree of commitment to the inspectee. On the basis of these findings, and assuming that considerations lead to actual behaviour, I argue that – next to PSM and professionalism – commitment to the inspectee helps us to understand why veterinary inspectors make certain decisions in dilemma situation. This leads to the following hypothesis:

H3: *Commitment to the inspectee influences decision-making in dilemma situations.*

Chapter 6

QUANTITATIVE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

This chapter elaborates on the research design of the quantitative part of this study. I first explain how the questionnaire was developed and which measurement instruments were used to measure to concepts under study while paying close to their reliability and validity (6.1). After that I discuss how the data were collected, who the respondents were, and which statistical techniques were used to analyse the data (6.2). Finally, I describe how I have handled missing values (6.3) and discuss the limitations of the quantitative research design (6.4).

6.1 Developing a questionnaire and assessing the reliability and validity of the measurement instruments

The topic of this section is the structure of the questionnaire and the various stages of the pilot study. I also elaborate on each instrument used to measure the concepts I was interested in this study. Information about the reliability and construct validity of the separate measurement instruments is also provided.

6.1.1 Structure and stages of development

As suggested by Van der Velde et al. (2004), I structured the questionnaire in such a way that clusters of items were introduced in a logical sequence. The questionnaire consisted of nine parts – i.e. clusters of items – and a cover letter. In this letter the goal of the research project was briefly described, anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed, the independent position of the research team was highlighted, some instructions on how to answer the questions were given, and the researchers' contact details were provided in case respondents wanted additional information or had questions.

The first part of the questionnaire contained questions about the demographical background of the respondents. Second, the professional role identity of veterinary inspectors was measured. I decided to ask questions related to this concept at an early stage, because these directly referred to the work of veterinary inspectors and so could trigger respondents' attention to and interest in this study. The third part was about PSM. Part four related to the organizational identification of veterinary inspectors; part five to proactive behaviour. The data collected in parts six and seven on organizational socialization are not part of this dissertation, but will be included in a related thesis by Daphne van Kleef. Finally, decision-making was measured in part eight, by confronting respondents with hypothetical dilemmas and asking them what they would do in such a situation. At the end of the questionnaire respondents were given the opportunity to write down any remarks they wanted to make about the questionnaire (which will be discussed in Subsection 6.2.2), and to provide their contact details so that I could send them the results of the study.

The questionnaire was developed over several stages, in order to maximize validity and reliability. First, I conducted an intensive literature research on existing measurement instruments and – if nothing suitable was available – on ways how to construct items of the questionnaire myself. This search resulted in a first draft of the questionnaire containing all parts described above. Second, this draft was discussed with Jeroen Maesschalck (an expert in the field of designing and developing surveys, including questions on ethical decision-making in dilemma situations) and his research team, in order to tackle methodological problems in advance (pilot test 1). After the questionnaire had been revised it was presented to four individuals who were familiar with the working context of our sample – veterinary inspectors who work in management or policy advisory functions – and a former Belgian veterinary inspector (pilot test 2). I asked them to 'think aloud' when they completed the questionnaire. This is an appropriate technique to investigate if the questions are interpreted correctly and if adequate terminology is used (Van der Velde et al., 2004). In order to avoid problems related to survey translations across different languages the quality of the translation was assessed via a carefully monitored translation process.

6.1.2 Measurement instruments

In this subsection I describe each of the measurement instruments and controls used in this study while paying attention to their reliability and validity. Table 6 provides a summary of descriptive statistics of all instruments. It includes Cronbach's α for the measurement instruments – used as an estimate of reliability –, the standard deviations (SD), and the number of items used to measure the overarching concepts and their separate dimensions. Most items were measured on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 'agree' to 'disagree'). For the concept of work-related tensions a 10-point Likert scale was used. In the Appendix complete lists of all items used in this study can be found (Tables A4a, A4b, A4c). The original Dutch formulation of the items can be obtained on request.

6.1.2.1 Public service motivation

In 2013, Kim et al. published a modified version of Perry's original measurement scale (1996), which is shorter and cross-validated among 12 countries. In this study I measured PSM with a slightly adapted version of the Kim et al. scale. As the Netherlands were included in this international study, the Dutch version of the PSM scale could be obtained from the researchers themselves. In pilot test 2, however, one item of the dimension 'self-sacrifice' was found to cause confusion among the respondents (PSM_SS2: I believe in putting civil duty before self). This item was excluded from the follow-up survey. Next to this, I added an

open question to the PSM scale asking individuals to indicate by just one single word with what they associate the 'public interest' in their roles of A) citizen, B) veterinarian (with an academic education) and, C) veterinary inspector.

Neither of the confirmatory factor analyse (CFA) fit indices on our measurement of PSM met the required threshold. (See Subsection 6.2.3.1 for more information on CFA: an analysis to adress construct validity.) For this reason, two items (PSM_APS_4: It is important to me to contribute to the common good, and PSM_COM_ 2: I emphasize with others who face difficulties) with low factor loadings were excluded from further analysis. As a result, both fit indices increased, which indicates that the adjusted PSM model can be considered more suitable (Table 4). The CFI value exceeded the cut-off score of .95, and the RMSEA was below .08 (RMSEA = 0.076 < .08; CFI = .954 > .95), which suggests that the modified PSM measurement instruments had good construct validity.

Cronbach's α was acceptable for both the overarching concept of PSM (α = .83) and its separate dimensions 'attraction to public service', 'commitment to public values', 'compassion' and 'self-sacrifice'. Only the dimension 'commitment to public values' scored low (α = .56). Since Cronbach's α reliability coefficient depends on the number of items by which a concept is measured (Dooley, 2001) and the dimension 'commitment to public values' is addressed by only three items, I retained the dimension.

Table 4 Summary of confirmatory factor analysis

	CFI	**RMSEA**
PSM (original model)	.923	.121
PSM (modified model)	.954	.076
Cut-off criteria	>.95	<.08

6.1.2.2 Professionalism

The concept of professionalism was measured in two ways: as the extent to which respondents identify with their profession or professional role (professional identification), and as the interpretations individuals bring to their professional role (professional role identity). Both measurement instruments are discussed in detail in the following subsections.

Professional role identity

To my knowledge, there is no measurement instrument which records the interpretations that individuals bring to their professional role of veterinary inspectors. To this end, I developed a new instrument. Following research in which identity theory was used (e.g., Reitzes &

Burke, 1980; Stets & Burk, 2005a), and using insights from Cheung (2008), who developed a scale to measure teachers' professional identity by asking respondents to indicate how committed they were to their professional practices, I developed a bipolar scale of veterinary inspectors' professional role identity. This 11-item scale measured four different aspects of the professional role of veterinary inspectors, derived from the findings of the qualitative study: commitment to economic interest, commitment to animal welfare, commitment to public health, and strict rule enforcement (section 5.3). Each dimension was measured by a varying number of items, from two to three. The dimension *strict rule enforcement* was used to assess if veterinary inspectors were willing to enforce rules and regulations in each and every situation, or if they considered generating rule compliance a superior method. The remaining dimensions measured which interests veterinary inspectors find important to promote in their work: *economic interest, animal welfare,* or *public health.* Respondents were asked to think of themselves in their position as veterinary inspectors and prompted to identify where they would place themselves between the bipolar statements. In other words, they had to indicate to what degree they perceived the four dimensions as important aspects of their professional role. Some examples of the items: 'Strict enforcement of rules is the only way to reach your goals (strict rule enforcement)' or 'It is important that veterinary inspectors consider the economic interest of the meat processing industry (commitment to economic interest)'.

In Table 5 the results of the principal component analysis (PCA) are summarized. (See Subsection 6.2.3.1 for more information on PCA: an analysis to adress construct validity.) Before the results of the PCA can be analysed to assess the construct validity of professional role identity, it is important to check whether the Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin (KMO) test and Bartlett's test of sphericity meet the required criteria (Field, 2009). The KMO test indicates whether the sample is adequate for the analysis to be carried out. In this study, the measure of sampling adequacy exceeded the required cut-off criterion of .5 (KMO test = .661). Bartlett's test was significant (.000), which means that this matrix is proportional to an identity matrix.

The results of the PCA indicated that the factors approximately correspond to the expected aspects of professional role identity (commitment to economic interest, commitment to animal welfare, commitment to public health, and rule enforcement). All factor loadings were above .4: they ranked between .439 and .805 and the Eigenvalues were greater than 1 which – according to the Kaiser's Criterion (1960) – justifies the retention of all four factors.

The reliability scores for the separate dimensions of professional role identity were rather low (see Table 6), especially for 'commitment to economic interest'. This deserves

closer attention. Further investigation of the two items "If rule enforcement implies serious financial damage to the individual I have to inspect, I find it difficult to enforce rules (ECO1)" and "Sometimes, I deviate from the rules in order to reduce the economic damage to the individual I have to inspect (ECO2)" showed that together they form a cumulative scale instead of a scale of correlated items. In other words, finding it difficult to enforce rules if this triggers serious financial damage to inspectees was a precondition for deviating from the rules. Embretson and Reise (2000) point out that cumulative scales cannot be assessed by Cronbach's α, but should be analysed via nonparametric item-response theory for polychromous items. The scale of the dimension 'commitment to economic interest' had a homogeneity of H = 0.34, which according to Van Schuurman (2003) is acceptable. For this reason, we combined ECO1 and ECO2 and used their sum score as instrument to measure the professional role dimension 'commitment to the economic interest'.

Taking into account that Cronbach's α depends on the number of items used to measure a concept (Dooley, 2001) and that the number of items used to measure the different dimensions of professional role identity ranged only from 2 to 4, I considered the Cronbach's α values for the other dimensions of professional role identity – ranging from .61 to.66 –acceptable.

Table 5 Results of principal component analysis

	Factor			
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**
Eco1	-.476	-.041	.036	.628
Eco2	-.514	-.039	-.078	.606
AW1	-.307	.318	.439	-.017
AW2	-.098	.393	.703	-.190
AW3	-.262	.551	.534	.106
PH1	-.094	.758	-.319	.046
PH2	.030	.540	-.569	.092
PH3	-.047	.549	-.383	-.230
Enfore1	.807	.039	.112	.126
Enforce2	.749	.148	.107	.351
Enforce3	.885	.205	.135	.271
Eigenvalue	**2.67**	**1.78**	**1.59**	**1.09**

Rotation: Varimax

Professional identification

Following many other scholars (e.g., Hekman et al., 2009; Loi et al., 2004), professional identification is assessed via the rephrased organizational identification instrument developed by Mael and Asforth (1992). The rephrased instrument consists of six items. I shortened the instrument because professional identification was not one of my main points of interest. The remaining three items were "I am very interested in what others think about the profession of veterinary inspector", "When I talk about veterinary inspectors, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'", and "If a story in the media criticized veterinary inspectors, I would feel embarrassed".

The results of the reliability analysis were interesting. Even though the scale has been validated numerous times, Cronbach's α was very low for three items (α = .32) and remained low if item 2 ("When I talk about veterinary inspectors, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'") was deleted (α = .48). These results raise questions about the appropriateness of the professional identification scale regarding the profession of veterinary inspector. Because professional role identification was not one of the key constructs in our study, and the low α might have been the result of the small number of items used to measure professional identification, I did retain the instrument for subsequent analyses. Nevertheless it is important to bear in mind that an instrument with a low Cronbach's α increases the risk of biased results.

Table 6 Descriptive statistics for the measurement instruments

Construct	No of items	Cronbach's α	Mean	SD	No of valid observations of N=258
PSM	12	.83	3.78	.40	258
Attraction to public service	3	.58	3.84	.48	258
Commitment to public values	3	.56	3.81	.40	258
Compassion	3	.60	3.37	.51	258
Self-sacrifice	3	.62	3.37	.61	258
Professional role identity	11	.64	3.26	.38	
Commitment to economic interest	2	.48[1]	2.46	.67	258
Commitment to animal welfare	3	.60	3.32	.66	249
Commitment to public health	3	.61	3.60	.62	254
Strict rule enforcement	3	.66	2.33	.66	255
Commitment to the inspectee	2	.61	2.96	.81	256
Professional identification	3	.48	3.36	.77	258
Work-related tensions	1		5.68	2.08	219

6.1.2.3 Commitment to the inspectee

The construct 'commitment to the inspectee' was measured by a 2-item instrument on the basis of the results of the interviews discussed in section 5.6. The instrument measured the degree to which veterinary inspectors commiserate with their inspectees and the stress they experience if they have to make a decision that implies adverse consequences for the inspectee. The items were "I find it difficult to act as a strict enforcer of rules and regulations if I know that the people I am inspecting have done their best to improve things" and "I find it difficult act as an strict enforcer of rules and regulations if I know the person I am inspecting personally". Cronbach's α was acceptable (α = .61).

6.1.2.4 Work-related tension

The instrument used to measure work-related tensions was based on a 1-item measure used by Lindquist and Whitehead (1986), who measured work-related stress by asking "How stressful do you consider your job to be". I re-formulated the question in the following way: "Please indicate to what degree you experience tensions in your work as veterinary inspector". A score of '1' meant 'no work-related tensions' at all; a score of '10' indicated 'many work-related tensions'.

6.1.2.5 Decision-making in dilemma situations

Following a large body of quantitative research on ethical decision-making (e.g., Maesschalck, 2004, Loe et al., 2000), I measured decision-making by confronting respondents with three hypothetical dilemmas – or 'vignettes' – and asking them how they would act in these situations and why. These dilemmas were developed by myself on the basis of the results of the qualitative study described in section 5.1. Thus, the dilemmas were highly realistic and presented real-life problems frequently encountered by veterinary inspectors. The aim was to develop dilemmas in which the three core values of veterinary inspectors – *public health, animal health/welfare, and economic interest* - were in conflict which each other. For all three dilemmas respondents could choose between different response categories that reflected the dominant types of decisions – or coping strategies – I had derived from the interviews (5.2). The answers respondents could choose from fall into three categories: 1) safeguarding one of the values that were in conflict (to apply the coping strategy 'biasing'), 2) an interim solution (applying the coping strategy 'avoidance'), or 3) "differently, namely…". The dilemmas are presented below. In Dilemma 1, there was a conflict between economic interest and public health; in Dilemma 2, between economic interest and animal welfare; in Dilemma 3, between public health and animal welfare.

1 See section 6.1.2.2 for the reason why I retained this concept in spite of its low Cronbach's α.

In line with research on ethical decision-making (Maesschalck, 2004), I asked respondents for a number of considerations to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale how important they were for their decision-making. These considerations had been formulated on the basis of the results of the qualitative analysis described in section 5.6, and are therefore of an exploratory nature. Nevertheless, most of them fit well into the typology of nine 'ethical standards' or 'ethical climates' developed by Victor and Cullen (1988) and adapted by Maesschalck (2004). (For more information about this typology see section 5.6.) For example, "I have decided to make this decision because this is what the rules and regulations say" is associated with the ethical identity standard 'organizational rules', "Because it was my colleague who overslept" can be linked to the standard 'team interest', "Because I want to avoid any risk to animal welfare/health" fits well in 'stakeholder orientation'. The question measuring veterinary inspectors' considerations in decision-making was relevant, because it double-checked why individuals made a certain decision. In a final step the respondents were also asked to rank their three most important considerations. Asking individuals to be clear about their considerations was intended to increase the internal validity of this study. By investigating the considerations I learned whether decision-making in dilemma situations could have been caused by alternative independent variables, variables I did not include in the theoretical model in the first place. Besides, it enabled me to control whether the kind of decisions individuals made indeed matched the considerations that are expected to underlie certain coping strategies (for more information about coping strategies see section 2.2).

According to Wimbush et al. (1997), using specific dilemmas in survey research increases the likelihood of socially desirable answers, because respondents might suspect their employer of using the survey to investigate how they behave in conflict situations. However, because I expected that realistic scenarios would make it easier for veterinary inspectors to put themselves into the dilemma situations, and so give me higher-quality information than I could get from general dilemma scenarios, I decided to stick to realistic and specific vignettes. I hoped to counter the threat of socially desirable answers by strongly emphasizing in the cover letter that anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. The original Dutch text of the dilemmas can be obtained from the author on request.

Dilemma 1: Economic interest versus public health

An employee of an abattoir calls you in the afternoon about a post-mortem inspection. It turns out that one of your colleagues overslept this morning. The stable hand has already started the slaughtering, without waiting for a veterinary inspector to arrive for the ante-mortem inspection. You are a little surprised because usually this abattoir sticks to the rules. By the time you arrive at the abattoir, 15 heads of cattle have been slaughtered without ante-mortem inspection. What are you going to do?

1) I certify the cattle.
2) I disqualify the cattle.
3) I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor.
4) Something else, namely….

Dilemma 2: Economic interest versus animal welfare

In a poultry abattoir where you have to do an inspection an old-fashioned and animal-unfriendly machine is still in use, unloading all chickens at the same time. Official documents state that animals have to be kept in a horizontal position when they are unloaded. However, at this abattoir all animals are continually falling on top of each other. This increases the risk of injury and suffering. You are quite sure that the large number of broken wings is caused by the old-fashioned machine, and not by something else. You want to do something about this, but you know that your colleagues have not enforced the rules consistently in the past. Stopping the production process implies serious financial damage. What are you going to do?

1) I do not do anything.
2) I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor.
3) I make a written report.
4) I stop the production process.
5) Something else, namely…….

Dilemma 3: Public health versus animal welfare

At an abattoir a cow is unloaded. You suspect that the food chain information (FCI) about the animal is not reported correctly. Next to this, it turns out that one of the cow's legs is fractured. The truck driver explains that the fracture must have happened on the way to the abattoir, but it is not clear by just looking at the animal if this is true. What are you going to do?

1) I allow the cow to be shot and slaughtered.
2) I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it.
3) I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary.
4) I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional food chain information I require.
5) I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor
6) Something else, namely ……

The following considerations were presented to the veterinary inspectors after they had decided what they were going to do. (Note that not all considerations apply to all dilemmas.)

I have decided to make this decision because:
a) this is what the rules and regulations say.
b) otherwise I will have trouble enforcing rules and regulation at this company in the future.
c) I want to avoid a negative working atmosphere if I can
d) by talking to my supervisor I play safe.
e) I want to avoid any risk to animal welfare/heath (not applicable in Dilemma 1).
f) I want to avoid any risk to public health (not applicable in Dilemma 2).
g) I want to limit the financial damage (not applicable in Dilemma 3).
h) It was my colleague who overslept (only applicable in Dilemma 1).
i) I have difficulty throwing away 'good meat' (only applicable in Dilemma 1).
j) the inspectee is usually a good guy (not applicable in Dilemma 3).
k) there has been no strict rule enforcement in the past (only applicable in Dilemma 2).
l) of something else, namely……

6.1.2.6 Controls

Because demographic characteristics and contextual circumstances can bias research findings, a number of commonly used and case-specific controls were included in the questionnaire. This enables us to account for the relationships between two or more variables that may be affected by one or more additional variables. In Table 7 (6.2.2), the descriptive statistics of the control variables of the respondents are summarized.

Following common practice (Pandey & Stazyk, 2008), the following three socio-demographic characteristics were included as control variables: *position, age*, and *gender*.

Educational level was not included because an academic degree in veterinary medicine is a requirement for becoming a veterinary inspector. Next to this, I included – for theoretical reasons or because of findings in the qualitative analysis – the additional control variables years of employment, type of employment contract (practitioner or 'regular' veterinary inspector), team (living animal, abattoirs, and import), and additional employment contract (yes or no). *Years of employment* were added because only those veterinary inspectors who entered employment after 2010 had had a very intensive introductory training focusing on strict enforcement of rules and regulations. It is realistic to be alert to the fact that this training might have affected the way veterinary inspectors interpret their professional role, the decisions they make, and ultimately the relationship between these two concepts. The *type of employment contract* is also relevant in this context, because practitioners are not as well-integrated in the organization. They work fewer hours than regular veterinary inspectors (mean = 13.3 hours as opposed to 34[2]) and do not always participate in team meetings. This weaker organizational tie might have influenced decision-making in dilemma situations and – as partly suggested by the interview results – the way inspectors perceived their professional role. The same applies to the control variable *additional employment contract.* It is reasonable to assume that veterinary inspectors who also work as veterinarians will more easily make decisions favourable for farmers, because it is the farmers who provide their income in their role of veterinarian.

Finally, *proactive personality* was included because in sociological literature this concept is commonly associated with successful adoption of organizational values (Ashford & Black, 1995). Respondents with a proactive personality, therefore, might enforce rules and regulations in a strict manner because this is what the NVWA stands for. The concept of proactive personality was measured on a 4-item scale developed by Parker and Sprigg (1999), which is based on Bateman and Crant's 17-item Proactive Personality Scale (1993). Examples of items we used in this study are "I excel at identifying opportunities" and "I am always looking for better ways to do things".

2 The mean number of working hours is based on the veterinary inspectors who responded, not the entire population.

6.2 Data collection and analysis

In this section the data collection procedure is described in detail, as well as the representativeness of the sample and the participants' remarks about the questionnaire. I also discuss the different statistical techniques used to analyse the survey data.

6.2.1 Method: survey research

The *surveymonkey software* was used to administer and distribute the questionnaire. All respondents received a link via their NVWA email address. (All NVWA employees have their own email account so that the organization can communicate with them.) An online questionnaire was preferred over a paper-and-pencil questionnaire to collect data for the survey research because, participants in the pilot study indicated that they found online questionnaires most convenient (for more information about the pilot study, see subsection 6.2.1). Other advantages of online surveys are the reduced chance of errors during data entry and the possibility to 'force' individuals to answer certain questions, reducing the percentage of missing data.

Given the small population we did not draw a sample. The web-based questionnaire was distributed to the entire population: all veterinary inspectors working for the Dutch Food and Product Safety Authority, Veterinary & Import division. In order to ensure a high response rate the questionnaire was accompanied by a short cover letter signed by the division head, which emphasized the independent and autonomous character of this study and the importance of participating. The questionnaire was distributed in June 2013. At intervals of about two weeks two reminders were sent.

6.2.2 Respondents, response rate and respondents' remarks about the questionnaire

In total, 403 employees were addressed, 269 of whom returned the questionnaire (67 %). Respondents who completed less than 30% of the questions were excluded from the analysis, which yielded a total response of 64% (N=258). Of the respondents, 63% were male and 37 % female. More than 50% of the respondents held the position of veterinary inspector without managerial responsibilities; an additional 26 % held a position as company inspector, which included coordinating responsibilities in one or more companies, and 16 % were senior veterinary inspectors, whose task is to support colleagues with their substantial expert knowledge of a specific domain. The largest age group was between 55 and 65 years old (36%), and had worked at the NVWA for between five and ten years (40%). This large group of older employees and the frequent five to ten years' duration of employment support the

assumption that many veterinarians have a 'second career' at the NVWA, after working as veterinarians in private practices for many years. Only 10 % of the sample were younger than 35 years. Sixty-five per cent had an employment contract as a 'regular' veterinary inspector, 33% worked as practitioners on call, and 32% of the sample were also employed as veterinarians in private practice. Most of the employees with an additional employment contract were practitioners. However – even though not appreciated by the NVWA – there were also eight 'regular' veterinary inspectors who worked in private practices. The demographic characteristics of the respondents are summarized in Table 7. This table also provides information about the demographic characteristics of the entire population of all veterinary inspectors working at the NVWA, and the differences between these two groups: the difference between the sample and the entire population and the results of the *chi*-square test testing for the representativeness of the sample. The reason why these particular demographic characteristics are included in this study has been explained in Subsection 6.1.3

Most of the results of the *chi*-square test were non-significant implying that the sample generalizes well to the population with respect to age, type of employment contact, and team. However, we also need to be aware of significant findings of the *chi*-square test indicating that the sample does not well represent the population with regard to gender and position. Nevertheless, because the differences with regard to position could be explained by the fact that the list of those included in the sample was more recent (February 2014) than that of the entire population of Dutch Veterinary inspectors (summer 2013), the sample can be considered highly representative. The definition of the position of senior veterinary inspector had changed between summer 2013 and February 2014, which explains why there were more senior veterinary inspectors in the sample than in the population. Gender differences proved the only limitation to the representativeness of the sample. In the population, there were more women than men (56:44), but in the sample it was the other way around (37:63).

Some respondents formulated specific remarks about the questionnaire in line with the invitation: 'for more information or questions please do not hesitate to contact [name researchers]'. One person called in order to ask if the questionnaire could be sent to a different email address. Another telephoned because he had difficulties opening the link. Most often by far respondents used the open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire to formulate general remarks about the questionnaire (n = 82). These remarks can be differentiated into six topics: 1) phrasing of the items, 2) aspects missing from the questionnaire, 3) appropriateness of the dilemmas, 4) length of the questionnaire, 5) positive feedback, and 6) other remarks. (See also Table 8). I will briefly discuss each of these topics.

Table 7 Descriptive statistics of sample and population

	Sample Total N=258		Population[2] Total N=417		Difference		*Chi*-Square	*P* Value
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Position								
Veterinary inspector	141	55	239	57	89	2		
Veterinary inspector and company inspector[3]	68	26	148	36	80	14		
Senior veterinary inspector[4]	42	16	30	7	12	9		
Other[5]	7	3					102.04	.000
Age								
<35	25	10	39	10	14	0		
≥35 and <45	53	21	74	19	21	2		
≥45 and <55	63	24	106	26	43	2		
≥55 and <65	93	36	140	35	47	1		
≥65	24	9	40	10	16	1		
							1.21	.89
Gender								
Male	162	63	179	43	17	20		
Female	96	37	231	56	135	14		
Type of employment contract							38.39	.00
Veterinarian-inspector	174	67	268	64	94	3		
Practitioner	84	33	149	35	65	2		
							1.131	.29
Additional employment contract								
Yes	55	32						
No	203	79						
Team								
Living animals	70	27	112	28	42	1		
Abattoirs	152	59	247	59	95	0		
Import	36	14	54	13	18	1		
							.187	.91
Years of employment								
>5	18	7						
≥5 and >10	102	40						
≥10 and >20	54	21						
≥20	84	32						
Proactive behaviour								
Low	43	17						
Medium	169	67						
High	38	15						

3 Based on a list of employees provided by the NVWA in February 2014 which does not include information on years of employment, additional employment contract and proactive behaviour.

4 Veterinarian inspector who coordinates inspecting activities at one or more companies.

5 The function has recently been redefined. This explains why there are more senior veterinary inspectors in the sample than in the population.

6 For example, trainees and employees sent on secondment.

Phrasing of the items: Nine individuals remarked on the formulation of the questionnaire items: some statements were too black-and-white, leaving no opportunity for differentiation, or were formulated rather cryptically. Because of the reactions of some inspectors to the PSM items in the pilot study I assume this critique to be related to the items designed to measure PSM. Also, the PSM items were the only items of the questionnaire in which very general questions were asked. The other questions were much more specific, referring directly to the profession of veterinary inspector. Veterinarians are generally rather down-to-earth and pragmatic and therefore they might have had difficulties identifying with propositions about fuzzy concepts such as 'the common good', 'the good of society' or 'civic duty'. Unfortunately, we cannot trace the comments back to particular items.

Aspects missing from the questionnaire: Sixteen individuals mentioned topics that they would like to have seen in the questionnaire. Some stressed that more attention should have been paid to the welfare of employees. Others remarked that they missed questions about 'communication in daily practice' and 'the general functioning of the NVWA'. These remarks may indicate wrong expectation management on our part. However, it is difficult to trace where these incorrect expectations come from. None of the 'missing' topics were mentioned in the cover letter and neither, as far as I know, did I give anybody cause to assume that the research would touch upon these topics during the interviews.

Appropriateness of the dilemmas: Nine individuals criticized the appropriateness of the cases used in the questionnaire. They pointed out that the dilemmas used in this research focused too narrowly on the work of the 'abattoirs' and 'livestock' teams, whereas no attention was paid to the work of the 'import' team. I think that this is an appropriate remark. However, because the 'import' team was rather small (13 % of entire population), I had decided to leave specific cases characteristic of the work in the 'import' team aside, and instead ask individuals to put themselves in the place of a person faced with the hypothetical dilemmas described.

Length of the questionnaire: Fourteen individuals complained about the length of the questionnaire. Most of them explained that answering all questions took significantly longer than the predicted 20 minutes, a prediction formulated on the basis of the pilot study. Even though I had timed beforehand how long it took to complete the questionnaire, this criticism seems to be justified: on average, respondents spent more than 20 minutes filling in the questionnaire. The exact length of time could not be calculated, because many respondents did not fill in the questionnaire in one go but at different moments. The software we used registered start and finish of the filling-in process without keeping track

of pauses. One reason for this miscalculation might be that the respondents primarily work in the field and have limited experience with computer-related tasks.

Positive feedback: Nineteen individuals were explicitly positive. Some mentioned that they enjoyed filling in the questionnaire and/or that the items gave them food for thought. Others wished us good luck with the study, and almost 50 % (n = 127) left their email addresses because they wanted to receive the findings of the study.

Other remarks: Sixteen respondents had remarks about the questionnaire that could not be fitted into any of the five categories discussed above. Because these remarks were unique and sometimes out of context, I will only mention a few here without discussing them in detail. For example, one respondent said that professional peer-reviews and discussion of critical cases are the most important method to reach uniformity. Another mentioned that practitioners are often used to 'fill the gaps' rather than as fully-fledged employees. A third person pointed out that the goals of the NVWA are clear, but that it is unclear to the employees which methods they are expected to apply.

Table 8 Frequency table of remarks about the questionnaire

	No	**%**
Positive feedback	18	22
Aspects missing from the questionnaire	16	20
Other remarks	16	19
Length of questionnaire	14	17
Appropriateness of the dilemmas	9	11
Phrasing of the items	9	11
Total	82	100

Summing up: Quite a large number of respondents took up our invitation and provided specific remarks about the questionnaire. Most remarks fell into the categories 'positive feedback', 'length of the questionnaire', and 'aspects missing from the questionnaire'. Only nine respondents (3% of the sample) criticized the formulation of some items as either being too 'black-and-white' or too vague. This low percentage may be interpreted as an indication of the high validity of the questionnaire.

6.2.3 Quantitative Analyses

In this subsection I will describe all statistical techniques used to analyse and describe the data, and explain why I used them. First, I discuss the techniques used to assess the construct validity of the measurement instruments. Second, I elaborate on techniques used to explore the data. Finally, I focus on techniques performed to test the hypotheses formulated in the theory chapter. Almost all analyses were performed with SPSS 21 (Statistical Package for Social Science). LISREL 9.1 was only used once: to perform a confirmatory factor analysis. This was necessary because SPSS does not have a function for running a confirmatory factor analysis.

6.2.3.1 Statistical techniques used to assess construct validity

The construct validity of a measurement can be assessed by data-reducing techniques. The instrument measuring PSM has frequently been verified in the past (e.g., Kim et al., 2013; Vandenabeele, 2008) and is highly theory driven. Therefore, I used confirmatory factor analysis to assess the construct validity of the concept of PSM. In contrast, the construct validity of the instrument measuring professional role identity was assessed by a specific exploratory factor analysis – principal component analysis – because the measurement instrument was newly developed for this study and had not yet been tested. Both analyses are discussed in detail.

Confirmatory factor analysis

In order to assess whether the PSM measurement instrument has a good fit with its underlying theoretical model (construct validity), a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed in Subsection 6.1.2.1. Because the data were normally distributed, the model fit was estimated by the maximum likelihood method. I did not use the frequently cited *chi*-square index as an indicator of good fit, because it has been criticized in structural equation modelling literature (e.g., Brown, 2006; Kelloway, 1989). Following the recommendation of Williams, Vandenberg and Edwards (2009), I used the comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) as fit indicators. They "are better in assessing model fit" (William et al., 2009, p. 585). According to Williams et al. (2009), a CFI value above .95 and RMSEA indicator below .08 may be interpreted as demonstrating good fit. Using more than one index to examine the overall model fit is recommended, because it is possible for a model to be adequate on one fit index but at the same time inadequate on others (Bollen, 1989).

Principal component analysis

In order to assess the dimensionality and construct validity of the set of items developed to measure professional role identity a principal component analysis (PCA) was performed in Subsection 6.1.2.2. The extraction of principal components was based on the calculation of the Eigenvalues on the basis of the correlation matrix of the dataset. According to Field (2009), even though solutions generated by PCA and exploratory factor analysis – another frequently used data reduction technique – differ little in most circumstances, the choice between these two techniques evokes strong feelings. In this study I decided to use PCA with orthogonal factor rotation because it is a psychometrically sound procedure (Field, 2009). The rotation method applied is Varimax, developed by Kaiser (1958), which is regarded as the best and most widely used rotation method in psychological research (Fabrigar, Wenger, MacCallum & Strahan, 1999). Varimax is based on the idea of maximizing the variance of squared factor loadings across variables.

6.2.3.2 Statistical techniques used to describe the data

I performed a number of analyses in order to get a better understanding of what the data told us. For example, do different groups of respondents have different scores on the core constructs of this study? And how are these constructs interrelated? I here describe the statistical techniques performed to gain answers to these questions.

Pearson's product-moment correlation

The degree of linear relationship between two variables ranking from -1 to +1 (Kutner, Nachtsheim, Netter & William, 2005) is assessed by Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. In this study I used it to investigate, for example, how the different dimensions of the concept of professional role identity were correlated, and how they were related to PSM. In Tables 10a and 10b (Chapter 7), a complete overview of the correlations of the core variables under study is provided.

T test

The *t* test is a statistical technique to compare the actual difference between the means of two variables with the variation in the dataset. One of the advantages of the *t* test is its robustness and reliability, even when applied to a relatively small number of cases (Kutner et al., 2005). In this study, the *t* test was used to analyse whether different groups of employees (e.g., men versus women; practitioners versus 'regular' veterinary inspectors) scored differently on the core variables.

Ordinary least square regression analysis

Ordinary least square regression analysis is a common way to predict the values of an outcome variable on the basis of variance in one or more independent variables, assuming that the relationships between the independent and the dependent variables are linear (Kutner et al., 2005). I used this parametric test for example to investigate if there was an effect of number of years of employment on PSM.

6.2.3.3 Statistical technique used to test hypotheses

In order to test hypotheses 1 and 2, *logistic regression analyses* were performed. A logit[7] model is necessary because the independent variable – decision-making – is categorical, which means that the general assumption of linearity in linear regression models between the independent and dependent variables is violated. By expressing the linear regression equation in logarithmic terms, logistic regression analysis avoids the problems associated with violating the assumption of linearity. In logistic regression models a linear relationship between a continuous predictor and the logit of the dependent variable is assumed (Fields, 2009). The relationship between the independent and the outcome variables is expressed as an odds ratio (OR), which is the estimated increase in the logit of the outcomes variable associated with a one-unit increase in the predictor variable.

6.3 Missing data

Systematic lacunae in the dataset are problematic since they may bias the results. For most of the constructs used in this study the percentage of missing values was very small (ranging from 0 to 3.6 %). Only for the dependent variable 'decision-making' were there about 10.5 % missing values. (See Table 9 below for more information.) The relatively high percentage of missing values for this variable is probably related to respondents getting tired of answering questions and therefore quitting before they reached the final questions on decision-making. This assumption is supported by two observations: 1) a number of respondents commented that filling in the questionnaire took too long (see also Section 6.2.2), and 2) the missing values are not random but systematic. Individuals who did not answer Dilemma 1 did not answer Dilemmas 2 and 3 either. Replacing the missing values by the mode makes variance estimates artificially smaller and therefore less valid (Van der Velde et al., 2004). For this reason, all missing values were excluded from the analysis;

7 Alternatively, I could have used a probit model. The choice between logit and probit models is one of convenience (Long, 1997). Since I feel comfortable with the interpretation of logit coefficients as odds ratios, I decided to use a logit model.

hence, correlations were computed only for pairs of non-missing values (pairwise deletion of missing data). For regression analysis the entire case was deleted if any of the variables included in the analysis contained a missing value (list-wise deletion of missing data). The same holds for the factor analyses I performed.

Table 9 Summary of missing values

Concept	No of missing values of N = 258	% of missing values of N = 258
PSM	0	0
Professional role identity		
Commitment to economic interest	0	0
Commitment to animal welfare	9	3.6
Commitment to public health	4	1.6
Strict rule enforcement	3	1.2
Commitment to the inspected	2	.08
Professional identification	0	0
Decision-making Dilemma 1	23	8.9
Decision-making Dilemma 2	27	10.5
Decision-making Dilemma 3	25	9.7

6.4 Limitations of the research design

Some limitations of the research design of this study, which should be considered because they raise a number of issues for future research. The first limitation of this study relates to its generalizability or external validity. The results are based on one group of professionals within one country. This raises the question whether the findings also apply to other countries and professions. In the near future, the results of this study will be compared to a similar survey study conducted in Belgium.

Second, the research design is cross-sectional. All data were collected at one point in time. This provides a threat to internal validity; longitudinal data yield better internal validity because they allow researchers to make stronger causal claims.

Third, the data used in this study were collected from one group of respondents – veterinary inspectors – by means of one questionnaire. Some scholars are sceptical about measuring both the independent and the dependent variable on the basis of just one source (e.g., Podsakoff et al., 2003), since findings might be distorted by *common method bias* (CMB) or *method effects*: the risk that the estimated variance is attributed to the measurement

method rather than to the construct under scrutiny. Other scholars claim that the risk of CMB is overestimated (Lance, Dawson, Birkelbach & Hoffman, 2010). Nevertheless, we put the dependent and independent variables at great distance from each other in the questionnaire. This reduces the risk of respondents cognitively combining the independent and dependent variable, which might trigger a CMB-biased pattern of responses. Ideally, I would have used different sources to measure decision-making (independent variable), such as information offered by colleagues or registered data. Registered data, however, were not made available by the organization, and information provided by colleagues was not a valid source because veterinary inspectors often work on their own; colleagues are therefore not able to judge how a veterinary inspector is likely to act in a dilemma situation.

Another potential risk of self-reported data is that of *social desirability*, which refers to the tendency of respondents to answer all items in a way that presents them in the best possible light (Dooley, 2001). They might do this consciously or unconsciously. Thus, the mean scores presented in this chapter need to be interpreted with some caution. However, since one of the most important aims of this study was to investigate the relationships between two or more variables, and the threat of socially desirable answers is not applicable to this kind of analysis, I consider the risk of such answers to be minor. Nevertheless, this study could have benefitted from including a number of items that control for social desirability. However, since the questionnaire was rather long and the usefulness of social desirability measurements has been doubted (e.g., Borkenau & Ostendorf, 1992), I decided not to include this measurement.

An additional weakness of this study might be that few respondents were asked to fill in the questionnaire who were less familiar with hypothetical dilemma situations included in the survey research: veterinary inspectors of the team 'import'. Respondents of this group might have found it difficult to put themselves in the place of the person being faced with the described dilemma, which could lead to invalid decision-making. The reason why I included this group of participants regardless of this potential weakness was twofold: 1) some respondents used to work in teams in which they used to encounter the dilemmas described; 2) the size of the research population was small. Excluding the respondents of an entire group of respondents would have yielded an even smaller sample size.

Some of the measurements instruments have a Cronbach's α lower than .70, which is usually seen as cut-off score for acceptable reliability (e.g., Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black, 1998). I decided to hold on to these variables for different reasons. First, the level of Cronbach's α depends on the number of items; the greater the number of items the higher Cronbach's α (e.g., Dooley, 2001; Van der Velde et al., 2004) and all constructs with a low α were measured only by two or three items (all the dimensions of the concept of professional

role identity, the concept of professional identification, and the concept of commitment to the inspectee). Second, the instrument measuring professional identification had been used frequently in previous studies (e.g., Hekman et al., 2009; Loi et al., 2004). Third, the principal component analysis I carried out support the idea that the items measuring professional role identity could be clustered into four different dimensions.

Finally, the dataset on which this study is based is relatively small (N = 258). A larger sample size leads to more accurate parameter estimations and provides more chances to cancel out unrepresentative elements (Dooley, 2001). The entire research population (all veterinary inspectors in the Netherlands), however, consists of only 403 individuals, which makes a large-N study impossible.

Chapter 7

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS: PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION AND PROFESSIONALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF DILEMMA SITUATIONS[1]

1 Parts of this chapter are based on Schott, C., Kleef van, D. D., & Steen, T. (2014). The combined impact of professional role identity and public service motivation on decision-making in dilemma situations. *International Review of Administrative Science*. (forthcoming)

In this chapter, which is divided into four sections, the results of the quantitative analysis are presented. Throughout the chapter I will indicate which parts of the quantitative analysis provide additional data that help to answer the separate secondary research questions, and whether these data verify or contradict them. First, the descriptive statistics of all variables under study are discussed (7.1). Second, the correlations between the independent variables are investigated, and the problem of multicollinearity is considered (7.2). In the third section, the question of what it means to be public service motivated is addressed using statistical methods (7.3). In Section 7.4 I test hypotheses H2 and H3, claiming that professional role identity and 'commitment to the inspectee' influence public service professionals' decision-making in the context of dilemmas. Section 7.5 focuses on the question of whether any additional predictors of decision-making (next to PSM and professionalism) in dilemma situations can be identified. In the final section (7.6), I test the conceptual model presented in the theory chapter, intended to answer the primary research question *what is the combined impact of PSM and professionalism on public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations?* All subsections end with a paragraph summarizing the research findings.

7.1 Descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables

I will start by describing the three core concepts of this study: PSM, professional role identity, and decision-making. PSM and professional role identity were normally distributed. Decision-making was measured at a categorical level. Next, the concepts of professional identification and work-related tensions are discussed, which help us to get a better understanding of the case under study.

7.1.1 Public Service Motivation

Table 7 provided evidence of a high PSM among veterinary inspectors. The mean score for inspectors' PSM was 3.78, which is higher than, for example, the mean score for PSM found in a national survey of Dutch civil servants working in the public administration, public security, defence, education, and academic hospitals subsectors (Leisink & Steijn, 2009). The means of the three PSM dimensions, i.e., 'attraction to public service', 'commitment to public values' and 'compassion' were also high: they were clearly above 3.5 (3 is the centre of the scale), with the mean for 'commitment to public values' the highest (4.18). Only the dimension 'self-sacrifice' scored slightly under 3.5 (3.37). These findings are in line with the results of the qualitative analysis. All dimensions of PSM were reflected in the interviews,

except for 'self-sacrifice'. The standard deviation varied from .40 to .61, which indicates a relatively low variation in the responses to the items measuring PSM.

The level of PSM is generally found to be higher among civil servants ('regular' veterinarian inspectors) than among other individuals working in the private sector (e.g., Rainey, 1982; Houston, 2000). There are two possible explanations for this assumption. First, highly public service motivated individuals are attracted by the public sector. Second, the PSM of those working in the public sector is boosted by socialization effects. (For a theoretical discussion of socialization and attraction-selection mechanisms see Subsection 2.3.2). The sample in our study consisted of both practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors. Practitioners often have two professional roles: as a veterinary inspector and as a veterinarian in private practice. By contrast, most 'regular' veterinary inspectors worked only in the public sector. Slightly more than half (56 %) of the practitioners indicated that they also have a private practice as a veterinarian; by contrast, this applied to only 8 % of the 'regular' veterinary inspectors. Therefore, we may expect 'regular' veterinary inspectors to be more socialized by values inherent in PSM, and hence to have higher levels of PSM than practitioners. In order to investigate this assumption, I performed a *t* test. The results showed that there was no difference in level of PSM between 'regular' veterinary inspectors and practitioners ($t(256) = -1.081$, $p = .281 > .05$).

It is also interesting to compare PSM levels of veterinary inspectors who are also employed in private practices with PSM levels of inspectors who work exclusively for the NVWA. Advocates of the crowding-out theory argue that working in the private sector and being confronted with principles based on market mechanisms and extrinsic incentives might 'cancel out' PSM. (For more information on this theory see Subsection 2.3.2). Our results suggested that veterinary inspectors without additional employment were not significantly less public service motivated than employees who also work in the private sector ($t(256) = .287$, $p = .774 > .05$).

In the qualitative analysis I found that newcomers' PSM vanished over a period of 15 months. This led me to expect that respondents who have worked at the NVWA for a long time are less public service motivated than respondents who only recently entered employment. In order to find out if the number of years worked at the organization are negatively related to the level of PSM, I performed a linear regression analysis. The results showed that years of employment had a negative, but non-significant effect on PSM ($\beta = -.003$, Beta = -.055, $p = .377 > .05$).

Conclusion

Overall, the quantitative results are in line with the qualitative findings. All findings indicated that PSM is high among veterinary inspectors. This was true for both PSM measured as overarching construct and for three of its separate dimensions. Different groups of veterinary inspectors had the same mean PSM scores. 'Regular' veterinary inspectors did not score higher than practitioners. Employees without additional employment were no more public service motivated than employees with an additional contract. Contrary to what I expected on the basis of the qualitative results, PSM did not decline significantly with more years of employment.

7.1.2 Professional role identity

The descriptive statistics for the different dimensions of the construct *professional role identity* were varied. The mean score was highest on the dimension 'commitment to public health' (3.60), lowest on 'strict rule enforcement' (2.33). 'Commitment to economic interests' scored only slightly higher (2.46). This means that on average respondents agreed that safeguarding public health was an important aspect of their work, while they disagreed on whether this was also true for safeguarding economic interests. They also indicated that they preferred rule compliance over strict rule enforcement. The mean score for 'commitment to economic interests' was lower than 3, the centre of the scale and indicating a neutral opinion. The remaining dimension 'commitment to animal welfare' scored in-between the other dimensions (3.32). This means that veterinary inspectors saw standing up for the welfare of animals as an important aspect of their work, albeit less important than public health. The standard deviations for the different dimensions were relatively large, varying between .62 and .67. This supports the qualitative finding that veterinary inspectors differ in the ways they perceive their professional role. Some respondents, for example, indicated that 'strict rule enforcement' was an important aspect of their job, while others disagreed (SD .62).

On the basis of the results of the qualitative analysis it can be argued that there are differences in professional role identity between inspectors with and inspectors without additional employment, and between practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors. In the qualitative analysis 'regular' veterinary inspectors without additional employment were found to be more rigid enforcers of rule and regulations than employees from other groups. One explanation for this might be that they have fewer reasons to fear resentment from inspectees. With regard to the other dimensions of professionalism, the differences found were less 'black-and-white'. I saw individuals from both groups of employees who

considered 'commitment to economic interests' part of their work. A series of *t* tests were performed to test whether the qualitative findings could be verified by the quantitative data. The results indicated that there are no differences between employees with and without additional employment, and between practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors regarding their mean scores on the professional role identity dimension 'commitment to economic interests' ([(additional employment/no additional employment) $t(256) = -.637$, $p = .527 > .05$), ('regular' veterinary inspector/practitioner) $t(172) = -1.058$, $p = .292 > .05$)] and 'strict rule enforcement' [(additional employment/no additional employment) $t(253) = -.959$, $p = .339 > .05$); ('regular' veterinary inspector/practitioner) $t(170) = -.848$, $p = 398 > .5$)]).

The mean score for *professional identification* was 3.36, with a standard deviation of .77, which implies that respondents scored slightly above the centre of the scale. As mentioned before, practitioners often are both inspector and veterinarian and, on average, work far fewer hours for the NVWA than veterinary inspectors (13 hours against 24, respectively). Because of this 'double role' and the limited number of working hours at the NVWA, practitioners can be expected to have a lower level degree of professional identification than 'regular' veterinary inspectors. To an even larger extend this may also be expected from inspectors who also have a private practice. In order to investigate if the degree of professionals' identification differs between these groups of respondents (practitioners vs. 'regular' inspectors; additional employment vs. no additional employment), two *t* tests were performed. The results of the analysis showed that my assumptions were unjustified. On average, there was no difference between the degrees of professional identification in respondents who are employed as practitioners, and in respondents employed as 'regular' veterinary inspectors ($t(256) = -.211$. $p = .833 > .05$). The same was true for employees with and without additional employment: the two groups did not differ regarding the degree of professional identification ($t(256) = -.756$. $p = .451 > .05$). However, because of the low reliability of the instrument measuring professional identification (6.2.3), these results must be treated with caution.

Conclusion

Veterinary inspectors vary as regards the importance they attach to different aspects of their work. The mean scores indicated that most respondents agree that safeguarding public health is an important aspect of their work. Safeguarding economic interests, on the other hand, was considered much less important. The two remaining dimensions, 'commitment

to animal welfare' and 'strict rule enforcement', scored between 'commitment to public health' and 'commitment to economic interests'. Against my expectations, employees with additional employment outside the NVWA and practitioners did not significantly differ from employees without additional employment and 'regular' veterinary inspectors regarding the aspects they find important in their work and degrees of professional identification. Practitioners did not score higher on 'commitment to economic interests', or lower on 'strict rule enforcement'. In the Chapter 8 I will discuss how this can be explained.

7.1.3 Decision-making in dilemma situations

Table 9 is a frequency table for the variable 'decision-making'. The results provide us with additional insights that help to answer the question *what kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?* (SRQ2). Our first step in analysing decision-making was to code the last response category ('Something else, namely …'). If the answer was in line with one of the existing response categories, it was coded accordingly. Answers that could not be assigned to an existing response category were combined into a new response category or – if only mentioned once – coded as 'missing'. For the statistical analysis, only those response categories which contained more than ten reactions were used, because categories with fewer than ten reactions are too small for statistical analysis (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000). I will first describe in general terms what I found striking about the decisions veterinary inspectors make, and then discuss each of the three dilemmas separately.

In general, a great variation was found in *types* of response categories chosen across all three dilemmas, whereas the *frequency* of each category varied for each dilemma. This indicates that veterinary inspectors do have the discretion to make their own decisions. In none of the three situations was one response category chosen by the absolute majority of all respondents. Clear rules and regulations seem not to be the primary guidelines of veterinary inspectors' decision-making. A very small number of respondents – even though strongly opposed to the NVWA's mission – chose the response category about enabling them to safeguard economic interests. For Dilemma 1, three respondents (1%) indicated that they would certify all cattle. For Dilemma 2, six respondents (2%) answered that they would not do anything. With all three dilemmas, the most drastic decision in terms of heavy financial consequences for the entrepreneur was frequently chosen. For Dilemma 1 this was indicated by the response category 'I disqualify the cattle', for Dilemma 2 by 'I stop the production process', and for Dilemma 3 by 'I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it'. Another response category frequently found in all three dilemmas was the option 'I defer

the decision until I have talked to my supervisor'. Also, for all three vignettes respondents came up with an additional response category. For Dilemma 1 six respondents (2%) indicated that they would perform a thorough medical examination. For Dilemma 2 two individuals (1%) said that they would slow down the production process, and for Dilemma 3 54 respondents (21%) chose to combine two existing response categories: 1) order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture, and 2) require additional food chain information.

As explained above, small response categories had to be excluded from the statistical analyses (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000). I therefore decided to exclude response categories that contained fewer than ten responses from my discussion of the separate dilemmas. For Dilemma 1, after these small response categories had been excluded, the number of reactions was more or less balanced between the two remaining response categories: 57 % of the respondents indicated that they would slaughter the animals instantly, and 47 % answered that they would defer the decision and talk to their supervisor first. This implies that slightly over half of the respondents immediately chose the option that enabled them to safeguard public heath immediately. For Dilemma 2, one response category was more dominant. Almost 65 % of the respondents indicated that they would defer the decision until they had had contact with their supervisor. The remaining two response categories were chosen about equally often: 12 % of the respondents indicated that they would make a written report, 13% chose the most drastic measure, indicating that they would stop the production process. Both of these decisions were in the interest of animal welfare. The former entailed administrative tasks and was more time-consuming, the latter had an immediate effect.

For Dilemma 3, respondents most often indicated (36 %) that they would slaughter the animal and wait for additional information about its vaccination history before they made a decision. This decision enabled them to stand up for public health but at the cost of animal welfare (no attention is paid to the cause of the fracture). Other respondents, 23 %, said they, too, would slaughter the animal. However, they would not wait for additional food chain information but would rather try to find the cause of the animal's suffering, which means that they chose an option associated with animal welfare. Next to this, there was also a relatively large group of individuals who would do both: wait for additional information and assess the animal's suffering (21 %). They came up with a solution that enabled them to safeguard both animal welfare and public health. Only 6 % of the respondents indicated that they would impose a serious penalty by destroying the animal right away.

Table 9 Frequency table for decision-making in dilemma situations ('vignettes')

	No	**%**
Dilemma 1		
I certify the cattle*	3	1
I disqualify the cattle	128	50
I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor	98	38
I perform a thorough medical examination*	6	2
Missing	23	9
N	258	100
Dilemma 2		
I do not do anything*	6	2
I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor	167	65
I make a written report	25	10
I stop the production process	25	10
I slow down the speed*	2	1
Missing	33	12
N	258	100
Dilemma 3		
I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it	14	5
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary	59	23
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional food chain information I requested	94	36
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information	54	21
I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor*	10	4
Missing	27	11
N	258	100

* Frequency ≥10 and therefore not included in statistical analysis

Conclusion

On the basis of these findings, and in accordance with the qualitative results, we can conclude that public service professionals make different kinds of decisions in dilemma situations: they use different coping strategies. Veterinary inspectors often decoupled values; in other words, they favoured certain values above others or used the coping strategy of 'biasing'. In both dilemmas that involved public health (Dilemmas 1 and 3) the response category enabling the inspector to safeguard public health was chosen most frequently. By contrast, if there was a conflict between economic interests and public health or animal

welfare, only very few respondents made decisions that would have a positive effect on the entrepreneurs' economic interests. Next to this, many respondents made use of the deliberate coping strategy 'building firewalls', which is characterized by avoidance. In the two situations in which a lot of money was involved (Dilemmas 1 and 2), a large group of respondents indicated that they would defer the decision until they had talked to their supervisor. Finally, the coupling strategy 'hybridization' was also reflected in the data. In Dilemma 3, 21% of the respondents chose a response category that enabled them to realize two values (animal welfare and public health) at the same time.

7.1.4 Considerations in decision-making

In this subsection I try to take an additional step towards answering the question *what kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?* (SRQ2). By analysing the three most important considerations in decision-making respondents, I double-checked whether the kind of decisions veterinary inspectors make does indeed match the considerations that are expected to underlie certain coping strategies (or more information of coping strategies see Section 2.2). Tables 10a, 10b, and 11c are cross-tabulations displaying the frequency distributions of the variable 'decision-making combined with the three most important considerations in decision-making in Dilemma's 1, 2, and 3. After describing some conspicuous features of considerations in decision-making in general, I will discuss considerations in decision-making for each dilemma separately.

As shown in 10a, 10b, and 11c, almost all respondents indicated both their first and second most important consideration in decision-making, but considerably fewer respondents also indicated their third most important consideration. For Dilemma 1, 226 respondents specified their first and second most important consideration, but only 145 respondents also indicated a third. This means that 76 (33% of the entire sample) fewer respondents gave their three most important considerations than the respondents who gave their two most important considerations. For Dilemma 2, the difference between the number of respondents mentioning two and mentioning three considerations was 62 (30% of the entire sample), and in Dilemma 3 this was 78 (36% of the entire sample).

It is noticeable that in all three dilemma situations respondents made the same decisions for different reasons. For example, in Dilemma 1, 83 respondents said that they would disqualify the cattle first of all because that is what the rules said. However, there were also some who did this because they wanted to avoid rule enforcement-related trouble in the future. For Dilemma 2, 41 respondents chose the option 'I defer the decision until I have

talked to my supervisor', primarily because rules had not been strictly enforced in the past, and 38 respondents did the same 'because they want to safeguard animal welfare'.

However, respondents not only made the same decisions for different reasons, they also did different things for the same reason. As shown in Table 10a, 34 respondents disqualified the cattle because they wanted to safeguard public health, and 22 respondents for the same reason deferred their decision and talked to the supervisor first (Dilemma 1). A similar situation is given in Dilemma 2 (Table 10b). Here, 31 respondents chose to defer their decision, 12 made a written report, and 7 stopped the entire production process, all because they felt this was what the rules prescribed.

A combination of 'rule enforcement' (consideration 'because that's what the rules say') and 'safeguarding public health' (Dilemma 1) or 'safeguarding animal welfare' (Dilemma 2), or both (Dilemma 3), was mentioned as covering the most important considerations in decision-making in all three dilemma situations. This was to be expected because rules and regulations are meant to safeguard public health and animal welfare. For Dilemma 1, 'rule enforcement' was most frequently mentioned (n = 108, 48%), followed by 'safeguarding public health' (n = 56, 25%). For Dilemma 2, 'safeguarding animal welfare' (n = 58, 27%) and 'rule enforcement' were frequently mentioned (n = 50, 23%). For Dilemma 3, 'safeguarding animal welfare' (n = 106, 48%) was most frequently mentioned as the primary reason for a decision, followed by 'safeguarding public health' (n = 61, 28 %) and 'rule enforcement' (n = 49, 22%).

Having discussed the general tendencies regarding decision-making in dilemma situations on the basis of 10a, 10b, and 11c, I will now elaborate on each dilemma separately. The desire to play safe (n = 30, 13%) is another primary consideration frequently cited with Dilemma 1 (10a). Next to this, the fact that the inspectee was known as a 'good guy' was frequently mentioned as second or third most important consideration (n = 48), as was the 'desire to avoid a negative working climate' (n = 25), to 'avoid rule enforcement-related problems in the future' (n = 33), and to 'avoid wasting good meat' (n = 31). The 'willingness to limit financial damage' also played a role (n = 13).

For Dilemma 2 (Table 10b), the considerations 'because there was no strict rule enforcement in the past' (n = 45, 21%) and 'because I want to play safe' (n = 33, 15 %) were also often mentioned as primary considerations in decision-making. The second and third most important considerations in decision-making with Dilemma 2 were similar to those for Dilemma 1 in some respects, but different in others. Respondents also frequently indicated that they made their decision because the inspectee was a 'good guy' (n = 60). By contrast, the considerations 'because I want to avoid a negative working climate' (n = 2) and 'because I want to avoid rule enforcement-related problems in the future' (n = 0) were rarely

chosen. This also goes for the consideration 'because I want to limit financial damage' (n = 2).

For Dilemma 3 (Table 10c), the variety of considerations chosen was smallest. Respondents primarily chose a certain decision because of three considerations: to safeguard animal welfare, to safeguard public health, or because that option was what the rules and regulations decreased. Other considerations such as 'because he is a 'good guy'', or the desire to 'avoid a negative working climate' or to 'limit financial damage' were mentioned hardly or not at all.

Conclusion

The tables show a number of tendencies that apply to all three dilemma situations. First of all, most respondents mentioned their first and second most important considerations in decision-making, but considerably fewer also give their third. Respondents make the same decision for different reasons, but also make different decisions for the same reason. Finally, 'because that is what the rules say' and the willingness to safeguard public health and animal welfare are the considerations in decision-making mentioned most frequently for all three dilemma situations. This means that inspectors' considerations were inconformity with organizational objectives. Next to similarities there were also differences between considerations in decision-making between the three dilemmas. 'Because I want to play safe' is another primary consideration frequently mentioned with Dilemmas 1 and 2, but not with Dilemma 3. This is not really surprising because the financial implications of the decision are much smaller in Dilemma 3, which means that considerations in decision-making are context-dependent.

Altogether the results provided additional insights that helped to answer the question of *what kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?* (SRQ2). Most of the time the kind of decision made was in conformity with the individual's considerations. For example, individuals disqualified cattle because they wanted to safeguard public health/enforce rules and regulations: they coped by 'biasing'. However, the results also indicated that the decisions individuals made – the coping strategy they applied – can deviate from considerations expected to underlie coping strategies, as discussed in the theory chapter (2.2). For example, inspectors said they would defer the decision – to follow the avoidance-related coping strategy 'building firewalls' – not only because they wanted to play safe, but also because of the inspectees' characteristics or because they wanted to limit financial damage.

Table 10a Frequency table of considerations* in decision-making (Dilemma 1)

Decision-making	Considerations in decision-making										
	Rules and regulations	Safeguarding public health	Avoid negative working climate	Avoid troubles with rule enforcement in the future	Colleague overslept	Avoid financial damage	Good meat	Inspectee good guy	Playing safe	Other	Total no of valid observations of N=258
Most important											
I disqualify the cattle	83 64.8%	34 26.6%		5 3.9%	0 0.0%		0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 1.6%	4 3.1%	128 100.0%
I defer the decision until I've talked to my supervisor	25 25.5%	22 22.4%		3 3.1%	2 2.0%		6 6.1%	2 2.0%	28 28.6%	10 10.2%	98 100.0%
Total	108 47.8%	56 24.8%		8 3.5%	2 .9%		6 2.7%	2 .9%	30 13.3%	14 6.2%	226 100.0%
Second most important											
I disqualify the cattle	40 3.5%	63 5.2%	1 .8%	10 8.1%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 1.6%	0 0.0%	6 4.9%	2 1.6%	128 100.0%
I defer the decision until I've talked to my supervisor	17 17.5%	30 30.9%	3 3.1%	1 1.0%	3 3.1%	2 2.1%	12 12.4%	12 12.4%	15 15.5%	28	98 100.0%
Total	57 25.9%	93 42.3%	4 1.8%	11 5.0%	3 1.4%	2 .9%	14 6.4%	12 5.5%	21 9.5%	30 13.3%	226 100.0%
Third most important											
I disqualify the cattle	4 5.5%	4 5.5%	10 13.7%	23 31.5%	3 4.1%	6 8.2%	4 5.5%	17 23.3%	2 2.7%	4 5.5%	73 100.0%
I defer the decision until have I've to my supervisor	12 16.7%	8 11.1%	11 15.3%	0 0.0%	1 1.4%	6 8.3%	13 18.1%	19 26.4%	2 2.8%	12 16.7%	72 100.0%
Total	16 11.0%	12 8.3%	21 14.5%	23 15.9%	4 2.8%	12 8.3%	17 11.7%	36 24.8%	4 2.8%	16 11.0%	145 100.0%

*For the complete text of the considerations see Subsection 6.1.2.5

Table 10b Considerations* in decision-making (Dilemma 2)

	Considerations in decision-making											
Decision-making	Rules and regulations	No strict rule enforcement in the past	Avoid troubles with rule enforcement in the future	Safeguarding animal welfare	Avoid negative working climate	Avoid financial damage	Safeguarding public health	Inspectee 'good guy'	Inspectee is doing his best	Playing safe	Other	Total no of valid observations of N=258
Most important												
I defer the decision until I've talked to my supervisor	31 18.6%	41 24.6%	0 0.0%	38 22.8%			5 3.0%			31 18,6%	15 9.0%	167 100.0%
I make a written report	12 48.0%	3 12.0%	1 4.0%	7 28.0%			0 0.0%			1 4,0%	0 0.0%	25 100.0%
I stop the production process	7 28.0%	1 4.0%	2 8.0%	13 52.0%			1 4.0%			1 4,0%	0 0.0%	25 100.0%
Total	50 23.0%	45 20.7%	3 1.4%	58 26.7%			6 2.8%			33 15.2	15 9.0%	217 100%
Second most important												
I defer the decision until I've talked to my supervisor	30 18.5%			49 30.2%			1 .6%	40 24.7%	3 1.9%	12 7.4%	27 16.67	162 100.0%
I make a written report	8 34.8%			7 30.4%			2 8.7%	3 13.0%	1 4.3%	0 0.0%	2 8.7%	23 100.0%
I stop the production process	10 40.0%			3 12.0%			1 4.0%	8 32.0%	1 4.0%	1 4.0%	1 4.0%	25 100.0%
Total	48 22.9%			59 28.1%			4 1.9%	51 24.3%	5 2.4%	13 6.2%	30 14.1%	210 100.0%

Table 10b Considerations* in decision-making (Dilemma 2) *(Continued)*

Decision-making	Considerations in decision-making											
	Rules and regulations	No strict rule enforcement in the past	Avoid troubles with rule enforcement in the future	Safeguarding animal welfare	Avoid negative working climate	Avoid financial damage	Safeguarding public health	Inspectee 'good guy'	Inspectee is doing his best	Playing safe	Other	Total no of valid observations of N=258
	Third most important											
I defer the decision until I've talked to my supervisor	30 26.1%			21 18.3%	1 .9%	2 1,7%	8 7.0%	18 15.7%	3 2.6%	16 13.9%	16 13.9%	115 100.0%
I make a written report	1 6.7%			6 40.0%	0 0.0%	0 0,0%	213.3%	4 26.7%	1 6.7%	1 6.7%	1 6.7%	15 100.0%
I stop the production process	2 11.1%			4 22.2%	1 5.6%	0 0,0%	4 22.2%	0 0.0%	5 27.8%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	18 100.0%
Total	33 22.3%			31 20.9%	2 1.4%	2 1.4%	14 9.5%	22 14.9%	9 6.1%	17 11.5%	17 11.5%	148 100.0%

*For the complete text of the considerations see section 6.1.2.5

Table 10c Considerations* in decision-making (Dilemma 3)

Decision-making	Considerations in decision-making								
	Rules and regulations	Avoid troubles with rule enforcement in the future	Avoid negative working climate	Safeguarding public health	Safeguarding animal welfare	Avoid financial damage	Playing safe	Other	Total no of valid observ-ations of N=258
Most important									
I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it	6 42,9%	0 0,0%		7 50,0%	1 7,1%			0 0,0%	14 00,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary	12 20,3%	0 0,0%		5 8,5%	41 69,5%			1 1,7%	59 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional food chain information I requested	20 21,3%	2 2,1%		29 30,9%	42 44,7%			1 1.1%	94 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information	11 20,4%	0 0,0%		20 37,0%	22 40,7%			1 1,9%	54 100,0%
Total	49 22,2%	2 ,9%		61 27,6%	106 48,0%			3 1.4%	221 100,0%
Second most important									
I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it	0 0,0%	1 7,1%	0 0,0%	2 14,3%	10 71,4%		1 7,1%	0 0,0%	14 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary	17 28,8%	3 5,1%	0 0,0%	29 49,2%	8 13,6%		2 3,4%	0 0,0%	59 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional food chain information I requested	23 25,6%	10 11,1%	0 0,0%	30 33,3%	26 28,9%		1 1,1%	0 0,0%	90 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information	6 11,1%	2 3,7%	1 1,9%	21 38,9%	22 40,7%		0 0,0%	2 3,7%	54 100,0%
Total	46 21,2%	16 7,4%	1 ,5%	82 37,8%	66 30,4%		4 1,8%	2 9%	217 100,0%

Table 10c Considerations* in decision-making (Dilemma 3) *(Continued)*

Decision-making	Considerations in decision-making								
	Rules and regulations	Avoid troubles with rule enforcement in the future	Avoid negative working climate	Safeguarding public health	Safeguarding animal welfare	Avoid financial damage	Playing safe	Other	Total no of valid observ-ations of N=258
	Third most important								
I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it	2 22,2%	2 22,2%	0 0,0%	4 44,4%	1 11,1%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	9 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary	17 51,5%	1 3,0%	0 0,0%	5 15,2%	8 24,2%	0 0,0%	2 6,1%	0 0,0%	33 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional food chain information I requested	25 42,4%	5 8,5%	4 6,8%	9 15,3%	9 15,3%	0 0,0%	6 10,2%	0 0,0%	59 100,0%
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information	19 50,0%	2 5,3%	3 7,9%	5 13,2%	5 13,2%	1 2,6%	3 7,9%	2 3,7%	38 100,0%
Total	63 45,3%	10 7,2%	7 5,0%	23 16,5%	23 16,5%	1 ,7%	11 7,9%	2 ,9%	139 100,0%

*For the complete text of the considerations see Subsection 6.1.2.5

The quantitative results are generally in accordance with the findings from the interviews (5.6). Veterinary inspectors indicated that a variety of considerations play a role in decision-making, while the relative importance of these considerations were found to be context-dependent. Additional considerations (in the qualitative analysis we called them inspectee-related and inspection-related considerations) primarily matter in situations in which animal welfare and public health are not seriously threatened. Because at least one of these two core values was at risk in each of the three dilemmas, it is not surprising that any of the additional considerations was mentioned far less frequently as the number one consideration in decision-making in the dilemma situations studied here.

7.1.5 Work-related tensions

In this section I provide an analysis of the additional data that helped me to gain a better understanding of the question *what are the dilemma situations public service professionals are frequently confronted with?* (SRQ1). In particular, I discuss an open question in which I asked respondents to indicate in which situations they experienced work-related tensions. If we can assume that work-related tensions are a consequence of dilemma situations, we may expect the answers to this question to provide additional relevant information. Of the respondents, 65% (n = 168) provided us with concrete situations in which they experienced work-related tensions. These situations also included those I identified as 'dilemma situations' in the qualitative part, including a) conflicting demands from various stakeholders, b) animal welfare – one subjective aspect of 'the public interest' – as a guideline for decision-making, and c) unworkable rules. Situations including value pluralism were not explicitly mentioned as causing tensions. Next to this, respondents mentioned many other situations as tension-inducing; in particular, situations involving aggression, time pressure, and lack of organizational support and of uniform decision-making. Table 11 summarizes the situations in which respondents indicated they experienced work-related tensions.

Analysis of the mean score for the construct 'work-related tensions' showed that veterinary inspectors experience medium-level job stress (mean = 5.68 on a scale from 1 to 10). However, in this case the mean score is not a good indicator of the tensions because the scores were bimodally distributed. There was a small group of respondents who indicated they experienced few tensions, and a larger group who experienced many tensions. The skewed distribution of the variable was also reflected in the median and mode scores, which were '6'and '7', respectively. In order to investigate whether there were differences in the levels of job stress experienced between certain groups of respondents a number

of *t* tests were performed. The results indicated that there was a significant difference regarding the level of tension experienced between men and women ($t(258) = 8.680$. $p = .00 < .05$), practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors ($t(258) = 5.019$. $p = .00 < .05$), and respondents who have an additional private practice and respondents who have no additional employment ($t(258) = -3.362$ $p = .00 < .00$). The latter groups were found to experience a lower level of work-related tensions is compared to the former: women more than men; 'regular veterinarian inspectors' more than practitioners; and inspectors without an additional contract more than those without. I will provide a possible explanation for this finding in the last chapter. Also, because the gender distribution in this sample was not representative of the entire population of veterinary inspectors, the effect of gender must be treated with some caution.

Table 11 Frequency table for reasons for work-related tensions

Reasons for work-related tensions	No	%
Aggression	37	14
Lack of organizational support	31	12
Time pressure	28	11
Conflicting demands	26	10
Lack of uniform decision-making	15	6
Other	12	5
Decisions related to animal welfare	7	3
Faulty decisions	5	2
Problems with ICT	4	2
Unfeasible rules	3	1
Missing	90	34
Total	258	100

Conclusion

These findings generally support the proposition that *public service professionals experience dilemmas in situations in which equally important values clash, various stakeholders' demands are in conflict, or the 'public interest' is the guideline of behaviour* (P1). Situations characterized by multiple demands from various stakeholders, and situations in which animal welfare – one aspect of 'the public interest' – is the guideline for decision-making were mentioned as causing work-related tensions. Only situations including value pluralism were not explicitly mentioned as situations in which respondents experienced tensions.

7.1.6 Commitment to the inspectee

In the qualitative analysis it was found that the degree of 'commitment to the inspectee' played an important role in the decisions that veterinary inspectors make in dilemma situations (5.6). Individuals indicated that they experienced trouble and even acted differently if they knew the inspectees well and were on good terms with them. On the basis of this qualitative result I formulated the hypothesis that *commitment to the inspectee influences decision-making in dilemma situations* (H3), I and included items measuring 'commitment to the inspectee' quantitatively in the survey (6.2.4). The variable 'commitment to the inspectee' was normally distributed and had a standard deviation of .82. The mean score was 2.96, which is close to the centre of the scale (3).

Because, employees who have an additional employment contract as veterinarian can be expected to be more committed to the inspectee than employees without an additional contract, a *t* test was performed. On average, there was no difference between the degree of commitment to the inspctee in respondents with and without additional employment ($t(254) = -.014$. $p = .989 > .05$).

7.2 Correlations between the variables and multicollinearity

In this section I will discuss two correlation tables which contain all independent and dependent variables included in this study. I will start by explaining Table 12a, which presents the correlations between PSM, the separate PSM dimensions, the different dimensions of the concept of professional role identity, professional identification, work-related tensions, and the dependent variable decision-making. The correlations between the different dimensions of the concept of professional role identity and those between professional role identity and PSM are especially interesting because they provide us with additional data that help to answer the secondary research questions *how can the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism be clarified* (SRQ4)? and *what is the relationship between PSM and professionalism* (SRQ5)? Next, the correlations between PSM and decision-making in three dilemma situations are very interesting, as are the correlations between the dimensions of the concept of professional role identity and decision-making. They provide us with some insights that help to answer the primary research question *what is the combined effect of PSM and professionalism on decision-making in the context of dilemma situations?* The correlations between different dimensions of the concept of professional role identity and the different considerations in decision-making are summarized in Table 12b.

As shown in Table 12a, the different dimensions of PSM correlated closer with each other and with the overall PSM construct: the lowest correlation was .34 (self-sacrifice and commitment to public values) and the highest .83 (attraction to public service and PSM). The problem with high correlations is that they increase the risk of multicollinearity, which refers to strong correlations between two or more predictors in a regression model (Field, 2009). However, because the different dimensions of PSM are never included in one single regression model this risk is not relevant here.

Analysis of the correlations between PSM and different dimensions of the concept of professional role identity showed that PSM and its separate dimensions positively correlate with the two professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to animal welfare' and 'commitment to public health'. (The only exceptions are the correlation between the PSM dimension 'commitment to public values' and the professional role identity dimension 'commitment to public health', and the correlation between the PSM dimension 'self-sacrifice' and the role identity dimension 'commitment to animal welfare'). By contrast, PSM correlated negatively with the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to economic interests.' The same was true for the relationship between the PSM dimensions 'commitment to public values' and 'commitment to the inspectee', and the relationships between 'compassion' and 'strict rule enforcement' on the one hand and 'self-sacrifice' and 'strict rule enforcement' on the other. Overall, this implies that being public service motivated is positively associated with a focus on both public health and animal welfare, but negatively with economic interests and strict rule enforcement (even though the relationship between 'rule enforcement' and 'economic interests' was not significant).

The results provided some support for our observation (5.4 and 5.5) that there are different types of inspectors, who combine different interpretations of work aspects. There was a negative correlation between 'commitment to economic interests' and 'strict rule enforcement'. This is in accordance with the distinction between an organization-focused and a veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity. Against my expectations, veterinary inspectors who strongly focus on public health did not focus on strict rule enforcement. Neither did respondents who pay a lot of attention to economic interests pay any attention to animal welfare. Nevertheless, there seemed to be differences between veterinary inspectors regarding their 'commitment to the inspectee' and the way they perceive their work. 'Commitment to the inspectee' was positively related to the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to animal welfare', and negatively to 'strict rule enforcement'. In other words, veterinary inspectors who had strong sympathy for their inspectees, and who experienced stress if they were

forced to make a decision that implied adverse consequences for the inspectee also thought that safeguarding animal welfare and economic interests was important.

Next, the table shows some significant correlations between decision-making in three dilemma situations, the separate dimensions of the concept of professional role identity, and the concept of commitment to the inspctee. In Dilemmas 1 and 2, 'commitment to the inspectee' was positively related to those response categories of decision-making that are associated with deferring the decision to a higher level. The same was true for the dimension 'commitment to economic interests' in Dilemma 1. In Dilemma 3 the 'commitment to public health' was negatively related to deferring the decision. In none of the three dilemma situations included in this study were correlations between PSM and decision-making found. In Sections 7.4 and 7.6, I will analyse the relationship between PSM, professionalism and decision-making more deeply by making use of logistic regressions models.

The correlation table also show that professional identification is positively correlated with the separate PSM dimensions and the overall PSM construct. These findings support the idea that professional organizations could play a positive role in fostering public norms and values among their members. By contrast, professional identification was not, or only weakly, associated with the different dimensions of the concept of professional role identity, which suggests that the degree of identification with the profession of veterinary inspector is not associated with the way veterinary inspectors interpret their work.

Finally, significant correlations between work-related tensions and the variables 'self-sacrifice', 'willingness to enforce', and 'professional identification' were found. All correlations, however, were very small: below .15.

As illustrated in Table 12a, *muticollinearity* seemed not to be a problem. No extreme correlations between two independent variables included in one of the multiple regression models were found. The highest correlation was $r = .243$, between PSM and the professional role identity 'commitment to public health'. This is important because it is difficult to assess the individual importance of the separate predictors in a regression model if they are highly correlated. Also, the standard error and β confidence intervals tend to be inflated in models which are affected by multicollinearity (Field, 2009).

The results listed in the second correlation table (Table 12b) indicate that – in general – the way people interpret their professional role and their considerations in decision-making were positively linked. Respondents who made their decision on the basis of the consideration 'because I want to safeguard public heath' also view 'safeguarding public health' as an important aspect of their work. The same was true for the relationship between

the considerations 'because I want to limit financial damage' and 'commitment to economic interests', and between 'because I want to ensure animal welfare' and 'commitment to animal welfare'. The consideration 'that is what the rules say' did not significantly correlate with the professional role identity dimension 'strict rule enforcement': if respondents considered rules and regulations in the decisions they made, this did not they did not necessarily mean that they thought strict rule enforcement as an important aspect in their work. However, as expected, a significant and negative relationship between 'strict rule enforcement' and the consideration 'because he usually is a 'good' guy' was found.

Next, Table 12b also provides evidence of some structure among the considerations: some considerations were positively related, others negatively. The highest correlations involved 'because that is what the rules say' and 'because I want to avoid financial damage'. I will focus on the correlations involving these two considerations when describing possible correlation patterns. Respondents who made their decision on the basis of rules and regulations also made their decision because they want to safeguard animal welfare and public health. Because rules and regulations are designed to assure these values, this finding is not surprising. On the other hand, economic damage-related considerations, and considerations linked to the fact that someone dislikes wasting good meat were negatively related to the consideration 'because that's what the rules say'. This means that if people indicated that rules and regulations were important considerations in their decision-making, they were less concerned with limiting financial damage or meat possibly being wasted.

In contrast, if respondents scored high on the consideration 'because I want to avoid financial damage', they also scored high on a large number of alternative considerations. Considerations positively related to the desire to avoid financial damage are 'because I want to avoid a negative working climate', 'because I want to avoid future problems related to rule enforcement in the future', 'because it was my colleague's fault', 'because I don't like wasting good meat', and 'because the inspectee is usually a good guy'. In other words, this group of veterinary inspectors seemed to be more loyal to colleagues and sensitive to the character of the inspectee.

Conclusion

On the basis of the two correlation tables, three important results should be highlighted. First, PSM and its separate dimensions are positively related to the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to animal welfare' and 'commitment to public health', but negatively to 'commitment to economic interests' and (though not significantly so) to 'strict rule enforcement'. These findings contribute to our understanding of the relationship between PSM and professionalism (SRQ5).

Table 12a Full Pearson's correlations[2] table of all core variables included in this study

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. PSM	1																	
2. ATPS	.84**	1																
3. CPV	.65**	.45**	1															
4. COM	.77**	.54**	.44**	1														
5. SS	.83**	.61**	.34**	.83**	1													
Professional role identity																		
6. Commitment to economic interests	-.12*	-.05	-.11	-.05	-.12	1												
7. Commitment to AW	.13*	.13*	.13*	.18**	.05	.06	1											
8. Commitment to PH	.24**	.26**	.11	.14*	.24**	-.02	.05	1										
9. Strict rule enforcement	-.11	-.21**	-.15*	.09	.02	-.30**	.07	.01	1									
10. Commitment to the inspectee	-.12	-.05	-.13*	-.02	-.11	.39**	.17**	-.01	-.21**	1								
11. Professional identification	.29**	.25**	.13*	.30**	.24**	.07	.11	.15*	-.11	.00	1							
12. Work-related tensions[3]	-.09	-.04	-.09	-.15*	-.06	.10	.06	.02	.02	.10	.15*	1						
13. Decision-making Dilemma 1[4] (0 = I disqualify 1= I defer the decision)																		
	.11	.06	.06	.13	.10	.15*	.10	-.01	-.02	.14*	-.01	-.15*	1					
Decision-making Dilemma 2[4]																		
14. Dummy 1 (D2)	-.03	-.02	.00	-.02	-.07	.12	-.04	.04	-.08	.20**	.08	.19**	.01	1				
15. Dummy2 (D2)	-.01	-.00	-.04	-.01	.01	-.01	-.03	.02	.05	-.13	-.12	-.19**	.01	-.66**	1			
Decision-making Dilemma 3[4]																		
16. Dummy1 (D3)	-.05	-.07	-.02	.01	-.07	.04	.02	-.14*	.05	.04	-.03	-.09	.09	.06	-.02	1		
17. Dummy2 (D3)	-.06	-.05	-.08	.02	-.03	-.06	-.04	.00	.08	-.03	-.01	-.10	-.17*	-.01	-.06	-.52**	1	
18. Dummy 3 (D3)	.09	.09	.10	-.05	.07	.01	.00	.06	-.13	.02	-.03	.21**	.02	.00	.07	-.34**	-.49**	1

Dummy 1 (D2) = I stop production vs. I defer decision; Dummy 2 (D2) = I stop production vs. I make a written report; Dummy 1 (D3) = I disqualify vs. I predate the fracture; Dummy 2 (D3) = I disqualify vs. decision based on vaccination info; Dummy 3 (D3) = I disqualify vs. I predate the fracture and make a decision based on vaccination info * Significant at < 0.1 (2-tailed)

** Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

Interestingly, the quantitative results partly contradict the results of the qualitative analysis, in which we were able to demonstrate that professional role identity helps to clarify the meaning and consequences of PSM. In the qualitative analysis (5.5) I found that 'public interest' can be interpreted as 'strict rule enforcement' or 'commitment to economic interests', and that this is reflected in the behaviour of public service professionals. I will refer to this contradiction in the Discussion chapter (Chapter 8).

Second, the results indicate that the way people interpret their professional role (professional role identity) and in general their considerations in decision-making are general positively linked. These findings are interesting because they support our assumption about the explanatory value of professional role identity.

Third, if we combine the results of both correlation tables we find additional support for the proposition that *Individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities* (P4). The correlation tables provide evidence for two different types of veterinary inspectors: those who rely on rules and who want to safeguard animal welfare and public health (organization-focused professional role identity), and those who consider the financial damage their actions might cause, who are committed to the inspectee, and influenced by the inspectee's character (veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity). The only relationship that could not be verified by means of quantitative data was that between 'commitment to economic interests' and 'animal welfare'. This might point to the existence of a large group of individuals with mixed professional role identities.

2 Correlations including dummy variables are point-biserial correlations

3 Measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 10. All other constructs were measured on a scale ranging from 1 to 5.

4 For a complete formulation of the response categories for Dilemmas 1, 2 and 3 see Subsection 6.1.2.5

Table 12b Pearson's correlations table of professional role identity and considerations in decision-making in dilemma situations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Professional role identity																
1. Commitment to economic interests	1															
2. Commitment to animal welfare	.056	1														
3. Commitment to public health	-.020	.050	1													
4. Strict rule enforcement	-.295*	.069	.014	1												
5. Commitment to the inspectee	.392**	.171**	-.006	-.207*	1											
Consideration in decision-making[45]																
6. Because that's what the rule say	-.241**	-.001	.101	.108	-.161*	1										
7. Because I want to safeguard public health	-.286**	.093	.288**	.155*	-.168*	.266**	1									
8. Because I want to limit financial damage	.259**	.104	.010	.014	.244**	-.144*	.062	1								
9. Because I want to avoid a negative working climate	.233**	.236**	.013	-.089	.244**	-.065	.065	.660**	1							
10 . Because I want to avoid future problems related to rule enforcement	.078	.188**	.036	-.042	.141*	.044	.018	.382**	.535**	1						
11. Because I want to be certain of the decision by contacting supervisor(s)	.201**	.138	.158*	.075	.231**	-.137	.203**	.414**	.473**	.262**	1					
12. Because it was my colleague's fault	.143*	.085	.049	.048	.051	-.121	.071	.508**	.426**	.243**	.200**	1				
13. Because I don't like wasting good meat	.216**	.108	.075	.017	.238**	-.186**	.045	.529**	.438**	.270**	.326**	.457**	1			
14. Because the inspectee is usually a good guy	.256**	.062	.112	-.214**	.266**	-.116	-.024	.487**	.418**	.118	.216**	.298**	.578**	1		
15. Because we didn't enforce this in the past either	.117	.003	.050	-.131	.212**	.149*	-.049	.018	-.005	.117	.124	.039	.124	.020	1	
16. Because I want to ensure animal welfare	-.202**	.215**	.096	.110	.063	.252**	.379**	-.008	.025	-.053	.207**	.097	.138*	.132	.148*	1

* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed); ** Significant at < 0.01 (2-tailed)

5 The different consideration scores were calculated by combining the scores for the same consideration for all three dilemmas (provided the consideration was relevant to the dilemma)

6 For a complete formulation of the considerations see Subsection 6.1.2.5

7.3 Linking the meaning of 'public interest' to different roles

In this section, I will go one step further towards finding an additional empirical answer to the question of *how the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM can be clarified* (SRQ3). Assuming that the concept of public interest is an inherent aspect of PSM I included an additional open PSM question in the survey, asking respondents to identify in one word what they associate 'public interest' with in their roles of A) citizen, B) veterinarian (with an academic education), and C) veterinary inspector. This question is important as it helps to verify the proposition that *the meaning of public service motivation, and its behavioural implications, depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society* (P2). I will start by describing the frequency of the different interpretations in relation to the different roles. Interpretations that were only mentioned once were coded as 'other'. Second, I investigate if specific combinations of interpretations of 'public interest' can be identified.

As shown in Table 13, there were many different interpretations of the concept of public interest. For the 'civilian' role 18 different interpretations could be differentiated, 15 for veterinarian, and 15 for veterinary inspector. Ten interpretations were mentioned in all three roles (e.g., social welfare, honesty and public health), but there were also interpretations which were only mentioned in two or just one role. For example, 'solidarity' and 'to show a social conscience' were frequently mentioned in the 'civilian' role, but not in the veterinarian nor in the veterinary inspector role. By contrast, 'service provider' was only mentioned for veterinarian and 'rule enforcement' only in for veterinary inspector.

In spite of the large variety of interpretations, several frequency patterns could be distinguished among the three roles. For the role of civilian, specific interpretations were mentioned with fairly equal frequencies. Four interpretations were mentioned more than twenty times (social welfare, society, security, to show a social conscience) and four interpretations were mentioned more than ten times (honesty, justice, public health, civic duty). For the roles of veterinarian and veterinary inspector one interpretation was dominant in each case. For the veterinarian role this was animal welfare (n=129), followed by public health (n=16), being a service provider (n=15), and social welfare (n=13). All other interpretations were mentioned less than ten times. If we look at the interpretation of 'public interest', we see a similar picture for the role of veterinary inspector in the sense that a different interpretation was clearly dominant. Here, 'public health' is the interpretation most frequently mentioned by far (n=127); second is 'animal welfare' (n=29), followed by 'rule enforcement' (n=20) and 'legislation' (n=16).

Table 13 Frequency table for different interpretations of 'public interest'

	Role					
	Civilian		Veterinarian		Veterinary inspector	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Social welfare	31	12.0	13	5.0	5	1.9
Society	28	10.8	3	1.2	5	1.9
Security	24	9.3	1	.4	1	.4
To show a social conscience	23	8.9				
Honesty	15	5.8	5	1.9	6	2.3
Justice	15	5.8			3	1.2
Public Health	13	5.0	16	6.2	127	49.0
Civic Duty	11	4.2	1	.4	1	.4
Solidarity	10	3.9				
Respect	9	3.5	3	1.2	2	.8
Helpfulness	8	3.1	2	.8		
Norms and values	6	2.3	2	.8	1	.4
Responsibility	5	1.9	2	.8	3	1.2
Equality	4	1.5				
Legislation	4	1.5	1	.4	16	6.2
Health care	2	.8				
My own interests	2	.8				
Humanism	2	.8				
Animal welfare/health			129	49.8	29	11.2
Economic interests			6	2.3	3	1.2
Professionalism			7	2.7	3	1.2
Providing service			15	5.8		
Rule enforcement					20	7.7
Other	21	8.1	23	8.9	14	5.4
Missing values	25	10.0	29	11.6	19	7.7
Total	258	100	258	100	258	100

In a second step I investigated if different patterns of interpretation could be distinguished, and how these related to the level of PSM and to work-related tensions. The mean score can be misleading if the distribution of the variable is skewed. Work-related tensions are distributed bimodally (see also Subsection 7.1.5). For this reason, I here present not only the mean score but also the median. In Table 14 interesting and frequent combinations of interpretations are summarized. For the sake of clarity, unique combinations were excluded from the table.

For the role of veterinarian the combination most frequently mentioned by far was animal welfare, plus public health for the role of veterinary inspector, plus a varying interpretation (e.g., social welfare, security, justice) for the role of civilian. This combination occurred 85 times and is given in the first row of the table below. Interestingly, by contrast the combination of animal welfare and public health never occurred. For the role of veterinarian the interpretation 'public health' was never given in combination with the interpretation 'animal welfare' for the role of veterinary inspector. This could support the proposition that interpretations of the concept of public interest are role-dependent (P2). However, we also found that respondents interpreted 'public interest' in the same way in both their roles of veterinary inspector and veterinarian. Twenty-one individuals indicated that animal welfare is what 'public interest' meant to them in both roles, and 12 individuals said the same of 'public health'. This result might suggest that the roles influence each other with respect to the interpretation of the concept of public interest, with a stronger effect from the role of veterinarian. Animal welfare – the dominant interpretation for the role of veterinarian – was mentioned as their interpretation of 'public interest' in both roles by almost twice as many respondents than those mentioning public health, which was the dominant interpretation for the role of veterinary inspector (21:12). An explanation for this strong effect might be that the respondents had first been socialized as veterinarians. Prior to their contact with the NVWA they studied veterinary medicine, and most of them had worked as practicing veterinarians for many years[7].

Another interesting observation was that eight individuals gave the same interpretation of 'the public interest' for all three roles. Further analysis of the data showed that in none of these cases did individuals refer to either public interest or animal welfare. Rather, when interpreting the concept of public interest these respondents referred to classic values such as 'honesty', 'respect', 'society', and 'social welfare'. One respondent referred to 'values' in general. This could imply that there is also a small group of individuals whose interpretation of 'public interest' is a static core trait.

Next to this, there was also a small group of respondents (n = 6) who gave inherently conflicting meanings to the concept of public interest, namely 'providing service' for the role of veterinarian and 'strict rule enforcement' for the role of veterinary inspector. This is very interesting because it puts these individuals in situations in which it is often impossible to act in line with both interpretations.

7 Practitioners had been working as practicing veterinarians for 23 years on average. Unfortunately, I do not have data available for the number of years the 'regular' veterinary inspectors had been working in private practices before they joined the NVWA.

It is noticeable that, no matter what combination of interpretations of the concept of public interest people subscribed to, all respondents scored high on PSM, and the group of individuals who had conflicting views of PSM even scored highest. This could support the argument that the meaning of PSM – assuming that the public interest is an important aspect of it – is fuzzy, and also supports our finding from the qualitative analysis (5.5) that PSM may be associated with both 'strict rule enforcement' and 'economic interests'. Knowing that an individual is public service motivated is not sufficient, because this does not tell us how he or she will behave. Another interesting finding/observation was that individuals who have conflicting views on 'public interest' in their different roles experienced the lowest amount of work-related tensions. Respondents who interpreted the meaning of the concept of public interest in the same way regardless of the role they held experienced the highest level of stress.

Table 14 Frequent and interesting combinations of interpretations of 'public interest'

	No	Mean PSM	Median/mean Work-related tensions
Animal welfare[8]/ public health[9] + 'X'[10] + 'X' = Social welfare (n = 12) + 'X' = Security (n = 11) + 'X' = Civic duty (n = 4) + 'X' = Solidarity (n = 4) + 'X' = Justice (n = 5) + 'X' = Society (n = 9) + 'X' = To show a social conscience (n=13) + 'X' = Varying values (n = 26)	85	3.85	6/5.49
Public health[8]/animal welfare[9]+ 'X' [10]			
Animal welfare[8]/animal welfare[9] + 'X'[10]	21	3.63	6.5/5.85
Public health[8] /public health[9] + 'X'[10]	12	3.90	6/5.70
Service provision[8]/rule enforcement[9] + 'X[10]	6	4.01	5.5/5.33
Same interpretation of public interest for all three roles	9	3.77	7/6.05

Conclusion

The results support the theoretical argument that 'public interest' is a fuzzy concept: the data reflected no general agreement on what 'public interest' actually means. The respondents delivered 23 different interpretations of the concept in total. Next to this, the results supported my argument in section 2.7.1 that if we want to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of the concept (SRQ3), PSM had better be approached as

8 Role of veterinarian
9 Role of veterinary inspector
10 Role of civilian

a role identity-dependent construct rather than an ideal. Almost 50 % of the respondents interpreted 'public interest' as animal welfare for the role of veterinarian, and as public health for the role of veterinary inspector. Only 10 (< 4%) individuals accorded one and the same meaning to 'public interest' for all three roles. This provides additional support for the first part of the proposition *the meaning of public service motivation, and its behavioural implications, depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society* (P2). However, it also means that there might be a small group of people for whom PSM is more like a stable core trait.

7.4 Professional role identity, commitment to the inspectee, and decision-making

Earlier (Sections 5.4 and 7.2) I discussed the proposition that *individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities* (P4). In this section I will go one step further and investigate if professional role identity has behavioural consequences in dilemma situations. In other words, I test the hypothesis that *decision-making in dilemma situations is influenced by professional role identity, i.e., the way individuals interpret their professional role* (H1). This will make it possible to fully verify our theoretical argument that if we want to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism (SRQ4) professionalism had better be approched as professional role identity. I also investigate if the results presented in Section 5.6 – i.e., 'commitment to the inspectee' is an important consideration and hence also an explanatory factor in decision-making – can be generalized by testing the hypothesis *commitment to the inspectee influences decision-making* (H3).

Both hypotheses (H1 and H3) were tested by performing a series of logistic regression analyses. After excluding those response categories of the variable 'decision-making' that contained fewer than ten responses, two response categories remained for Dilemma 1, three for Dilemma 2, and four for Dilemma 3. I therefore performed a binary logistic regression analysis to test the influence of professional role identity and 'commitment to the inspectee' on decision-making in Dilemma 1, and multinomial logistic regressions analyses to test these effects in Dilemmas 2 and 3. The effect of the independent variables on decision-making was tested via a two-step procedure. First, the effects of each dimension of professional role identity and the effect of 'commitment to the inspectee' on decision-making were tested separately. Second, controls were included in the logit models in order to investigate if the results could have been confounded by the effect of third variables.

Binary logistic regression analysis: Dilemma 1

Before I present the results of the binary regression analysis, I will address the question of whether the logistic regression model provided a good fit with the data obtained. The extent to which the new model provides better fit than the 'null model' without explanatory variable(s) is indicated by the Hosmer-Lemeshow (HL) test and the Omnibus test of model coefficients indicate. If the result of the HL test is not significant, the model can be assumed to have adequate fit (Lammers, Plezer, Hendrickx & Eisinga, 2007). Table 15 summarizes the results of the binary regression analysis applied to Dilemma 1. Next to the logits (the logistic regression coefficients (B)) and the odds ratio (Exp(B)), the results of the HL test and the Nagelkerke R Square, and the number of valid observations are provided. The Nagelkerke (pseudo) R square can be used as an indicator of the effect size of the independent variable (Lammers, Pelzer, Hendrickx & Eisings, 2007).

The logit models showed that for Dilemma 1 the dimensions 'commitment to animal welfare', 'commitment to public health' and 'strict rule enforcement' had no significant effect on decision-making. A one-unit change in the independent variables 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to the inspectee', however, increased the likelihood that that the decision was deferred until after the consultation with the supervisor (commitment to economic interests (Exp(B) = 1.53; $p = .04 < .05$; commitment to the inspectee (Exp(B) = 1.47; $p = .04 < .05$). This means that if veterinary inspectors saw resecting the economic interests as an important aspect of their work and commiserated with they were more likely inspectees, the probability increased that they defer their decision until they had talked to their supervisor.

In a next step I extended to analysis to include gender, age, type of employment contract, additional employment as a veterinarian, number of years of employment at the organization, position, team, and proactive behaviour in order to control for alternative explanations of decision-making. The results of this second model (for more information see Table A5a in the Appendix) showed that the effect of 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to the inspectee' remained significant (commitment to the inspectee: Exp(B) = 1.64; $p = .02 < .05$; economic interests: Exp(B) = 1.81; $p = .01 < .05$). The two control variables which had a significant effect on decision-making in Dilemma 1 were gender and age. Women were three times more likely than men (Exp(B) = 3.01) to defer their decision and contact the supervisor first before disqualifying the cattle. (However, we need to keep in mind that the number of women in the sample of this study was not representative (6.2.2))

Table 15a Results of binary regression analysis (Dilemma 1)

	HL test		Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients		Nagelkerke (pseudo) R	B	Exp(B)	Sig.	No of valid observation of N=258
	Chi-square	Sig.	Chi-square	Sig.					
Commitment to economic interests	2.99	.70	5.18	.02*	.03	.40	1.49	.03*	226
Constant						-1.23	.29	.01	
Commitment to animal welfare	3.96	.55	2.32	.13	.01	.32	1.37	.13	217
Constant						-1.32	.27	.06	
Commitment to public health	11.85	.04*	.01	.91	.00	-.02	.98	.91	222
Constant						1.27	.85	.83	
Strict rule enforcement	1.512	.91	.18	.73	.00	-.07	.93	.73	224
Constant						-.12	.88	.80	
Commitment to the inspectee	9.17	.56	.4.53	.03*	.03	.36	1.47	.04*	224
Constant						-1.37	.25	.01	
PSM	11.72	.16	2.58	.11	.02	.56	1.75	.11	226
Constant						-2.38	.09	.08	

0 = I disqualify the cattle. (reference category); 1 = I defer the decision until have I talked to my supervisor.
* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

The opposite was true for the effect of age. A one-unit change in the variable 'age' made it less likely that respondents would defer the decision rather than disqualify the cattle right away. Table A5a in the Appendix provides evidence that 'commitment to the inspectee' plus the control variables explain 13 % of the variance in the independent variable ((pseudo (R) = .13). 'Commitment to economic interests' plus the control variables explain 14 % ((pseudo (R) = .14).

Multinomial logistic regression analyses: Dilemmas 2 and 3

Before I present the results of the multinomial logistic regression analysis I will first discuss whether the 'new model', i.e., the model that includes the independent variable, can be considered to have a good fit. This information was provided by the Likelihood Ratio Test, a test based on the likelihood ratio expressing how many times more likely the data are under the 'new model' than under the base '0 or model'. In Tables 15b and 15c the results of the multinomial regression analysis are summarized for Dilemmas 2 and 3. Besides the results of the Likelihood Ratio Test, the table also contains the logits, odds ratios, the Nagelkerke (pseudo) R, and the number of valid observations. Again, each dimension of the construct 'professional role identity' and the concept 'commitment to the inspectee' was tested separately.

For Dilemma 2, again the professional identity dimensions 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to the inspectee' had a significant effect on decision-making. A one-unit change in the independent variable 'commitment to the inspectee' increased the likelihood of deferring the decision compared to stopping the production processes. If veterinary inspectors thought that safeguarding economic interests was an important aspect of their work, the probability increased that they deferred the decision until they had talked to their supervisor regarding the response category 'I stop the production process' (Exp(B) = 1.9; $p = .04 < .05$). The other dimensions of professional role identity had no significant effect on decision-making.

In a second step controls were added to the model. As can be seen in Table A5b in the Appendix, the effects of 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to the inspectee' remained significant. Control variables that had a significant effect on decision-making were 'type of employment contract' and 'position'. Respondents who worked as 'regular' veterinary inspectors (as opposed to practitioners) and who held a position without any supervisory responsibility (as opposed to veterinary inspectors who were also company inspectors) were less likely to write a report than to stop the production process.

This result is interesting because it supports my argument that there might be differences between practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors regarding the way they do their work. (Note that, I argued that practitioners might perceive their work differently than 'regular' veterinary inspectors because, of their indirect dependency on the private sector and their distance to the NVWA (5.4)).

Table 15b Results of multinomial logistic regression analysis (Dilemma 2)

		Likelihood Ratio Test		Nagelkerke (pseudo) R	B	Exp (B)	Sig.	No of valid observations of N=258
		Chi-square	Sig.					
Commitment to economic interests		4.80	.09	.03				217
0	Constant				.41		.56	
	Economic interests				.66	1.93	.04*	
1	Constant				-1.21		.19	
	Economic interests				.54	1.72	.17	
Commitment to animal welfare		1.70	.43	.01				209
0	Constant				3.32		.01	
	Animal welfare				-.40	.67	.22	
1	Constant				1.74		.23	
	Animal welfare				-.50	.61	.25	
Commitment to public health		1.21	.55	.01				213
0	Constant				.57		.64	
	Public health				.367	1.45	.29	
1	Constant				-1.47		.36	
	Public health				.42	1.52	.36	
Strict rule enforcement		1.25	.54	.01				215
0	Constant				2.58		.00	
	Enforcement				-.29	.75	.37	
1	Constant				.07		.95	
	Enforcement				-.03	.97	.94	
Commitment to the inspectee		8.93	.01*	.05				215
0	Constant				.08		.92	
	Inspectee				.63	1.88	.02*	
1	Constant				-.15		.88	
	Inspectee				.04	1.04	.90	
PSM		.56	.76	.00				217
0	Constant				3.41		.10	
	PSM				-.40	.67	.46	
1	Constant				1.61		.56	
	PSM				-.42	.66	.55	

0 = I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor; 1 = I make a written report
Reference category = I stop the production process.
* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

In this case, the results suggested that practitioners – when compared with 'regular' veterinary inspectors – are less likely to make a decision that entails both financial damage to the inspectee and much time-consuming administrative work than a decision that has implies action on the spot. Table 5b shows that 'commitment to the inspectee' plus the controls explain 22 % of the variance in the independent variable ((pseudo (R) = .22). The professional identity dimension 'commitment to economic interests' plus the controls explain 23 % ((pseudo (R) = .23).

For Dilemma 3, only the dimension 'commitment to public health' of the construct of professional role perception had a significant effect on decision-making (see Table 15c). If individuals viewed safeguarding public health as an important aspect of their work theey were less likely to slaughter the cow and try to predate the exact date of the fracture rather than 'slaughtering and disqualifying the animal'. The same seems to be true for the response category 'I order to shoot and slaughter the cow and make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information'. Thus, if respondents scored higher on 'commitment to public health', they were more likely to slaughter and disqualify the animal right away. However, we need to be aware of the fact that the latter effect was only significant at a significance level of .1, meaning that this finding is more likely to be false: a ten (.10) – rather than five (.05) – percent chance.

Dilemma 3, too, was tested a second time in order to control for possible confounding effects from third variables. This was not the case: the effect of 'commitment to public health' remained significant. Table A5c in the Appendix shows that the two control variables 'type of employment contract' and 'team' had significant effects on decision-making. 'Regular' veterinary inspectors were eight times more likely than practitioners to choose the response category 'I order to shoot and slaughter the cow and try to assess the fracture's date so I can maintain order if necessary AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information' compared to 'I order to slaughter and disqualify the cow' (Exp(B) = 8.07). This finding again supports the argument that there are some differences between practitioners and 'regular' veterinary inspectors regarding the way they do their work. Individuals from the team 'slaughtering houses' were 30 times (Exp(B) = 30.43) more likely to slaughter the cow and try to predate the exact date of the fracture than members of the team 'import'. This is not surprising, because 'import' inspectors often do not possess the skills necessary to perform assessments of the date of the fracture. Table A4c provides evidence that the dimension 'commitment to public health', plus the control variables explain 25 % of the variance in the independent variable ((pseudo (R) = .25).

Table 15c Results of multinomial logistic regression analysis (Dilemma 3)

		Likelihood Ratio Test		Nagelkerke (pseudo) R	B	Exp (B)	Sig.	No of valid observations of N=258
		Chi-square	Sig.					
Commitment to economic interests		.81	.85	.00				221
0	Constant				1.50		.13	
	Economic interests				-.03	.98	.95	
1	Constant				2.39		.01	
	Economic interests				-.20	.82	.59	
2	Constant				1.58		.11	
	Economic interests				-.10	.91	.80	
Commitment to animal welfare		.49	.93	.00				212
0	Constant				1.94		.22	
	Animal welfare				-.13	.88	.77	
1	Constant				2.7		.07	
	Animal welfare				-.25	.78	.57	
2	Constant				2.00		.21	
	Animal welfare				-.18	.83	.69	
Commitment to public health		8.26	.04*	.04				217
0	Constant				6.17		.00	
	Public health				-1.28	.28	.01*	
1	Constant				5.22		.01	
	Public health				-.89	.41	.06	
2	Constant				4.03		.04	
	Public health				-.71	.49	.15	
Strict rule enforcement		4.38	.22	.01				219
0	Constant				.63		.56	
	Enforcement				.34	1.41	.46	
1	Constant				1.09		.30	
	Enforcement				.35	143	.43	
2	Constant				1.68		.12	
	Enforcement				-.16	.85	.85	
Commitment to the inspectee		.65	.89	.00				219
0	Constant				.67		.54	
	Inspectee				.26	1.29	.48	
1	Constant				1.49		.48	
	Inspectee				.14	1.15	.69	
2	Constant				.72		.51	
	Inspectee				.22	1.24	.56	
PSM		2.72	.44	.01				221
0	Constant				4.13		.15	
	PSM				-.71	.49	.34	
1	Constant				4.57		.01	
	PSM				-.70	.50	.33	
2	Constant				1.83		.53	
	PSM				-.13	.88	.87	

0 = I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary; 1 = I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional vaccination information I requested; 2 = I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information

Reference category = I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it

* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

Conclusion

The results provide some support for the hypothesis that decision-making in dilemma situations is influenced by the way individuals interpret their professional role (H1) and the degree of 'commitment to the inspectee' (H3). Some dimensions of the concept of professional role identity had an effect on decision-making, others did not. This implies that approaching professionalism as a professional role identity is valuable, because this new approach partly clarifies the behavioural consequences of the concept (SRQ4). After controlling for a large number of effects I found that the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to the inspectee' were related to the option 'I defer the decision until I talked to my supervisor' in Dilemmas 1 and 2. The dimension 'commitment to public health' was related to the decision 'I slaughter and disqualify the cow'. This result is not surprising, because economic interests did not play an important role in Dilemma 3; rather Dilemma 3 presents a situation in which public health and animal welfare are in conflict. The dimensions 'strict rule enforcement' and 'commitment to animal welfare' did not have an impact on decision-making in any of the three dilemma situations investigated here. I will return to this non-finding in the final chapter of this dissertation.

7.5 Considerations in decision-making

For Dilemmas 1 and 2 the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to the inspectee' explained a significant amount of the probability of veterinary inspectors deciding to defer their decision until they had contacted their supervisor. For Dilemma 3, the dimension 'commitment to public health' of the construct of professional role perception was reflected in the decision 'I order to shoot and slaughter the animal'. Unfortunately, the (pseudo) R remained small for all three dilemmas ((pseudo $R \leq .05$). This raises the question what other potential predictors for decision-making there are that have not yet been included in the logit model. In the previous analysis I tested for the effect of several controls such as age, position, gender, and all dimensions of the concept of professional role identity. The (pseudo) R indicated that the added control variables do have predictive value. (The (pseudo) R went up to ~ .14 for Dilemma 1, to ~.22 for Dilemma 2, and to ~ .25 for Dilemma 3.) Analysing the considerations in decision-making may provide additional information that may help to answer the question what other potential predictors for decision-making there are.

Tables 10c, 10b and 10c in the previous subsection (7.1.4) showed that a primary consideration to defer the decision frequently mentioned in Dilemma 1 was the desire to 'play safe' (n=28). 'Because I have difficulties with throwing away 'good meat'' was often mentioned as second or third most important consideration. For Dilemma 2, the consideration most frequently mentioned regarding deferring the decision was 'because there was no strict rule enforcement in the past' was (n = 41). As with Dilemma 1, the desire to 'play safe' was frequently mentioned as second or third most important consideration. This means that – next to the professional identity dimensions 'commitment to economic interests' and the 'commitment to the inspectee' – the desire to 'play safe', previous rule enforcement habits, and personal standards probably also affect decision-making in dilemma situations. Regarding Dilemma 3, additional considerations were rarely mentioned. Most of the employees indicated that they decided to slaughter and disqualify the animal because of considerations of animal welfare, public health, or because 'that is what the rules say'. As mentioned earlier, this probably relates to the fact that financial interests played a less important role in this dilemma situation: 'only' one animal was involved.

7.6 Testing the conceptual model

In this last 'empirical' section I will try to find an answer to the primary research question *what is the combined effect of PSM and professionalism on decision-making in dilemma situations* by testing the following hypothesis presented in the theory chapter: *PSM moderates the relationship between professional role perception and decision-making in dilemma situations* (H2).

The hypothesis was tested by including PSM as a moderator in the logit models discussed in Section 7.4. The results of the logistic regression analyses testing for a possible interaction effect of PSM can be found in Table 16a, 16b, and 16c below. Table 16a lists the results of the moderator analyses applied to the relationship between the professional role identity dimensions and decision-making that was found to be significant in the previous analyses for Dilemma 1: 'commitment to economic interests'. Table 16b does the same for decision-making in Dilemma 2: it shows whether PSM moderates the relationship between 'commitment to economic interests' and decision-making. In Table 16c, the moderator effect of PSM on the relationship between 'commitment to public health' and decision-making in Dilemma 3 is presented.

Table 16a Results of logistic regression analysis with moderator PSM (Dilemma1)

	Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients		Nagelkerke (pseudo) R	B	Exp (B)	Sig.	No of valid observations of N=258
	Chi-square	Sig.					
	9.20	.03*	.05				226
Commitment to economic interests centr.				.46	1.59	.01*	
PSM centr.				.71	2.03	.06	
Commitment to economic interests x PSM centr.				.05	1.05	.89	
Constant				-.28	.75	.04	
	8.51	.04*	.05				224
Commitment to the inspectee centr.				.45	1.57	.01*	
PSM_centr				.73	2.07	.07	
Commitment to the inspectee centr. x PSM centr				-.52	.55	.22	
Constant				-.39	.71	.01	

0 = I disqualify the cattle (reference category); 1 = I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor
* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

Interestingly, the results failed to provide any support for Hypothesis 2. PSM did not moderate the relationship between professional role identity and decision-making in any of the three dilemma situations included in this study. This was true for both the dimensions of professional role identity that had a significant effect on decision-making in previous analyses and the dimensions that did not have significant effects (commitment to animal welfare and strict rule enforcement). For practical reasons the results of the interaction analyses applied to the dimensions without significant effects are not included as tables to this dissertation, but may be obtained from the author on request.

In a second step I performed an additional set of moderator analyses with the aim to investigate if one or more of the separate PSM dimensions of the PSM construct (compassion, commitment to public values, attraction to public service and self-sacrifice) could support hypothesis 2[11]. This meant performing 48 separate moderator analyses (three dilemmas (dependent variable) x four dimensions of professional role identity (independent variables) x four PSM dimensions (moderator) = 48). Because of the large number of separate analyses I decided to display only the significant results in Table A6. All of them relate to Dilemma 1. The non-findings may be obtained from the author on request. Table A6 provides evidence that the dimension 'compassion' shows a significant and positive effect on decision-making when tested together with the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to public health' and 'commitment to economic interests'. An increase in 'compassion' increased the probability of the decision being deferred until after a discussion with the supervisor.

11 Investigating the antecedents or effects of different PSM dimensions separately has been done in previous research (e.g., Andersen & Petersen, 2012).

However, 'compassion' did not moderate the relationships between these two role identity dimensions and decision-making. A higher score on 'compassion' did not change the strength of the relationship between 'commitment to public health' and decision-making, and 'commitment to economic interests' and decision-making.

Finally, I also investigated whether PSM had a direct effect on decision-making in dilemma situations. The results of testing the direct effect of professional role identity on decision-making can be found in the logistic regression models in the previous section. In none of the three dilemmas investigated in this study did PSM have a significant effect on decision-making.

Table 16b Results of logistic regression analysis with moderator PSM (Dilemma 2)

	Likelihood Ration Test		Nagelkerke (pseudo) R	B	Exp (B)	Sig.	No of valid obser-vations of N=258
	Chi-square	Sig.					
Commitment to economic interests	5.80	.45	.04				213
I defer the decision until I've talked to my supervisor							
Constant				1.92		.00	
Economic interests_centr.				.64	1.90	.04*	
PSM_cent				-.29	.75	.62	
Economic interests_centr. x PSM_centr.				.49	1.64	.56	
I make a written report							
Constant				.08		.82	
Economic interests_centr.				.51	.76	.20	
PSM_centr.				-.36	.17	.66	
Economic interests_centr. x PSM_centr.				-.25	.16	.82	
Commitment to the inspectee	9.32	.16	.06				215
I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor							
Closeness inspectee_centr.				.59	1.80	.04*	
PSM_centr.				-.11	.90	.85	
Closeness inspectee_centr. x PSM_centr.				.23	1.26	72	
I make a written report							
Closeness inspectee_centr.				-.02	.98	.95	
PSM_centr.				-.26	.78	.74	
Closeness inspectee_centr. x PSM_centr.				.29	.13	.73	

I stop the production process (reference category)
* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

Table 16c Results of logistic regression analysis with moderator PSM (Dilemma 3)

	Likelihood Ration Test		Nagelkerke (pseudo) R	B	Exp (B)	Sig.	No of valid observations of N=258
	Chi-square	Sig.					
Commitment to public health	10.55	.31	.05				217
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary.							
Constant				1.63		.00	
Public health_centr.				-2.00	.30	.03*	
PSM_centr.				.25	1.29	.77	
Public health _cent x PSM_centr				-.87	.42	.37	
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional vaccination information I requested.							
Constant				2.10		.00	
Public health_centr.				-.77	.17	.47	
PSM_centr.				.04	.20	.96	
Public health _cent x PSM_centr.				1.00	.07	.37	
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested food chain information.							
Constant				1.56		.00	
Public health_centr.				-.66	.52	.52	
PSM_centr.				.52	.17	53	
Public Health _cent x PSM_centr.				-1.01	.36	.36	

I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it (reference category)
* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

Conclusion

The results offer no evidence for the hypothesis that *PSM moderates the relationship between the way individuals interpret their professional role and the decisions they make in dilemma situations* (H2). The results also indicate that PSM does not have a direct effect on decision-making either. This provides support for my critique that it is not sufficient to know the strength of PSM if we want to predict how an individual will behave. In the theory chapter I argued that the meaning of PSM is role identity-dependent. Only if PSM was treated as a construct with separate dimensions, not as an overarching construct, did the results provide some evidence that the dimension 'compassion' played a role in decision-making. In combination with the two professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to public health' and 'commitment to economic interests', it had a positive direct effect – but still without moderation – on decision-making in Dilemma 1. This implies that the answer to our primary research question *what is the combined impact of PSM and professionalism on*

decision-making is *not* that the strength of PSM works as an amplifier in the relationship between professionalism (approached as professional role identity) and decision-making in dilemma situations. High scores on PSM do not strengthen the effect of professional role perception on decision-making. I will return to this non-finding in the final chapter of this dissertation.

Chapter 8

FINAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS[1]

1 Parts of this chapter are based on Schott, C., Kleef van, D. D. and T. Steen (2014). What does it mean and imply to be public service motivated? *The American Review of Public Administration*. Doi: 10.1177/0275074014533589 and Schott, C. Van Kleef., D. D., & Noordegraaf, M. (2015) Confused professionals? Capacity to cope with pressures on professional work, *Public Management Review*. DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2015.1016094.

In this study I have attempted to improve our understanding of what drives public professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations. In particular, I aimed to shed light on the question of what effect public service motivation (PSM) and professionalism together have on public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations. At the same time, there are still gaps in our knowledge about PSM and professionalism. When it comes to the context of dilemma situations, our knowledge about what it really means and implies to be a professional and to be public service motivated is limited. Therefore, another important aim of this study has been to add to the literature on PSM and professionalism, and to develop new approaches to the study of these topics that can help to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences of the two concepts in dilemma situations. To this end, I combined PSM and professionalism with insights from a different discipline: identity theory. I formulated a set of hypotheses/propositions and tested/investigated them. The professionals studied were veterinary inspectors working for the Dutch Food and Consumer Safety Authority ('*Nederlandse Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit*' NVWA), responsible for public health, animal health and animal welfare. They were considered ideal subjects for my research because the different aspects of their work frequently raise dilemmas: they interact with different types of inspectees who have strong and diverging economic interests, which they used to consider in their (prior) work as praticing veterinarians (e.g., farmers, owners of abattoirs, truck drivers). At the same time, it is their primary task to enforce European law, national law, and rules set by the organization directed at safeguarding public health, animal health and animal welfare.

In this final chapter I offer some concluding comments on this study. I begin with a synthesis and discussion of the results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses in order to provide more complete answers to the research questions formulated in Chapter 1. Second, I summarize the theoretical contributions of this dissertation in relation to existing literature. Third, on the basis of the findings of this study some practical implications for Human Resources managers are pointed out. Finally, I will acknowledge some limitations of these study and suggest possible directions for future research.

8.1 Qualitative and quantitative results combined

In this section I will revisit the hypotheses and propositions advanced in Chapter 2 in the light of the combined qualitative and quantitative research findings presented in Chapters 5 and 7. This makes it possible to evaluate whether the initial, qualitative findings of this study may be generalized to the entire population of veterinary inspectors, and to provide stronger answers to the research questions. In the following six subsections each of the

five secondary research questions and the primary research question will be addressed separately. I will present the hypotheses and/or propositions, and discuss the combined qualitative and quantitative research findings that resulted from testing/investigating them.

8.1.1 Dilemma situations experienced by veterinary inspectors

In order to answer the secondary research question *what are the dilemma situations public service professionals are frequently confronted with* (SRQ1)? I investigated the proposition, derived from my theoretical study, that *public service professionals experience dilemmas in situations in which equally important values clash, various stakeholders' demands are in conflict, or the 'public interest' is the guideline of behaviour* (P1). In the qualitative part of the empirical study, I investigated dilemma situations directly by asking veterinary inspectors to describe situations in which they experienced a dilemma. In the quantitative part of the empirical study – while assuming that work-related tension and dilemmas are inseparable –respondents were asked to indicate the level of tension they experienced in their work and note down one situation in which tensions were high. Overall, proposition P1 was supported by the qualitative data (5.1). This enabled me to use the qualitative findings as the basis for the dilemma scenarios included in the questionnaire. The qualitative findings could for the most part be verified by the quantitative data on work-related tension (7.1.4), which suggests that the initial qualitative findings may be generalized.

Out of 38 interviewees, 29 (74% of the sample) indicated that they experienced dilemmas, and 168 out of 258 questionnaire respondents (65% of the sample) came up with a concrete situation in which work-related tensions were high. These findings suggest once again that working in the public sector entails a regular need to make decisions in the face of dilemmas (e.g., De Graaf, Huberts & Smulders, 2014; O'Kelly & Dubnick, 2006; Olson, Humphrey & Guthrie, 2001; Provan & Milward, 2001). Situations in which different interests were in conflict – for instance, the objectives set by the NVWA and the economic interests of farmers and/or owners of abattoirs – frequently came up in the qualitative and quantitative results. Situations in which the public interest was the guideline of behaviour were not directly mentioned as dilemma situations or as situations causing work-related tensions. However, interviewees did mention dilemma situations in which animal welfare – an aspect of the public interest – was the guideline of behaviour. They indicated that safeguarding animal welfare is a vague and subjective objective, and that they experienced dilemmas in situations in which they were expected to safeguard this objective. This finding is also reflected in the quantitative data obtained in this study. Some respondents mentioned decisions related to animal welfare as causing work-related

tensions. Together, the qualitative and quantitative findings are in line with an argument presented by Tannenbaum (1991) that animal welfare is not a specific state of an animal that can objectively be described by veterinarians. My expectation that situations in which values of equal importance clash can also be considered dilemma situations was confirmed only in the qualitative data. Here, interviewees indicated that they experienced a dilemma if they had to prioritize either animal welfare or public health.

There are also a large number of additional situations in which individuals indicated that they experienced work-related tensions (n=133; 80% of the work-related tension situations) – tensions, however, which are not particularly characteristic of the public sector – such as situations in which work instructions were experienced as unworkable in practice. Work-related tensions were also experienced in situations involving aggression, in which time pressure was high, and organizational support and uniform decision-making was lacking. These findings are in accordance with results from psychological stress research. According to the Job Demand-Control-Support model (Johnson & Hall, 1988), job demands, job control, and worksite social integration are crucial aspects of employees' well-being. Two further interesting findings were that: 1) the variable 'work-related tensions' was bimodally distributed[2] and 2) there were significant differences in the levels of tensions experienced between men versus women, practitioners versus 'regular' veterinary inspectors, and between respondents who had additional employment versus respondents who did not. In each comparison, the former group experienced a lower level of work-related tensions than the latter. (You may recall that most respondents who have additional employment were practitioners. However, there were eight respondents who were 'regular' veterinary inspectors but also worked in private practice). One explanation for this finding might be that women, 'regular' veterinary inspectors, and respondents without additional employment are more committed to the organization they work for and for this reason also experience more work-related tensions. Scandura and Lankau (1997), for example, point out that women may be more committed to their work than men if they perceive the organization's policies to be in line with their family roles. Working hours at the NVWA are more predictable and fewer in number, especially if compared to working hours in private practices, where night shifts are common. As mentioned earlier, practitioners (and employees without additional employment, who often are practitioners) worked fewer hours for the NVWA and did not always participate in team meetings. It may be argued that these factors negatively affect organizational commitment. Practitioners may feel excluded, and the lower number of contact hours with the organization and colleagues might prevent the

2 One group of employees experienced a low level of stress, another group a high level of stress, whereas only few respondents indicated that they experienced a medium level of stress.

development of personal ties. A high level of organizational commitment, in turn, might be associated with a stronger perception of work-related tensions. Irving and Coleman (2003) suggest that highly committed individuals are more exposed to work-related problems: they are less likely to remove themselves from these problems because of their desire to stick with the organization in difficult times.

8.1.2 Decisions made by veterinary inspectors in dilemma situations

Secondary research question 2, *what kind of decisions do public service professionals make in dilemma situations?* was addressed in an exploratory way. This means that no specific expectations or propositions about this point were put forward in the theory chapter. Rather, I briefly introduced literature on coping strategies, analysed the interview data in an exploratory way, and afterwards linked the results to literature on coping strategies. The interview data provide evidence that veterinary inspectors make varying decisions in dilemma situations, primarily in the categories 'biasing' and 'building firewalls', and sometimes 'hybridization' (5.2). 'Biasing' in this context, means that some values or interests are no longer recognized as important. 'Building firewalls' means shifting the conflict to elsewhere in the system, which makes 'building firewalls' an avoidance-related coping strategy. In a few cases, veterinary inspectors made decisions that could be related to the coping strategy 'hybridization'. They came up with new ways of doing their work that enabled them to combine two conflicting values at the same time.

The results of the qualitative analysis were used to formulate quantitative response categories for three 'vignettes' (hypothetical dilemma situations), which I developed on the basis of the answers to secondary research question 1. The quantitative results for the vignettes were in accordance with the qualitative results, which implies that the qualitative findings can be generalized (7.1.3). The data collected via the questionnaire showed that public service professionals make different kinds of decisions in dilemma situations; different patterns of coping strategies could be distinguished. In none of the dilemma situations that we tested was one response category chosen by the absolute majority of all respondents. As with the qualitative findings, the two response categories chosen most frequently were 'biasing' and 'building firewalls'. Interestingly, only few respondents made decisions that were beneficial to the inspectees' economic interests. This might be interpreted as a sign that socially desirable answers were given: a potential threat to the validity of the research findings. Norms are important determinants of socially desirable behaviour, because they define what constitutes a good impression in specific situations (Atteslander & Kneubühler, 1975). Van Kleef, Schott and Steen (2015) found that what is stressed as core principles by

the NVWA is strict and consistent enforcement of rules and detachment from the objects of inspection. A service-oriented attitude, on the contrary, is considered highly objectionable in the organisation. Thus, individuals might consciously or unconsciously give socially desirable answers, as a form of impression management. I will come back to this limitation in the final section of this study. In both dilemma situations that involved public health (Dilemmas 1 and 3), veterinary inspectors were more likely to choose the response category that made it possible for them to safeguard public health than to go for an option enabling them to realize the other, conflicting value or demand (economic interests in Dilemma 1 and animal welfare in Dilemma 3). In the two situations in which considerable economic interests were involved in terms of a substantial amount of money being at stake (Dilemmas 1 and 2), a large group of respondents indicated that they would defer their decision and talk to their supervisor first. In other words, the coping strategy 'building firewalls' was applied and the conflict was returned to a higher level in the organization. Interestingly, this finding is in accordance with the results of a recent study by De Graaf et al. (2014). The authors found that client managers of a Dutch municipality often deferred the final decision to the middle managers or executives in situations in which various desirable values conflicted. This finding is all the more interesting because it indicates that coping patterns might be context-dependent, a perspective that seems to be overlooked in literature on coping behaviour in public administration. Support for the context-dependency hypothesis can be found in psychological research literature. Lazarus (1993), for example, encourages researchers to study coping as a) a style or personality characteristic, and b) a process that changes over time in accordance with the situational context in which it occurs. Finally, as in the interviews, the strategy 'hybridization' was reflected in the questionnaire data much less frequently than 'biasing' and 'building firewalls'. Even though 'hybridization' was not one of the possible response categories[3], a relatively large group of respondents came up with new ways of doing their work that enabled them to combine both conflicting values (animal welfare and public health) in Dilemma 3. In other words, they used the coping strategy 'hybridization'.

Besides asking respondents what decision they would make in a specific dilemma situation I also asked respondents, in both in the qualitative and the quantitative part of the study, why they made this decision, i.e., what were their underlying considerations. This information is interesting because it enabled us to double-check whether the kind of decisions veterinary inspectors made matches the considerations that we expected to underlie certain coping strategies discussed in Section 2.2. Moreover, the information may

3 Cf. 5.2: 'hybridization' was not included as a separate response category in the vignettes because this coping strategy had been mentioned in the interviews only rarely.

shed light on factors (next to PSM and professional role identity) that could also explain decision-making in dilemma situations. For the most part, the kind of decision made was in accordance with the individual's considerations. For example, inspectors disqualified the cattle because they wanted to safeguard public health/enforce rules and regulations: they coped by 'biasing'. However, the results also indicated that the coping strategy applied can deviate from the considerations expected to underlie the strategy. For example, in Dilemma 1 individuals indicated that they deferred the decision not only because they wanted to play safe, but also because of the inspectees' characteristics (e.g., 'because the inspectee is a good guy') or because they wanted to limit financial damage. The results also suggested that 1) a variety of considerations play a role in decision-making, 2) the relative importance of these considerations is context-dependent, and 3) considerations can be linked to ethical standards frequently discussed in organizational ethics literature. Additional considerations (in the qualitative part of our research I referred to these as 'inspectee-related' and 'inspection-related' considerations) primarily mattered in situations in which animal welfare and public health are not seriously threatened. Because at least one of these two values was put at risk in each of the three vignettes included in the questionnaire, it is not surprising that the additional considerations were mentioned far less frequently as number one consideration in decision-making. The observation that considerations in dilemma situations are context-dependent is not new. Romzeck and Dubnick (1987) point out that institutional expectations constituted major considerations in decision-making in the Challenger tragedy. Ferrel and Gresham (1985) developed a contingency framework by which to understand ethical decision-making. As discussed in Section 5.6, most considerations can be linked to the typology of 'ethical standards' developed by Measschalck (2004), prescribing how public servants should reason in ethical dilemmas, and to empirical studies on ethical decision-making among Belgian police officers (e.g., Loyens & De Schrijfer, 2012).

Next to this, the results showed that the veterinary inspector's degree of 'commitment to the inspectee' seems to be a very important, implicit consideration in decision-making in dilemma situations. If veterinary inspectors had personally known the inspectee for many years they were less likely to make a decision that would have negative consequences for that inspectee. This qualitative finding was verified by the quantitative data. The results of the logistic regression analysis suggested that hypothesis H3, *commitment to the inspectee influences decision-making in dilemma situations*, can be accepted for Dilemmas 1 and 2. (In Dilemma 3, the effect had the same direction, but was not significant). In both dilemma situations, a one-unit change in 'commitment to the inspectee' increased the likelihood of the decision being deferred, compared with a response category implying immediate negative consequences for the inspectee. This finding fits the views on social distance

and rule enforcement found in the literature. In an empirical study among correctional officers working in a women's prison, Freeman (2003) found that respondents who showed a preference for adopting a personal, informal, supervisory relationship with inmates reported fewer minor rule violations than colleagues who did not. He concluded that a personal relationship with an inmate increases the willingness to look at factors beyond a rule violation situation and to assist the inmate in adjustments. In other words, the way correctional officers inspectors look at prisoners and veterinary inspectors look at inspectees seems to matter. Moreover, this finding highlights the fact that public servants' decision-making is not a one-time event. Rather, decision-making seems to be an iterative process informed by contextual factors such as the relationship with the inspectee. This finding is in line with the results of the classic prisoner's dilemma. Here, repeated iterations also play a very important role. Because of their ongoing relationships with a history and a future, actors in these situations develop strategies such as those known as *tit-for-that,* rather than deciding to defect (Axelrod, 1980).

8.1.3 Clarifying the meaning and behavioural consequences of professionalism in dilemma situations

On the basis of insights from identity theory, I put forward the argument that the meaning of professionalism can be clarified by approaching professionalism as professional role identity. The central argument was that the concept of professional role identity has a clearer meaning and clearer behavioural consequences than the traditional sociological approach to professionalism, because it takes into account the different interpretations individuals have of their professional role. By contrast, the traditional view on professionalism does not make clear whether professionals go for quick solutions that benefit their occupation (neo-Weberian approach), or base their actions on professional norms directed at society at large (functionalist approach, reappraisal of the functionalist approach). Also, this sociological perspective implicitly assumes that all professionals with the same professional background think and act in a similar way (e.g., Andersen, 2009). In order to ensure whether this new approach to professionalism is indeed valuable, I empirically investigated the proposition that *individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role – they have different professional role identities* (P4) and tested the hypothesis that *decision-making in dilemma situations is influenced by professional role identity: the way individuals interpret their professional role* (H1). I will begin by summarizing and discussing the results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses with regard to P4.

Different perceptions of professional role: professional role identity

The results of the interview analyses showed that veterinary inspectors had different interpretations of four central aspects of their work: communication and social skills, knowledge base, strict rule enforcement, and safeguarding organizational (5.4). For most of the veterinary inspectors, communication and social skills matter since they are regarded as necessary for law enforcing. However, there were also inspectors who stressed the importance of communication with colleagues as a way to improve consistent rule enforcement. Differences between the sources of veterinary inspectors' knowledge were also found. Many mentioned the knowledge of inspection tools, while others seemed to focus more on veterinary medicine or a combination of veterinary medicine and acquaintance with inspection tools as a knowledge base. The clearest differences were found between attitudes towards strict rule enforcement and the levels of importance veterinary inspectors attached to it. This finding supports Brewer and Walker's (2010) argument that red tape – which can be described as rules, regulations, and procedural constraints that seem to exist without any apparent *raison d'ĕtre* (Torenvlied and Akkerman 2012) – is a 'subject-dependent construct' because different managers may perceive rules, procedures, and regulation quite differently. Some veterinary inspectors indicated that they had a positive attitude towards rule enforcement because they saw it as a) an instrument to safeguard organizational objectives, and/or b) an inherent aspect of their work, intended to guarantee uniformity and transparency towards all stakeholders. Other inspectors expressed a negative attitude towards strict rule enforcement, often grounded in the belief that empathy and dialogue are better ways to safeguard organizational objectives. However, there were also inspectors who opposed strict rule enforcement for personal reasons: they explained that this aspect of the work did not fit their peace-loving personality and self-perception.

Finally, the results of the qualitative analysis also showed variations in the hierarchy of the levels of importance veterinary inspectors attached to the values they considered leading in their work. Some veterinary inspectors explicitly put public health at the top of their list, while other prioritized animal welfare over public health. Even though not immediately mentioned by inspectors when they were asked what values they represent as professionals, several interviewees clearly indicated that the economic interests of stakeholders should also be taken into account, because these stakeholders are key figures in the Dutch economy. An explanation for the fact that economic interests were mentioned only implicitly as an answer to the question "what are the values and interest you represent in your professional role?" might – again – be related to the phenomenon of social desirability. As mentioned earlier, the NVWA strongly emphasizes that inspectors need to be immune to the economic

interests of entrepreneurs: they are expected to work autonomously and transparently (Van Kleef, Schott & Steen, 2015). Therefore, individuals driven by a desire to avoid negative evaluations might consciously or unconsciously give socially desirable answers as a form of impression management.

In a second phase of the qualitative analysis I went a step further and explored whether it was possible to identify different types, or conceptualizations, of the role of veterinary inspector. I investigated whether specific interpretations of the central aspects of the work of veterinary inspectors were more closely related than others. The data showed that it was possible to differentiate between three conceptualizations of the role of veterinary inspector (5.5): veterinary inspectors with a *veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity,* who safeguard animal welfare without sticking rigidly to rule enforcement, sparing the inspectee trouble and relying on veterinary medicine as knowledge base; veterinary inspectors with an *organization-focused professional role identity,* who see strict rule enforcement as a central aspect of their work, who aim to safeguard public health and base their decisions on rule and regulations; and a large group of veterinary inspectors with a *mixed or hybrid professional role identity,* who are more sensitive to external circumstances such as the frequency of a particular wrong occurring at a company and the quality of the explanation an inspectee can provide.

Questionnaire data were used to investigate if these qualitative findings could be generalized to the entire population of veterinary inspectors. As described in previous sections, I developed the questionnaire items on the basis of the qualitative findings. In particular, veterinary inspectors were asked to think of themselves in their role of veterinary inspectors and prompted to identify where they would place themselves in relation to the bipolar questionnaire statements about the professional role identity dimensions 'strict rule enforcement', 'commitment to economic interests', 'animal welfare' and 'public health' (6.1.2.2). They were also prompted to indicate on what considerations they based the decisions they made in dilemma situations (6.1.2.5). The combined results of correlation analyses between a) professional role identity dimensions and professional role identity dimensions, b) different considerations in dilemma situations and different considerations in dilemma situations, and c) professional role identity dimensions and different considerations in dilemma situations, yielded two interesting findings. First, they provided evidence that the way inspectors interpret their professional roles (professional role identity) and their considerations in decision-making were linked. The only professional role identity dimension that did not correlate with its expected underlying consideration in decision-making was that of strict rule enforcement: this did not correlate with the consideration 'because that is what the rules say'. Second, the correlations provided additional evidence

that different types of veterinary inspectors can be distinguished: veterinary inspectors who rely on rules; who want to safeguard animal welfare and public health; and who score low on 'commitment to the economic interests' (organization-focused professional role identity) versus veterinary inspectors who consider the financial damage their actions may entail; who are committed to the inspectee; and who are influenced by the inspectee's character (veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity). The only relationship that could not be verified by means of quantitative data was the relationship between 'commitment to economic interests' and 'commitment to animal welfare'. In Chapter 5 I categorized people who were committed to animal welfare and economic interests as having a veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity (represented by 'John'), because the curriculum of the veterinary medicine degree course focuses on animals on the one hand – students receive medical and clinical training – and on the economic aspects of farming on the other. This 'missing' relationship could indicate the existence of a large group of veterinary inspectors with a mixed professional role identity: individuals who do not clearly identify with one of the two 'extreme' role identities, but who are more sensitive to external circumstances. This large group of inspectors with a mixed identity could also be a sign of a profession in transition. In 2008, Vanthemsche (2008) published a highly critical evaluation report about the NVWA. The authors concluded that the NVWA was neglecting its tasks as regards enforcing rules and regulations consistently and strictly. As a result, an intensive training programme was introduced, focusing on teaching veterinary inspectors the strict 'rule enforcement' part of their work. This training programme put more stress on the organizational principles, forcing veterinary inspectors to combine these with the principles of veterinary medicine. I assume that the consistent use of both work principles together may have brought about a fundamental change in veterinary inspectors' professionalism. However, since this development is relatively new, the two principles can still be found to coexist. This might also explain the high number of situations described as dilemmas and situations including work-related tensions (summarized in the previous sections) that I found.

Together, the results of the qualitative analyses of the different interpretations of key aspects of the professional role, and the question whether different interpretation patterns of key aspects (professional role identities) can be distinguished, support the proposition that *individuals holding the same profession differ regarding the way they interpret their professional role: they have different professional role identities* (P4). This conclusion is further supported by the quantitative results, which means that these findings may be generalized to the entire population. It is then interesting to compare these findings with those from related studies to identify parallels and contradictions. One study that seems

particularly relevant is that by De Graaf (2005), who researched farm animal veterinarians' conceptualizations of animals and their owners, using discourse analysis. De Graaf was able to identify four discourses. Discourse D (which he called the Professional Veterinarian) bears a likeness to the organization-focused professional role identity I found in this study. De Graaf described veterinarians using this discourse as relying on legislation and agreements, and being willing to maintain and enhance animals' well-being and health. It is noticeable that the remaining three discourses partly describe elements occurring together in the veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity: a strong desire to improve animals' well-being (Discourse A, Animal's Advocate), deviation from rules and pragmatic solutions (Discourse C, The Situational, Pragmatic and Intuitive Veterinarian), and feelings of connection with the animal's owner and the consideration that farmers have to make a living (Discourse B, The Supporter of the Responsible Farmer). Empirical evidence for the existence of different role identities– i.e., individuals do not share one single understanding of their own professional identity – is highly interesting, because it challenges the fundamental assumption in the sociology of professionalism that professionals share one professional identity. (See also, e.g., Beijnaard, Verloop and Vermund's (2000) study on teachers' perceptions of professional identity, and Rosenthal, Breault, Austin and Tsuyuki's study (2010) on pharmacists' self-perceptions of their professional role).

Next, the finding that professionals have different professional role identities is interesting because it can be linked to the longstanding debate on professional's discretionary power. The findings suggest that – regardless of changing organizational expectations focused on more transparency, accountability, equity, and consistency – public servant professionals' discretionary power continues to exist. Professionals give specific meanings to their professional roles which are reflected in the varying choices they make.

The effect of professional role identity on decision-making

However, in this study I went one step further: I investigated not only the different perceptions professionals have about their professional role, but also whether these different views are reflected in decision-making. Hypothesis 1, *decision-making in dilemma situations is influenced by professional role identity, i.e., the way individuals interpret their professional role,* was tested using questionnaire data (7.4). The results provided some support for the hypothesis. The dimension 'commitment to economic interests' influenced the decision "I defer the decision until I talked to my supervisor" in Dilemmas 1 and 2. In other words, individuals who scored high on this professional role identity dimension were more likely to use the avoidance-oriented coping strategy 'building firewalls' than to choose a response category implying immediate and negative consequences for the

inspectee. This means that even individuals who scored high on economic interests did not decide to certify all cattle (Dilemma 1), or to do nothing (Dilemma 2), which would have been the most logical decision in terms of safeguarding economic interests. They did not act against the mission of the organization. Rather, they deferred the decision, possibly to find other ways to act for the benefit of the individuals they were inspecting. Support for this conjecture was provided by the variable 'considerations in decision-making'. I found that some respondents indicated they deferred the decision because they wanted to limit financial damage (7.4). This raises the question if there are any situations at all in which veterinarian inspectors behave systematically and explicitly against the mission of the NVWA. Even though the data indicated that veterinarian inspectors vary with regard to the decisions they make, no statistically relevant number of respondents crossed the line and said they had acted against the organizational objectives, values and regulations: they did not show deviant workplace behaviour. One explanation for the finding that individuals did not go against the mission of the NVWA might – again – be related to the phenomenon of socially desirable answers. As mentioned before, the NVWA stresses strict and consistent rule enforcement and detachment from the objects of inspection as its core principles. Respondents, therefore, might consciously or unconsciously answer in such a way that they distance themselves from anything reeking of lax rule enforcement, which would lead to biased answers. An alternative explanation for deferring the decision in Dilemmas 1 and 2 might be that decision-making is context-dependent. In Dilemmas 1 and 2 a lot of money is involved, potentially increasing the pressure on veterinary inspectors. Deferring the decision and talking to the supervisor first might also be seen as a way to play safe in dilemma situations with serious financial implications. This line of reasoning – again – is supported by varying considerations in decision-making. I found that many inspectors indicated that they deferred the decision in Dilemmas 1 and 2 because they wanted to limit financial damage (7.4).

In Dilemma 3, a situation in which public health and animal welfare were in conflict, the dimension 'commitment to public health' had a significant effect on decision-making. Individuals who thought that fostering public health was a very important aspect of their professional role were more likely to disqualify the animal from the production process immediately than to do additional medical research or wait for additional information about the vaccination history of the animal. At this point, far-reaching conclusions are premature. However, the results make it plausible to assume that individuals who focus on public health in their work are very strict in avoiding any potential threat to public health.

The dimensions 'strict rule enforcement' and 'commitment to animal welfare' were not found to have a significant impact on decision-making in any of the three dilemma situations investigated here. However, most of the time the non-significant effects were in the direction we expected. If veterinary inspectors considered strict rule enforcement an important aspect of their work, the probability that they deferred their decision diminished. Rather, it became more probable that they made a decision that implied negative financial consequences for the inspectee.

How can these statistical non-findings be explained? Why were the professional role identity dimensions 'strict rule enforcement' and 'commitment to animal welfare' not reflected in the decisions veterinary inspectors make in dilemma situations? Ther are two possible explanations for the missing effects: 1) the low Cronbach's α coefficients of the measurement instruments, implying a low internal consistency of the items measuring the role identity dimensions, and 2) the small sample size in this study. The disadvantage of less reliable scales and small sample sizes is that they decrease statistical power: the probability that an analysis will cause a false null hypothesis to be rejected (De Vellis, 2003).

Next to the non-findings for the effects of the professional role identity dimensions 'strict rule enforcement' and 'commitment to animal welfare', attention needs to be paid to the low power (expressed in Nagelkerke's R square) of the models testing Hypothesis 1. As a result, a significant amount of variation remains unexplained. Thus, next to professional role identity there must be other important factors, not included in the conceptual model, which are better (?) predictors of the reasons why individuals make certain decisions in dilemma situations. The analysis of considerations in decision-making (7.5) indicated that the desire to 'play safe', previous rule enforcement, and personal standards probably also affect decision-making in dilemma situations. A theoretical explanation for the low percentage of variance explained is provided by the principles of identity salience and identity hierarchy known from identity theory. As previously explained (2.6), the self is not a one-dimensional construct but consists of a collection of role identities, each of which is based on the individual's particular role in social intercourse (Stets & Burke, 2000). Depending on the relative levels of people's commitment to different role identities, these are positioned differently within the identity hierarchy. From the basic assumption that salient identities are likely to be activated frequently across different situations (Burke & Stets, 2009), we might argue that it is a different role identity than the professional role identity of veterinary inspectors that is positioned highest in the identity hierarchy, and hence is played out more frequently in dilemma situations. For example, person identity standards – the meanings associated with being a particular kind of person (Burke & Stets, 2009) – may be positioned higher in the identity hierarchy and so be played out more frequently.

Including a large number of general and case-specific control variables (gender, age, type of employment contract, additional employment, years of employment at the organization, proactivity, team, and position) in the logistic regression models did not diminish the significant effects of the independent variables. In Dilemma 1, gender had a positive impact on the decision "I defer my decision until I talked to my supervisor". This, however, was not the case in Dilemmas 2 and 3, which implies that we cannot assume that women generally defer their decisions more frequently than men do. Besides, we need to keep in mind that the number of women in the sample was not representative (6.2.2). Another control variable with a significant effect on decision-making was 'type of employment contract'. In Dilemmas 2 and 3, practitioners seemed to prefer response categories that had an immediate effect. This might be because practitioners are paid per task performed, so that they might avoid activities that require a lot of (administrative) time. Interestingly, proactivity did not have a significant impact on decision-making. Respondents with a proactive personality acted neither more nor less in line with organizational expectations than others.

Summing up: The results of the analyses investigating proposition P4 and testing hypothesis H1 provide empirical evidence for the argument that: a) the sociological theory of professionalism is overly vague because it is not clear which behaviour can be expected from professionals in dilemma situations, and b) approaching professionalism as professional role identity is helpful. Different types of professionals could be differentiated, and evidence was found that the way in which individuals see their professional role has behavioural consequences. Like individuals who were committed to the inspectee, individuals who believed that being sensitive to economic interests is part of their job were more likely to defer their decision than to take strict measures. The opposite seemed to be true for individuals who considered safeguarding public health a crucial aspect of their work. These individuals were very strict, in the sense that they were more likely to avoid any possible threat to public health. Next to clear-cut cases, there were also many veterinary inspectors with mixed professional role identities. Whether they were strict enforcers of rules and regulations or customer-oriented public servants depended on external circumstances, such as the attitude and previous behaviour of the inspectee and the opinion of the supervisor.

These findings are in line with Gouldner's (1957) insights discussed above – a differentiation into two roles is too simplistic. Rather, within these roles there are different types, who vary in their degree of commitment to professional skills and values and in their loyalty toward the employing organization. Our findings showed that traditional perspectives on professionalism, treating professionalism as one shared professional identity, cannot sufficiently explain the behaviour of professionals in dilemma situations. All participants in this study had the same professional background: they were veterinarian inspectors. Nevertheless, they made different decisions when confronted with dilemma situations. These choices could partly be explained by the way veterinary inspectors interpreted their professional role. This finding is in accordance with the basic assumption of identity theory "that people engage in activities that correspond in meaning to the meaning of their identity" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 188). Some veterinary inspectors saw themselves more as what Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000) describe as 'agents for the clients'. Even though they are government employees, they considered the economic interests of the inspectee. This is in line with occupational professionalism, where professional norms are assumed to be set by the professionals themselves and less attention is paid to serving the state´s interest than to the reappraisal of professionalism as a normative value system (e.g., Elliot 1972; Evetts, 2012; Freidson, 1983). However, unlike the predictions by Maynard-Moody and Musheno, our respondents did not systematically – or in statistical terms, significantly – stretch rules in order to put the interest of the client first, but rather deferred difficult decisions. Other veterinary inspectors defined themselves more in terms of occupational logic: they followed the principles of organizational professionalism (e.g., Clark & Newman, 1997; Larson, 1977). In particular, they indicated that the organizational objective 'public health' reflects important aspects of their work and that the objective 'strict rule enforcement' is an important consideration in the decisions they make. 'Commitment to the public interest' was found to predict a decision that excludes any threat to the organizational value 'public health'. As discussed above, and against expectations, the professional role identity dimension 'strict rule enforcement' had no explanatory value in the dilemma situations I have studied.

Discussing the possible scources of different role identities

Now that the added value of the concept of professional role identity as predictor of decision-making in dilemma situations has been demonstrated, an important question arises about the antecedents of different role identities. Where do these identities come from? An answer to this question is highly relevant because it can provide us with concrete methods to ensure consistent decision-making, and ultimately behaviour, of public servants, which in turn, is highly desirable for organizational performance (Wanberg, 2012) and within a context of

seeking equality before the law for all citizens (Rainey, 2003). I had expected that I could partly answer this question by comparing different groups of employees: practitioners versus 'regular' veterinarian inspectors, and employees with additional employment versus employees without additional contract. The argument was that practitioners and people with an additional employment contract might focus more on economic interests and less on strict rule enforcement than 'regular' veterinary inspectors, because they indirectly depend on the prosperity of the private sector and their greater distance to the NVWA. The expected differences were not supported by the data. In the interviews I saw individuals from all groups who indicated that considering the economic interests was an important aspect of their work, and neither did the results of the survey analysis data neither turn up significant differences between the groups.

One explanation for this finding might be that the 'regular' veterinary inspectors and the employees without additional employment contract – those who considered the economic interests – had worked in private practices for many years before they were employed by the NVWA as civil servants and therefore still might think as private practitioners. Strict rule enforcement might not yet (?) be entirely internalized, and considerations regarding the economic interests might still be part of their perception. This suggests that (professional) role identities are a product of, among other things, past (professional) roles and role-related experiences. The only significant differences between practitioners and 'regular' veterinarian inspectors were found in the analysis of the decisions they made in dilemma situations. In Dilemmas 2 and 3, the results suggested that practitioners – when compared with 'regular' veterinary inspectors – are more likely to make a decision that implies actions on the spot that a decision that entails both financial damage to the inspectee and a lot of time-consuming administrative work. This finding does not conform to the analysis of Sager, Thoman, Zollinger, van der Heiden and Mavot (2014), which showed that "private actors may use their direction as SLBs [street level bureaucrats] to pursue their private, instead of the public interest" (p. 500). Rather, they are in accordance with Tummers, Bekkers, Vindk and Musheno (2015) who point out that individuals do not often break the rules. My study shows that neither 'regular' veterinary inspectors nor practitioners systematically pursue their own interest in dilemma situations: they do not act against the organization's mission or break rules. The only difference that could be found between private (in this case practitioners) and public actors (in this case 'regular' veterinary inspectors) was that the former group of employees was less likely than the latter to make a decision that entails both financial damage to the inspectee and a lot of time-consuming administrative work than a decision that implies action on the spot.

Although an answer to the question about the sources of the different interpretations of the professional role falls outside the scope of this dissertation, I will briefly discuss some streams in the literature that might provide theoretical explanations for this question and that shows how the presence or absence of particular role identities may be influenced.

One possible explanation for the different role interpretations comes from literature on organizational socialization in which the process through which organizational culture is handed down to (new) employees is described (e.g., Anakwe & Greenhaus, 1999; Chao, O'Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein & Gardener). By providing specific information at job, team, and organization levels (socialization content) through formal and informal processes, organizations can stimulate individuals to adopt organizational principles. The argument is that employees who are acquainted with the socialization content – i.e., who mastered and internalized that content – are more likely to act in line with organizational objectives than individuals who know less about the organization. Regarding the question of where differences in professional role identity come from, literature on organizational socialization then suggests that these differences are grounded in the levels of knowledge employees have about their organization, team, and job. If we relate this literature to the case studied here, we can expect employees with extensive knowledge of organization, team, and job content to develop an organization-focused professional role identity, while employees with little knowledge about this are more likely to have a veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity. By providing employees with socialization contents the NVWA could stimulate them to adopt an organization-focused professional role identity. In a related dissertation (forthcoming), Daphne van Kleef will present her empirical investigation of the relationship between socialization contents and professional role perceptions.

Alternative explanations for differences in professional role identity can be derived from research on the professional identity of a group of professionals that has been studied more frequently than veterinary inspectors: teachers (for a meta-analysis of research on teachers' professional identity see Bijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004). Beijaard et al. (2000), for example, distinguish the following factors as determining teachers' perceptions of their professional identity: student teachers' biographies, teachers' teaching context, and prior experience. It is in particular teaching and school culture and personal life experiences, such as critical events, prior education, and point in the 'life-cycle' that are expected to influence the stories of individual teachers. Similarly, these factors could also play a role in shaping the way veterinary inspectors perceive their professional role. In particular, it might be worth investigating whether and how the organizational climate of the companies that veterinary inspectors have to inspect relates to their professional role identities. In

the interview data I found large differences in working climate between different abattoirs; at some the working climate was pleasant while at others veterinary inspectors indicated that they did not trust anybody. It is reasonable to assume, on the basis of earlier research on teachers' perceptions of their professional role, that these differences in organizational climate are reflected in the way veterinary inspectors interpret their professional role.

8.1.4 Clarifying the meaning and behavioural consequences of PSM in dilemma situations

In line with insights from identity theory I have put forward the argument that the meaning of PSM can be clarified by approaching PSM as a role identity-dependent concept rather than an ideal. In order to support this line of reasoning empirically, two propositions were investigated: *the meaning of public service motivation and its behavioural implications depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society* (P2) and *professional role identity provides meaning to being public service motivated and is reflected in decision-making in dilemma situations* (P5). Before I present and combine the qualitative and quantitative research findings for these two propositions, I will first describe PSM among veterinary inspectors, show the fuzziness of the concept, and present data concerning the question of how and why PSM develops over time.

Public service motivation among veterinary inspectors

Both the qualitative interview data and the quantitative questionnaire data suggest that veterinary inspectors are highly public service motivated. Even though described in different ways, a large number of interviewees referred to aspects of PSM as driving factors in their work (5.3). Some mentioned PSM directly by indicating that their motivation was to be able to contribute to the public interest. Others referred to seperate dimensions of PSM by indicating that their motivation was grounded in the opportunity to safeguard public values, solve wrongs, and support needy and disadvantaged people. The only subcode in the concept of PSM that could not be derived from the interviews was 'making sacrifices', which relates to the PSM dimension 'self-sacrifice'. This qualitative finding can be generalized to the entire sample because it is supported by the quantitative results (7.1.1). The mean score for PSM among veterinary inspectors is higher than, for example, the mean PSM score found in a national survey among Dutch civil servants working in the subsectors of public administration, public security, defence, education, and academic hospitals (Leisink & Steijn, 2009). Interestingly, and in line with the qualitative findings, the mean scores for the separate PSM dimensions – except for 'self-sacrifice' – were also found to be high. They were clearly above 3.5 (3 is the centre of the scale), while 'self-sacrifice' scored 'only' 3.37.

These findings support Van Loon's et al. (2013) argument that PSM expressions differ between public services providers, and also provide additional evidence for their finding that the PSM dimension 'self-sacrifice' seems to play a less important role with employees working in organizations providing so-called negative services than the other three PSM dimensions. Like policemen and prison guards in the Van Loon et al. study, veterinary inspectors provide negative and unwanted services to their users: they enforce compliance with rules and regulations directed at, for example, protecting animal welfare and public health. These rules are often not compatible with the economic interests of the inspectees. Interestingly, no differences could be found in PSM levels between 'regular' veterinary inspectors and practitioners, and between employees with and without additional employment. *Socialization mechanisms* were the rationale behind the expected higher level of PSM among 'regular' veterinary inspectors (e.g., Brewer, 2008); *crowding-out mechanisms* caused the expected lower level of PSM among employees with additional contracts (e.g., Giauque et al., 2013). (For more information about these mechanisms see Subsection 2.3.2). A possible explanation for the lack of differences in PSM levels between employees with and employees without additional employment is that employees who work in private practices, in which market mechanisms and extrinsic rewards – which are expected to cancel out PSM – are common, did not perceive their practice as controlling. Many of the practitioners who work in private practices are self-employed, which gives them a high level of autonomy. According to Frey and Jengen (2001), the negative effect of extrinsic rewards on autonomous motivation is conditioned by feelings of external control.

I should also mention that the measurement instrument used – the PSM measurement instrument by Kim et al., (2013) – had to be modified after the pilot study and confirmatory factor analysis. Specially, I excluded one item from the dimension 'self-sacrifice' (PSM_ SS2: I believe in putting civil duty before self), one item from dimension 'attraction to public service' (PSM_APS_4: It is important to me to contribute to the common good and item), and one item from 'compassion' (PSM_COM_ 2: I empathize with others who face difficulties); the first item because it had caused confusion in the pilot study, and the last two because their factor loadings were low. It is important to ensure that the formulation of the items is suitable for the context. Veterinary inspectors are very down-to-earth and pragmatic, which might explain why they find it difficult to identify with items containing woolly phrases such as 'the common good (PSM_ATPS4)' and 'civic duty (PSM_SS4)'. I have therefore come to a similar conclusion as Giauque et al. (2011) and Liu et al. (2008): PSM is not a universal concept, but next to the role identity dependency of PSM we should also consider the institutional context – in particular the professional context. Depending on what values, norms, and language are common within professional institutions,

conceptualizations of PSM could vary. In other word, barristers and lawyers might use different words and refer to different values to describe PSM than veterinary inspectors. This conclusion is in accordance with Rainey's view on PSM (1982); he points out that PSM is a broad concept that can take different forms in different agencies and service areas.

The fuzziness of the concept of PSM

The results above suggest that PSM was high among veterinary inspectors. Both qualitative and quantitative data support this conclusion. However, the interview statements and quantitative results also supported my criticism that – assuming that 'public interest' is an integral aspect of PSM – the meaning of PSM is fuzzy in dilemma situations. The interview statements have made clear that simply asking veterinary inspectors about their motivation for their work was not enough to get a clear idea of their view of PSM (5.3). The interviewees either referred to the abstract concept 'public interest', or mentioned different aspects of it (public health, animal health and animal welfare). However, these different aspects could not always be realized at the same time, due to their sometimes conflicting characteristics (see for more information Section 5.1).

In the quantitative data I found evidence for Bozeman's (2007) theoretical argument that there is no clear idea of what 'the public interest' means, and for Rainey's (1982) line of reasoning that "there are as many ways to conceive of public service as there are to conceive of the public interest" (p. 289) (Section 7.3). The respondents provided a total of 23 different interpretations of the concept of public interest. If we assume that the public interest is an important and integral aspect of the overarching concept of PSM and its separate dimensions, this result supports my theoretical argument that PSM is also a fuzzy concept. This conclusion was further supported by my finding that even if people had conflicting views on 'public interest' depending on the role they held (providing a service in the role of practicing veterinarian and strict enforcement of rules in the role of veterinary inspector), they still score very high on PSM as measured by the modified version of Kim's et al. (2013) measurement instrument.

Public service motivation as a role identity-dependent concept

How can the 'fuzziness' of PSM shown in the previous section be clarified (SRQ3)? Both the qualitative and quantitative data provided some empirical support for the two propositions which I formulated in the theory chapter in order to verify my argument that if we want to clarify the meaning of the concept in dilemma situations PSM had better be approched as a professional role identity-dependent concept rather than an ideal. The two prepositions

were: *the meaning of public service motivation and its behavioural implications depend on the interpretations individuals bring to the different roles they occupy in society* (P2), and *professional role identity provides meaning to being public service motivated and is reflected in decision-making in dilemma situations* (P5).

The first part of proposition 2, the 'meaning' part, was primarily investigated via quantitative data. Evidence was found that the way respondents interpreted the meaning of 'public interest', assumed to be an important aspect of PSM, depended on the role they held in society (7.3). About half of the respondents interpreted the concept of public interest as animal welfare in their role of veterinarian, and as public health in the role of veterinary inspector. A very small group of employees – ten individuals (< 4%) – referred to the same meaning of the public interest from the viewpoint of three different roles: veterinary inspector, practicing veterinarian, and civilian. This suggests that next to the general role identity dependency of the concept of public interest, for a very limited number of people, the public interest – and hence also PSM, assuming that the two concepts are interrelated – is more like a stable core trait that does not change its meaning regardless of the social setting of the individual in question. Support for the general role identity dependency was also found in qualitative data. One female veterinary inspector explained: "I'm a veterinarian. That's why I'm certainly for animal welfare. But clearly I'm also for public health. I have children of my own. They should be able to eat safe and healthy food" (R22). This makes clear that the question of how individuals will act in situations in which the various interpretations of the public interest are in conflict is relevant. On which interpretation will they act? In the theory chapter, I provided a theoretical answer to this question and formulated the proposition that *the effect of public service motivation on behaviour is influenced by the hierarchy of the role identities within the self* (P3). In other words, the role identity that is located in the highest position – the salient role identity – will be played out in dilemma situations and give meaning to PSM. Unfortunately, the empirical data available do not provide a means to test this proposition.

Proposition 5 was investigated by using qualitative data. By the examples of *John* and *Anna*, two highly public service motivated veterinary inspectors with extreme and contrasting professional role identities, I have shown that, depending on respondents' type of professional role identity, the meaning of 'public interest' – and hence also the meaning and consequences of PSM – was different. The analysis showed that investigating PSM directly may not be adequate, because interviewees mentioned different, sometimes conflicting, aspects of the public interest, which means that we cannot know how people with a high score on PSM will behave when it comes to dilemmas. By asking John and Anna how they perceived their roles as veterinary inspectors and what interests they represented

in this role, we gained a better picture of what it means and what it implies to them to be public service motivated. John made clear that considering the economic interest is part of his professional role and behaved accordingly. Anna, by contrast, explained that consistent rule enforcement is the most important aspect of her role, and accordingly enforced every single rule no matter what. This provides support for our proposition that *professional role perception influences the meaning of PSM and is reflected in public service motivated individuals' behaviour in dilemma situations (P5).*

In contrast to a purely institutional approach to PSM or introducing ideas on personnel–organizational fit, supplementing PSM by identity theory and viewing it as a role identity-dependent concept can explain why previous empirical approaches to the PSM-performance relationship have turned up inconsistent findings (e.g., Alonso & Lewis, 2001). Researchers taking an institutional perspective on PSM argue that internalized public values provide direction to individual behaviour, implying that highly public service motivated individuals show the same behaviour in comparable contexts and hence failing to explain ambivalent findings. Inconsistent findings on the PSM–performance relationship can be partly explained by personnel–organization fit, but because of the ambiguous meaning of the concept of public interest – even when personnel-organization fit is included – a direct relationship between PSM and performance must be doubted. By contrast, from the perspective of identity theory differences in behaviour – and consequently also differences in performance – are the result of different role interpretations and their hierarchical organization.

How and why does PSM change over time?

In this study I have not only shown the fuzziness of PSM and provided a new approach to studying PSM that seems to make the meaning of the concept in the context of dilemma situations clearer, but also addressed the question of how the level of PSM develops across time and which mechanisms can explain possible changes. On the basis of two rounds of interviews with newcomers at the NVWA it can be concluded that the level of PSM is static among one group of individuals and dynamic among another. As also observed by Ward (2014) and Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012), I found that PSM generally decreases over time. Five individuals who in the first round of interviews indicated that they were public service motivated seemed to have lost their PSM 15 months later. This finding makes it all the more necessary to investigate whether the often cited 'reality shock' provides a suitable explanation for the drop in PSM. Do newcomers who initially were motivated by their desire to help others lose their motivation as they become disillusioned by the reality of their daily work (e.g., negative attitudes of clients, red tape, lack of gratitude)? None of the individuals

who entered the organization without PSM had become public service motivation 15 months later, which implies that the high level of PSM among public employees could indeed be the result of attraction and selection mechanisms, as Perry and Wise (1990) propose. The results of our analysis of organizational and work expectations prior to the first 'real' working experiences (during the first round of interviews, the interviewees were still enrolled in a training programme and thus had not yet taken up their regular tasks) were very interesting, because they showed clear differences between people who lost their PSM and those who remained public service motivated. At the same time, however, these results also showed that the 'reality shock', as it is traditionally defined, cannot properly explain the loss of PSM. The group of employees who remained public service motivated had a much clearer picture of what the work as veterinary inspector implied than those who lost their PSM, both in terms of work content and possible difficulties. Because the individuals who lost their PSM did not have any clear expectations of their work there could be no discrepancy between these expectations and the working reality. Nevertheless, the results are interesting because they increase our understanding of post-entry PSM adoption mechanisms. Rather than the traditional reality shock, the results suggested that the loss of PSM could be explained by a different type of 'reality shock': a discrepancy between the working reality and the ability to deal with it. Individuals with clear expectations of their work seemed to be better able to deal with work difficulties, such as inspectees showing resistant behaviour, manipulating and lying. They indicated that they accepted it as part of the job, framed it as a strategic game, or took care to cover themselves by relying on rules and regulations. The 'covering' strategy can be linked to the work of Crozier (1963), who argues that civil servants consciously stick closely to the rules and regulations as a way to ensure their position and power and to cover themselves against supervisors and clients. From Crozier's point of view, hanging on to rules and regulations is seen as a reasonable strategy of self-protection. By contrast, individuals without an initial clear picture of what their job would look like experienced serious work-related stress. I conclude that because resistant behaviour on the part of the inspectees came across as a surprise or 'shock' to them, the inspectors lacked strategies for dealing with these work-related problems, which led to stress and loss of PSM.

This line of argumentation is in line with literature on occupational stress. In this field of research the relationship between stressful job conditions and adverse employee reactions has been investigated (e.g., Beehr, 1995; Spector & Jex, 1998). Results suggest that active coping strategies can play a positive role in this relationship (Jex, Bliese, Buzzell & Priman, 2001). Individuals who know what the working reality looks like have an advantage over individuals without clear expectations, because they are able to actively find ways to deal

with the demands of the working reality without losing their PSM. However, we also need to be aware of opposing findings. For example, Oberfield (2014) found that the strongest predictor of entrants' motivation were their initial motivations. The results I found in this study, however, suggest that it is also very important to investigate organizational and job expectations, and individuals' capacities to deal with work-related stress if we are interested in why PSM develops over time.

The findings in this study can also be explained by self-determination theory. Fundamental to this theory is the idea that "satisfied basic psychological needs [need for autonomy, competence, and relatedness] provide the nutriments for intrinsic motivation and internalization" (Gagné & Deci, 2005, p. 336). If PSM is indeed is a specific form of intrinsic motivation (e.g., Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2000), we may argue that non-fulfilment of basic needs crowds out PSM. It is especially the needs for relatedness and competence that seem to be important in this context; the individuals who seemed to have lost their PSM were those who had difficult relationships with the people they were inspecting – individuals who feel 'unrelated' – and who lacked the competence to deal with difficult situations.

Previous studies found a negative relationship between red tape, which can be defined as "rules, regulations, and procedures that remain in force and entail a compliance burden, but do not advance the legitimate purposes the rules were intended to serve" (Bozeman, 2000, p. 12), and PSM. The argument here is that public service motivated individuals who are confronted with high levels of red tape become frustrated, which results in a decrease in PSM. In this study I did not find that annoyance at unnecessary rules resulted in a loss of PSM. On the basis of the results it can be argued that the non-effect of red tape on PSM might be explained by the 'missing shock'. All individuals were well aware of the fact that working at the NVWA implies being confronted with many – sometimes redundant – rules and regulations. It can be argued that red tape did not surprise them, so that they were able to deal with it without losing PSM.

8.1.5 The relationship between public service motivation and professionalism

The literature review on the relationship between PSM and professionalism has shown that there is no clear answer to the question of the exact relationship between these concepts. I have argued that this is not surprising, since different authors have distinct views on professionalism and a different conceptualization of professionalism is needed: one that makes the meaning of the concept clearer by integrating the different perceptions of what it means to be a professional. I suggested professional role identity as such a conceptualization, and pointed out that studying the aspects individuals find important in their work – by

identifying interpretations of how to serve the public interest as a professional – might help to understand why equally highly public service motivated individuals make different choices in the face of dilemmas. Put differently, I argued that professionalism – seen as professional role identity – gives meaning to PSM.

The empirical findings of this dissertation regarding this line of reasoning were mixed: the qualitative and quantitative results contradict each other. In the previous section I summarized the qualitative findings, which illustrated that public service motivated individuals with different professional role identities interpret the meaning of 'public interest' – and hence also the meaning of PSM – differently and so make different decisions in dilemma situations. For a small and distinct group of highly public service motivated individuals with an organization-focused professional role identity, consistent and strict rule enforcement is an important aspect of their work, whereas individuals with a veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity mention safeguarding economic interest as important. In the quantitative analysis, however, I found that PSM and its separate dimensions were positively related to the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to animal welfare' and 'commitment to public health', but negatively to the dimension 'commitment to economic interest' and (though not significantly) to 'strict rule enforcement'.

One explanation for this finding might be that in the survey research I did not ask respondents explicitly how they interpreted their task of serving the public interest in their professional role. Rather, the instrument measuring professional role identity required respondents to indicate how important it was to them to be able to contribute to animal welfare, public health, economic interest, and strict rule enforcement in their work as veterinarian inspector, the underlying assumption being that these values can be considered aspects of the public interest as related to the job of veterinary inspectors. Such an assumption might be premature. However, any critique of this assumption can be obviated at least partly by the answers to the additional PSM question (for more information see Subsection 6.1.2.1). Here, 20 respondents of the questionnaire explicitly answered that what the 'public interest' – a central element in PSM – meant to them in their role of veterinary inspector was strict rule enforcement, which indicates that the values respondents mention as important aspects of their professional role were the same values that they relate to the public interest.

In line with other research findings, I found evidence that PSM and professionalism are somehow related (Andersen & Pedersen, 2012). Rather than viewing professionalism as professional identification (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997) or as an occupational variable ranging from low to high (Andersen & Pedersen, 2012), I treated professionalism

as professional role identity, i.e., as the different interpretations individuals bring to their professional role or shared professional identity. I have argued that this approach is useful because it makes the meaning of the concept clearer by integrating the different perceptions of what it means to be a professional. The qualitative results supported the argument that professional role identity gives direction to PSM. Nevertheless, the results of the quantitative analysis imply that the results of the qualitative analysis cannot be generalized to the entire sample. This could indicate that the group of highly public service motivated individuals interpreting the task of considering the public interest as strict rule enforcement or safeguarding economic interest is very limited, and that the results cannot be generalized. Besides, it indicates that Andersen's words cited earlier – "professionalism and PSM are clearly not the same, but they seem to be related in ways that have not yet been fully analysed" (Section 2.5) – still holds true. Integrating identity theory into the equation took us a step closer to understanding the relationship between PSM and professionalism. Since the results of my empirical findings are mixed, however, we need to continue thinking of ways how to integrate these two concepts.

8.1.6 The combined effect of public service motivation and professionalism on decision-making in dilemma situations

The aim of my research project was to increase our understanding of what drives public professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations. Because I was particularly interested in the question whether the two concepts, PSM and professionalism, together can help us understand why public servants make certain decisions when confronted with dilemma situations, I formulated the primary research question *what is the combined impact of public service motivation and professionalism on decision-making in dilemma situations?* I pointed out that – due to the fuzzy character of the concept of PSM (see Subsection 8.1.4 for a discussion of the research findings concerning this argument) – the strength of PSM has no direct effect on decision-making in dilemma situations. Rather, I predicted that the level of PSM would strengthen the relationship between professionalism (seen as professional role identity) and decision-making. Put differently, I expected that a high level of PSM would impel individuals to make decisions that are consistent with their interpretation of what it means to serve the public interest as a professional, and formulated the hypothesis that *PSM moderates the relationship between the way individuals interpret their professional role and the decisions they make in dilemma situations* (H2).

The quantitative questionnaire results provided no evidence for H2. Only if PSM was treated as a construct with separate dimensions (and not as an overarching construct) did

the results provide some evidence that the dimension 'compassion' played a role in decision-making. In combination with the two professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to public health' and 'commitment to economic interest', it had a direct positive (but still without moderation) effect on decision-making in Dilemma 1. A higher level of 'compassion' increased the probability of the decision being deferred until after a discussion with the supervisor, as compared to the response category 'I disqualify the cattle'. This finding provides some additional support for the advice by Kim et al. (2013) that researchers should use all four dimensions of PSM when studying the concept, because these have different antecedents and consequences. However, we need to keep in mind that 48 analyse were preformed and 'only' two significant effects were found. This could imply that the finding is potentially biased by the multiple comparisons problem. As more analyses are performed, the chance increases that a significant result will appear by random chance alone. The results also showed that PSM did not have a direct effect on decision-making in the context of dilemmas either. (I tested not only the effect of PSM in combination with professional role identity, but also the effect of PSM as a separate independent variable.) This provided support for my critique that it is not enough to know the strength of PSM if we want to predict how an individual will behave: PSM is a fuzzy concept in the context of dilemma situations, which had better be approached as a role identity-dependent concept than as an ideal.

Regarding the answer to the primary research question *what is the combined impact of PSM and professionalism on public servant professionals decision,* the results show that the strength of PSM does not work as an amplifier in the relationship between professionalism – viewed as professional role identity – and decision-making in dilemma situations. Against expectations, high scores on PSM did not strengthen the effect of professional role identity on decision-making. Possible explanations might be the following. The statistical power – the probability that a false null hypothesis will be rejected – partly depends on the sample size (e.g., Cohen, 1992). Given that the sample size on which the results of this study were based was limited, it is difficult to find significant effects. This might explain why the expected interaction effect of PSM could not be found in the data. Besides, as described in the previous section, I did not ask explicitly how respondents interpreted their task of serving the public interest from the point of view of a veterinary inspector. It might be argued that veterinary inspectors interpret this task differently – not as safeguarding animal welfare, public health, economic interests, and strict rule enforcement – and that therefore no interaction effect of PSM could be found. As found in Section 7.3, for example, some respondents also interpret 'the public interest' as 'honesty', 'society', and 'social welfare' in their role of veterinary inspectors.

8.2 Theoretical and empirical contributions

The major aim of my research has been to increase our understanding of what drives public professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations. In particular, I wanted to shed light on the question of what effect *public service motivation* (PSM) and *professionalism* together have on the decision-making of public service professionals facing dilemma situations. At the same time, from the literature review on PSM and professionalism, it has become clear that there are gaps in our knowledge about PSM and professionalism research. In particular, if it comes to the context of dilemma situations, our knowledge about what it really means and implies to be a professional and to be public service motivated is still limited. Therefore, another important aim of this dissertation has been to add to the literature on PSM and professionalism, and to develop new approaches to the study of PSM and professionalism which would make the meaning and behavioural consequences of the two concepts clearer. In this section I will summarize the main theoretical contributions of this dissertation to the existing public administration literature.

Regarding PSM research, I have empirically shown the fuzziness of the concept of PSM and – by combining PSM with insights from *identity theory* – developed a new approach to the study of PSM that seems to clarify the meaning and predictive power of the concept in dilemma situations. I argue that such an approach is necessary, because even if we know that an individual is highly public service motivated decision-making is likely to vary depending on the person's interpretation of the concept of the public interest – an integral aspect of PSM –, especially in situations of conflicting values and demands. The approach is based on the argument that since the public interest is central to PSM, we have to clarify what the public interest means before we can develop a better understanding of PSM. I take a step towards such an understanding by arguing that the concept of *role identity* can be used as a way to clarify how individuals view and enact the public interest when holding different roles in society. Put differently, the concept of 'role identity' helps to determine the meaning and consequences of PSM. From the results of the investigation of the two propositions (P2 and P5) I conclude that viewing PSM as a *role identity-dependent concept* rather than as an ideal is a useful approach that helps to clarify the concept's meaning and behavioural consequences in dilemma situations. This new approach to studying PSM is useful because it contributes to the concept validity of PSM: it clarifies the meaning of PSM and in turn increases its predictive power regarding actual behaviour in dilemma situations. In doing so, I have made a contribution to one of the primary research areas of PSM research, which – following Vandenabeele and Van Loon (2015) – can be described as the 'nature and incidence of PSM'.

Moreover, this new approach is interesting because it also provides insights into the complex and frequently debated PSM-performance relationship. Assuming that decision-making and performance are interrelated, this new approach to PSM provides an explanation for the fact that previous studies did not consistently succeed in empirically verifying the positive PSM–performance relationship (e.g., Alonso & Lewis, 2001).

Second, in this dissertation I aim to contribute to the largest stream of PSM research: the outcomes of PSM. Rather than testing the effect of PSM using self-reported performance-related outcome variables on individual or organizational level, I researched how the strength of PSM influences public service professionals' self-reported daily decision-making. On the basis of the argument that the concept of PSM is fuzzy in the context of dilemma situations, I predicted that PSM has no direct effect on the decision-making, and found evidence to support this assumption. The traditional approach to the study of PSM does not help us to understand why people make certain decisions when confronted with dilemmas. The finding that PSM has no direct effect is very interesting because it strengthens the argument that a role identity-dependent approach on PSM is helpful. However, we need to keep in mind that PSM could affect other elements of decision-making which have not been studied. For example, PSM could indirectly affect a decision by a specific way of framing the problem in the decision-makers mind, and might also play a role in decision implementation.

Third, this dissertation contributes to the discussion about the question whether the PSM measurement scale is universally applicable across different institutional contexts. The application of the instrument within a case that had not yet been tested – Dutch veterinary inspectors – showed that the Kim et al. (2013) instrument could not be used without modifications. Veterinary inspectors seemed to find it difficult to identify with certain woolly phrases such as 'civic duty' (PSM_SS4) and 'common good' (PSM_ATPS4). Items containing these words had to be excluded from the analysis because of low factor loadings. This finding supports Giauque's et al. (2011) and Liu's et al. (2008) conclusion that PSM is not a universal concept, but that next to the dependency on role identities, in PSM research the institutional context – in particular the professional context – also needs to be considered. Depending on what values, norms, and language are common within professional institutions, the conceptualization of PSM can vary.

A final important contribution of this study is related to the current discussion about the stability of PSM (e.g., Wright & Grant, 2010). The results suggest that the level of PSM is static among one group of individuals and dynamic among another. This knowledge is very interesting because it helps to answer the question why the level of PSM found in the public sector is higher than in the private sector, and whether socialization or attraction-selection-attrition mechanisms are possible causes. Beyond that, the study contributes to the debate

on the mechanisms explaining *why* PSM changes across time. On the basis of empirical findings, I cautiously conclude that the loss of PSM cannot exclusively be explained by the traditional reality shock experienced by newcomers, as often suggested (e.g., Brænder & Andersen, 2013; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2012). Rather, on the basis of the results of this study, I argue that the inability to deal with the demands of the daily work – because of a lack of clear organizational and job expectations in individuals starting work as veterinary inspector – might be a better, or at least additional, explanation for the post-entry dynamics of PSM.

The contributions of this study regarding research on the sociology of professionalism partly run parallel to its contributions to PSM literature. By combining professionalism with insights from identity theory I have presented a new approach to the study of professionalism that seems to be better suited to clarifying the meaning and predictive power of the concept in dilemma situations. I argue that such an approach is necessary because the theory of professionalism is vague: it is not always clear what behaviour can be expected from a professional at a specific moment. Depending on the approach to professionalism that is chosen, professionals are, for example, expected to go for quick solutions that benefit their occupation (neo-Weberian approach), or base their actions on professional norms directed at society at large (functionalist approach and reappraisal of the functionalist approach). Next to this variety of theoretical assumptions about professionalism, research also indicates that individuals with the same professional backgrounds have different conceptualizations or perceptions of their professional role, which implies varying professional behaviour (e.g., De Graaf, 2011). This provides a challenge to the assumption fundamental to the sociology of professionalism that all professionals within a certain occupation develop a shared professional identity and act and think in accordance/consistently with it (e.g., Andersen, 2009; Evetts, 2006). By combining the theory of the sociology of professionalism with insights from identity theory, I present a new approach to studying professionalism that seems to clarify its meaning and behavioural consequences in complex real-life situations: I suggest approaching professionalism as *professional role identity*. The main argument was that this new approach might be valuable in the context of dilemma situations because – as explicitly described in identity theory – role identities include both the general guidelines regarding what it means to be an occupant of a certain role, and the personal interpretations that individuals bring to their role. Professionals all have their own frames of reference which are influenced by not only professional socialization, but also by, for example, their personal and cultural backgrounds. On the basis of the empirical results for the proposition and hypothesis formulated in the theory chapter (P4 and H1), I conclude that viewing

professionalism as professional role identity is a useful approach which clarifies the concept's meaning and behavioural consequences in dilemma situations. This indirectly contributes to the theory of the sociology of professionalism, because this new approach demonstrates that this sociological perspective has its limitations: in the context of dilemma situations its predictive power and clarity of meaning are challenged. Shared occupational norms seem to be not the only factor influencing decision-making. I urge scholars to be aware of this limitation of the commonly used sociology of professionalism.

Similar approaches can be found in the literature. For example, using Q methodology scholars have identified different types of top administrators (De Graaf, 2011; Selden et al., 1999) and veterinarians (De Graaf, 2005). On the basis of interview data, Gould and Harris (1996) found that occupational therapy students perceive the profession of occupational therapist itself differently. By means of brief telephone interviews Rosenthal et al. (2010) identified different self-perceptions of the professional role of pharmacists. My research contributes to these studies by providing additional evidence from a profession that has not yet been studied – veterinary inspectors – for the conclusion that professionals with the same occupational background have different views on how to think and act as a professional: they have different professional role identities. However, because the results of my study are based on both qualitative and quantitative data, its contributions go one step further. The quantitative results provide some evidence that different perceptions of professional role may be generalized to the entire population of veterinary inspectors (P5). Next to this, I provide empirical evidence that the way professionals interpret their professional role matters. Even though H1 could not be fully accepted, the results indicate that professional role identity helps to explain decision-making in dilemma situations.

Besides enriching the theory on PSM and professionalism literature, this study also aimed at improving our understanding of the relationship between PSM and professionalism, a relationship that has not yet been fully understood. By reviewing traditional research on this relationship, I demonstrated why previous studies have yielded different conclusions regarding the relationship between PSM and professionalism: different scholars have different perspectives on professionalism. Whereas some scholars argue that a high degree of professionalism by definition implies being committed to an altruistic service ideal directed at safeguarding the public interest rather than personal gains (e.g., Freidson, 2001; Vinzant, 1998), others warn of the collective self-interest of individuals belonging to a professional group (e.g., Van Wart, 1998). This finding contributes to our understanding of the PSM-professionalism relationship because it helps to explain why different studies report mixed results. On the basis of the two arguments discussed above, i.e., 1) professionalism can be

better viewed as professional role identity and 2) PSM can be better seen as a role identity-dependent concept rather than an ideal, I presented a new line of reasoning, which goes beyond the traditional idea that the two concepts either supplement each other or are mutually exclusive. Differences in the aspects individuals find important in their work – especially how they interpret their task of serving the public interest – help to understand why equally highly public service motivated individuals make different choices in the face of dilemmas. Put differently, professionalism approached as professional role identity gives meaning to PSM. By including identity theory into the equation we are one step closer to understanding the relationship between professionalism and PSM. The empirical results of the investigation of proposition 5, which relates to this newly defined relationship between PSM and professionalism, are mixed: qualitative and quantitative results contradict each other. The qualitative data suggest that for a small and distinct group of highly public service motivated individuals, with an organization-focused professional role identity, consistent and strict rule enforcement is an important aspect of their work, whereas for individuals with a veterinary-medicine professional role identity this is safeguarding economic interest. In the quantitative analysis, however, I found that PSM and its separate dimensions are positively related to the professional role identity dimensions 'commitment to animal welfare' and 'commitment to public health', but negatively to the dimension 'commitment to economic interest' and (though not significantly) 'strict rule enforcement'. As mentioned before, support for Andersen's claim that "professionalism and PSM are clearly not the same, but they seem to be related in ways that have not yet been fully analysed" (p. 95) still holds true. Therefore, we need to continue thinking about ways to integrate these concepts.

Finally, with this dissertation I aimed to contribute to the research on the question of what drives public service professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations, by including PSM and professionalism as explanatory variables. I argued that these are two promising concepts if we want to increase our understanding of why public service professionals make certain decisions when confronted with dilemma situations, for two reasons: 1) they present two concepts, frequently debated in public administration literature, which are expected to be useful in explaining behaviour (Andersen, 2009; Vandenableele et al., 2006), and 2) both concepts are embedded within what March and Olson (1989) describe as 'the logic of appropriateness', which may be better suited to explain why individuals make certain decisions in the face of dilemmas than a more self-interested approach on the basis of rational choice, which the authors call 'the logic of expected consequences'(Weber, Kopelman & Messick, 2004). The theoretical arguments regarding the 'fuzziness' of PSM and professionalism, and the empirical findings of this study are

important contributions to traditional literature because they indicate the limitations of these two concepts in dilemma situations. They show that professionals with the same backgrounds do not perceive their professional role in the same way, and neither do they act in accordance with the same professional norms and values, as assumed within sociological approaches to professionalism. Rather, the individual interpretations of the professional role seem to matter as well. What is more, my arguments provide evidence that PSM has no direct effect on decision-making in dilemma situations, and that it might be useful to view PSM as a role identity-dependent concept rather than an ideal. In other words, I conclude that traditional approaches to PSM and professionalism are less useful concepts to use in a study of what drives public service professional's decision-making in dilemma situations than I initially expected. Other promising factors that were found to play a part in public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations are 'commitment to the inspectee', personal morality, and the desire to play safe. This might be a sign that against expectations both – the 'logic of appropriateness', but also the 'logic of consequences' – need to be considered when decision-making in dilemma situations is studied. Put differently, as pointed out in the Introduction to this book, 'the logic of appropriateness' provides a useful approach to investigating what drives professionals in dilemma situations, but insights from the 'logic of consequences' are also needed. This finding is in accordance with Le Grand's (2003) theory of motivation, claiming that different types of motives can co-exist: individuals are neither pure 'knights' nor pure 'knaves' and March and Olsen's (2009) argument that it is inadequate to rely exclusively on one logic. The findings of this study showed that even in dilemma situations in which – according to Weber et al. (2004) – a 'rational choice' framework has limitations 'following rules of appropriateness' and 'calculating individual expected utility' can both serve as approximations of decision-making at the same time. People do seem able to make conscious choices that are preceded by evaluation in the specific context of dilemmas.

8.3 Practical implications of the research findings

Next to the theoretical contributions, some practical implications resulting from the findings of this study can be highlighted. However, I should first acknowledge that outlining specific HR strategies that affect traditional approaches to PSM and/or professionalism is less useful than I expected if we are to anticipate unwanted behaviour or strengthen desired behaviour of public service professionals in dilemma situations than I expected. Rather, specific HR strategies need to be directed at the new approaches to the study of PSM and professionalism developed here – PSM as a professional role-dependent concept, and

professionalism as professional role identity. In this section I will explain what these HR strategies could be.

For daily practice, my findings imply that it is not enough to foster PSM by integrating public service values into an organization's management system (Paalberg, Perry & Hondeghem, 2008). Rather than focusing on increasing the level of PSM and investing in attracting and selecting public service motivated employees, it might be more valuable to pay attention to relevant role expectations as communicated by the organization and professional associations. By using human resource management tools to communicate what it means to serve the public interest from an organizational point of view and as a professional, roles can be used as resources and behaviour can be influenced. Because these expectations may be conflicting, organizations should intensify the collaboration with professional associations and educational institutions in order to bring expectations into line and prevent role conflicts. Besides giving meaning to the concept of public interest, it might be valuable during the selection process to pay very close attention to individuals' organizational and work expectations. Ensuring that selected individuals have a clear picture of their tasks and of potential difficulties they might encounter at work (e.g., manipulation, lying and aggression) might prevent them from becoming frustrated and hence losing their PSM. Besides, the results of this study suggest that this approach is useful because employees with a clear picture seem to be better able to deal with work-related difficulties. An alternative strategy might be to invest in training programmes that focus on teaching employees how to deal with work-related difficulties and stress.

The results of this study should urge Human Resource (HR) managers of veterinary inspectors to consider the different views employees have about their job when teams are formed or specific combinations of tasks are assigned. For example, attention should be paid to the question of what mixture of professional role identities is most suitable to accomplish organizational objectives. Besides, managers can use HR activities such as training sessions, mentor programmes and performance assessment to stimulate or suppress certain professional role identities, i.e., certain ways of interpreting the professional role. However, they also need to realize the way employees see their professional role can be influenced only partly. Cultural expectations as communicated by the organization play a role, but individual experiences also determine how individuals see themselves as a professional. Next to providing input for HR managers, insights into differences and similarities among veterinary inspectors' professional role identities are also useful for people to reflect on themselves as professionals, as well as for future professionals – students of veterinary medicine – as part of their orientation on becoming a public servant.

The deeper insights into the specific situations in which public service professionals experience dilemmas can help managers to anticipate the negative consequences of dilemmas such as frustration and stress, for example by adapting training programmes to the actual working context. In particular, managers should be aware of the fact that what is frequently mentioned as causes of work-related stress are not only situations in which conflicting values and demands are involved, but also situations that require veterinarian inspectors to implement unworkable rules, deviations from rule enforcement among colleagues and lack of organizational support.

The deeper understanding of the kinds of decisions public service professionals make in dilemma situations has practical implications, too. The findings of this study suggest that the management should be aware of the important role supervisors play in ensuring organizational objectives and consistent behaviour. Because they are frequently contacted by public professionals in dilemma situations that involve a substantial monetary impact and public scrutiny, it is important that they are well-prepared and know how to act in such difficult situations.

8.4 Limitations of the present research

In spite of all my efforts to ensure a sound design and execution of this study, there are several limitations to be pointed out. Some of these were already mentioned in the final sections of the qualitative and quantitative methodological chapters (Chapters 4 and 6, respectively) such as problems related to the different types of validity, reliability of interview data, and problems associated with self-reported quantitative data. I specifically discussed how I tried to remedy these limitations. In this section the limitations that influenced the results and go beyond the individual chapters will be discussed.

First, the qualitative approach in Chapter 5 implies that the results cannot be generalized to a larger population. The results of the quantitative approach in Chapter 7 can be generalized to the population of veterinary inspectors, but because of the cross-sectional character of the questionnaire data there might be problems with causal inference such as reversed causality and/or confounding variables. This means that both research methodologies have their limitations. Yet, with the mixed-method design the results present a stronger case and a more complete understanding of the research problem (Creswell & Clark, 2011).

Second, because the results of this study are based on data collected in only one professional field (veterinary inspectors working at the NVWA), we do not know whether the findings can be generalized to other public service professions, and beyond that, to the national context of the Netherlands. However, there is every reason to expect that the results

can be transferred to similar professionals, i.e., professionals with strong professional norms, internalized during their long academic education, and who are working for large public organizations in functions that require them to ensure organizational objectives (such as physicians working for the health care inspectorates) and can be transferred to countries with similar individualistic cultural orientations (e.g., Western European countries).

Third, it seems that the results of Chapter 7 should be interpreted with great care. As stated before, Cronbach's α for the variable 'professional role identity' was rather low and the sample size was small, which implies limited statistical power. In other words, it then becomes difficult to detect significant effects in the data. This might explain the non-findings of this study: why only some dimensions of the professional role identity had an effect on decision-making (H1), and why I had to reject the hypothesis that PSM moderates the relationship between professional role identity and decision-making (H2). However, because the entire research population (all veterinary inspectors in the Netherlands) contains only 403 individuals a large-N study was impossible. Also, I think I was justified in using the variable 'professional role identity' regardless the low Cronbach's α because 1) the principal component analysis I performed supports the idea that the items of the scale can be clustered in four different dimensions, and 2) the α depends on the number of items by which a concept is measured (Dooley, 2001) and the separate dimensions were addressed by only two or three items.

Another limitation that potentially biased the research results is respondents giving socially desirable answers. For example, respondents rarely chose answering categories that support the entrepreneurs' economic interests and thus go against the objectives of the NVWA. As mentioned before, I tried to minimize the risk of socially desirable answers by granting anonymity and confidentiality in the cover letter to the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of social desirability remains a limitation of survey research, especially if the research topic is a sensitive one.

8.5 Possible directions for future research

While this study has yielded interesting findings regarding the concepts of PSM and professionalism in dilemma situations, and the question of what drives public professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations, there is still much work to do if we are to fully understand these research domains. First, the limitations of this study as discussed above raise a number of issues for future research. Second, my findings point to some directions for future research.

As mentioned earlier, because of its cross-sectional character the results of this study cannot necessarily be generalized beyond the case of Dutch veterinary inspectors. If we know that PSM is sensitive to cultural differences (Kim et al. 2013). Future research should address the question whether the findings of this study can be verified by data collected in different countries. Next to this, previous research by Andersen and Pedersen (2012) suggests that differences in the degree of professionalism (ranging from low, such as health assistants, to high, such as physicians) are related in various ways to the separate dimensions of PSM. It could then be interesting to further investigate if the findings can be verified by using data from an occupation scoring lower on the level of professionalism than that of veterinary inspector. In particular, it might be interesting to research if the concept of professional role identity can also be used to give meaning to the concept of PSM in cases of a low or medium level of professionalism (e.g., teachers, physical therapists).

Another direction for future research is related to the instruments used to measure PSM and professional role identity. As mentioned before, Cronbach's α for the separate dimensions of the concept of professional role identity was rather low, which implies that the construct validity of the dimensions is challenged: the measure does not optimally reflect the underlying construct. I believe that future research will benefit from developing the instrument measuring professional role identities further, and from using multiple items in order to better capture the concept's meaning and improve the value of Cronbach's α. By sharpening the instrument that measures professional role identity, clearer results may be found. Regarding the PSM measurement instrument, the results of this study suggest that we need a tool to assess the strength of not only PSM but also its specific meaning for individuals: an instrument that gauges what interpretations individuals attach to 'their' PSM and is sensitive to the professional context (jargon) in which it is applied. Since the public interest is central to PSM, we need to clarify what 'the public interest' means to individuals before we can develop a better understanding of the concept and ways to measure it. For example, research might benefit from asking respondents directly what the public interest means to them if they hold a particular role. This makes it possible to control for the values that individuals mention as important aspects of their (professional) role coinciding with the values that they relate to the public interest.

Next to this, this research should also encourage researchers to empirically investigate Proposition 3 – *the effect of public service motivation on behaviour is influenced by the hierarchy of the role identities within the self* – formulated in Chapter 2, because this would contribute to the research area involving the outcomes of PSM. For example, by using Yin's (1984) multiple-case replication design future researchers should investigate whether the relative levels of an individual's qualitative and quantitative commitment to different role

identities determine which role identity is positioned highest in the identity hierarchy, and whether this is reflected in the behaviour of individuals scoring high on PSM.

The results of the analysis of the 'longitudinal' interviews suggested that it is not 'the traditional reality shock' (as defined by Kramer 1974) newcomers experience after job entry that causes the loss in PSM. Rather, on the basis of the results of this study, I argue that a different sort of reality shock – the inability to cope with the daily demands of work – might be a better, or at least additional, explanation for post-entry adaptation mechanisms of PSM. Future research might benefit from pursuing this route, and could thus contribute to the clarification of change mechanism in the PSM level. In particular, combining PSM with psychological literature on coping strategies – focusing on the question of how people deal with stress – may take our knowledge of adaptation mechanisms to a higher level (e.g., Skinner, Edge & Sherwood, 2003).

The mixed findings of the qualitative and quantitative analyses regarding the relationship between PSM and professional role identity highlight our incomplete conceptual understanding of the topics studied, and call for future research. Integrating identity theory into the equation has taken us a step closer to understanding the relationship between PSM and professionalism. I think that future research on this relationship will benefit from a revised instrument by which to measure professional role identity, assessing the different dimensions via multiple items in order to better capture the meaning of these dimensions. Next, I think that future research would benefit from further refinement of our conceptual understanding of how the two concepts are related. In other words, we need to continue thinking of ways to integrate these two concepts.

This study focused on the question of which role PSM and professionalism together play in dilemma situations in general. I argued that knowledge of the ways individuals interpret their task of serving the public interest as professionals helps to understand why equally highly public service motivated individuals make different choices in the face of dilemmas, i.e., the concept of professional role identity clarifies the consequences of the PSM concept. Because *morality* – which refers to a code of conduct for "good" or "right" behaviour put forward by a society, a group of individuals (e.g., profession, religion, culture), or individuals – and the *public interest* are related concepts[4] it is interesting to address the question whether this line of reasoning can also be applied to decision-making on a specific type of dilemmas: *moral dilemmas*. In other words, does the argument help to answer the question raised by Measschalck, Van der Wal and Huberts (2008): how will public service motivated individuals decide in a moral dilemma situation in which responsiveness to a

4 Sorauf (1957) argues that the concept of public interest reflects the highest standard of governmental action or morality in governance.

particular citizen (compassion dimension) contradicts with an adherence to values such as neutrality and lawfulness (commitment to public values dimension)? I argue that future research might benefit from addressing this question empirically, while I am aware that this approach enables us to say something about the impact of PSM and (professional) role identity on morally desirable decision-making at an individual level only. This decision-making may be in conflict with what is accepted as a moral standard by a society or group of individuals.

8.6 Summary

In this book I have attempted to improve our understanding of what drives public service professionals' decision-making in real-life dilemma situations by shedding light on the question of what effect *public service motivation* and *professionalism* together have on public service professionals' decision-making in dilemma situations. My review of the literature on PSM and professionalism, however, showed that there are persistent gaps in our knowledge about the meaning and behavioural consequences of these concepts when it comes to the context of dilemma situations, which are omnipresent in public sector work. Therefore, another important aim of this book has been to delve into these two concepts and their interrelatedness more deeply, and to present new approaches to study PSM and professionalism that seem better suited to clarify the meaning and behavioural consequences in the context of dilemmas. On the basis of a mixed-method research design, the nature as well as the interrelatedness of the two concepts and their effect on decision-making in dilemma situations were studied using data from veterinary inspectors working for the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority (*Nederlandse Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit*, NVWA). Within the limitations of this study, the findings discussed in Chapter 8 enable us to draw conclusions benefiting the theory of public service motivation and professionalism, and provide input for practice-oriented human resources management and directions for future research. I hope that I have provided the reader with food for thought and inspiration for further research on PSM and professionalism – approached as professional role identity – in the particular context of dilemma situations, and the general question of why professionals make certain decisions when confronted with dilemmas.

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APPENDIX

Table A1a Topics for the 'large' interview panel

Introduction
- Personal introduction of the researcher(s)
- Content and goal of the study
- Confidentiality, anonymity, recording policy
Work motivation
- What do you like about your work?
- What motivates you in your work?
- Why did you study veterinary medicine?
Role identity of veterinary inspector
- What do you think are the most important characteristics of a good veterinary inspector?
- What are the values and interests you represent in this role?
Dilemma situations
- Which situations do you find difficult in your work?
- Can you give us an example of a situation at work that you took to heart?
Behaviour/Decision-making in dilemma situations
- How did you handle these dilemma situations?
- What did you base your decisions on?
Identity negotiation *
Organizational socialization tactics*
Adjustment*
Social network*
Closing off
- Do you want to give us any additional information?
- Do you have any questions for us?

* Not part of this dissertation

Table A1b Topics for the 'newcomers' interview panel (1st round)

Introduction
- Personal introduction of the researcher(s)
- Content and goal of the study
- Confidentiality, anonymity, recording
Work motivation
- Why did you study veterinary medicine
- What are the things you find motivating in your work?
- What do you like about your work?
Work/organizational expectations
- What did you expect from the NVWA as an employer?
- Did you have any prior expectations of the work of a veterinary inspector?
Assessment centre, trainings*
Closing off
- Do you want to give us any additional information?
- Do you have any questions for us?

* Not part of this dissertation

Table A1c Topics for the 'newcomers' interview panel (2nd round)

Introduction
- Content and goal of the study
- Confidentiality, anonymity, recording
Work motivation
- What are the things you find motivating in your work?
- What do you like about your work?
Working reality
- Is the job any different from what you expected?
- Are there any problems you encountered?
Role identity of veterinarian inspector*
- What do you think are the most important characteristics of a good veterinarian inspector?
- What are the values and interests you represent in this role?
Information sources*
Social network*
Closing off
- Do you want to give us any additional information?
- Do you have any questions for us?

* Not part of this dissertation

Table A2a Respondents in the 'large' interview panel

Respondent	Gender	Team*	Years of employment	Age
R1	M	T1	11	≥ 60 and < 65
R2	M	T2	12	≥ 55 and < 60
R3	M	T1	16	≥ 50 and < 55
R4	F	T3	11	≥ 40 and < 45
R5	F	T4	24	≥ 45 and < 50
R6	M	T5	16	≥ 45 and < 50
R7	F	T5	13	≥ 55 and < 60
R8	M	T5	12	≥ 40 and < 45
R9	M	T7	12	≥ 60 and < 65
R10	F	T8	12	≥ 50 and < 55
R11	M	T9	3	≥ 50 and < 55
R12	F	T13	6	≥ 35 and < 40
R13	M	T9	6	≥ 35 and < 40
R14	F	T7	4	≥ 30 and < 35
R15	M	T10	4	≥ 30 and < 35
R16	M	T4	4	≥ 30 and < 35
R17	M	T10	3	≥ 35 and < 40
R18	M	T4	2	≥ 30 and < 35
R19	F	T4	3	≥ 35 and < 40
R20	M	T11	3	≥ 45 and < 50
R21	M	T6	3	≥45 and < 50
R22	F	T12	9	≥ 45 and < 50
R23	F	T3	2	≥ 30 and < 35
R24	M	T10	7	≥ 50 and < 55
R25	F	T12	3	≥ 30 and < 35
R26	F	T7	2	≥ 45 and < 50
R27	F	T14	2	≥ 40 and < 45
R28	M	T2	12	≥ 40 and < 45
R29	M	T13	7	≥ 40 and < 45
R30	F	T14	4	≥ 45 and < 50
R31	F	T10	18	≥ 55 and < 60
R32	F	T5	23	≥ 55 and < 60
R33	M	T4	12	≥ 45 and < 50
R34	M	T7	29	≥ 55 and < 60
R35	F	T3	8	≥ 40 and < 45
R36	M	T15	15	≥ 45 and < 50
R37	M	T2	15	≥ 55 and < 60
R38	M	T2	12	≥ 40 and < 45

*The abbreviations for the variable 'team' have been changed in order to guarantee anonymity

Table A2b Respondents in the 'newcomers' interview panel

Respondent	Gender	Age	Working experience
R1	F	<35	Private practice
R2	M	≥45 <55	Private practice
R3	F	<35	No
R4	F	≥35 <45	Private practice
R5	F	≥45 <55	Private practice/Industry
R6	F	<35	Industry
R7	F	<35	No
R8	F	≥45 <55	Private practice/Industry
R9	M	≥55 <65	Private practice
R10	F	<35	Government
R11	F	≥35<45	Private practice
R12	M	≥55 <65	Private practice
R13	F	≥55 <65	Private practice
R14	F	≥55 <65	Private practice
R15	F	<35	No

Table 3a Codes and subcodes for the 'large' interview panel

Public service motivation
- Contributing to solving wrongs (APS)
- Contributing to the public interest (CPV)
- Contributing to specific public values (CPV)
- Sympathy for the underprivileged (COM)
- Making sacrifices (SS)
Public sector motivation
- Regular working hours
- Regular income
- Regular periods of vacation
Motivation based on interaction
- With colleagues
- With inspectees
- With animals
Motivation based on task variety
- Different tasks
- Different locations of work
Role of veterinary inspector
- Communication skills
- Knowledge base
- Knowledge of rules and regulations*
- Knowledge of veterinary medicine**
- Strict rule enforcement*
- Safeguarding values
- Consistency, transparency, public health, animal welfare*
- Economic interests, animal welfare **
Dilemma situations
- Conflicting values: value pluralism
- Contrasting demands
- Public interest as guideline of behaviour
- Animal welfare
- Unworkable rules
- Zero-tolerance policy
Considerations in decision-making
- Inspectee-related considerations
- Characteristic of the inspectee
- Maintaining good working relationships
- Facilitate future rule enforcement
- Size of company
- Inspection-related considerations
- Consequences of enforcement
- Time pressure
- Prior non-enforcement
Decision-making in dilemma situations
- Biasing
- Avoidance

* Coded as organization-focused professional role identity
** Coded as veterinary medicine-focused professional role identity

Table A3b Codes and subcodes for the 'newcomers' interview panel (1st round)

Public service motivation
- Contributing to solving wrongs (APS)
- Contributing to the public interest (CPV)
- Contributing to specific public values (CPV)
- Sympathy for the underprivileged (COM)
- Making sacrifices (SS)
Public sector motivation
- Regular working hours
- Regular income
- Regular periods of vacation
Motivation based on interaction
- With colleagues
- With inspectees
Motivation based on task variety
- Different tasks
- Different locations of work
Motivation based on responsibility
- Recent promotion
- Management activities
Motivation based on development potentialities
- Trainings
- Learning on the job
Organizational/work expectations
- No expectations
- Rule enforcement
- Safeguarding animal welfare and public health
- Resistance
- Solitary character

Table A3c Codes and subcodes for the 'newcomers' interview panel (2nd round)

Public service motivation
- Contributing to solving wrongs (APS)
- Contributing to the public interest (CPV)
- Contributing to specific public values (CPV)
- Sympathy for the underprivileged (COM)
- Making sacrifices (SS)
Public sector motivation
- Regular working hours
- Regular income
- Regular periods of vacation
Motivation on the basis of interaction
- With colleagues
- With inspectees
Motivation based on task variety
- Different tasks
- Different locations of work
Motivation based on responsibility
- Recent promotion
- Management activities
Motivation based on development potentialities
- Trainings
- Learning on the job
Working reality
- Unwieldy organization
- Lack of uniformity
- Manipulation/Aggression: stressful
- Manipulation/Aggression: acceptance of status quo, coping strategies

Table A4a List of public service motivation items

PSM scale based on Kim et al., 2012
PSM_ATPS1: I admire people who initiate or are involved in activities to aid my community.
PSM_ATPS2: It is important to contribute to activities that tackle social problems.
PSM_ATPS3: Meaningful public service is important to me.
PSM_ATPS4: It is important to me to contribute to the common good. +
PSM_CPV1: It is important that citizens can rely on the continuous provision of public services.
PSM_CPV2: It is fundamental that the interests of future generations are taken into account.
PSM_CPV3: To act ethically is essential for public servants.
PSM_COM1: I feel sympathetic to the plight of the unprivileged.
PSM_COM2: I empathize with other people who face difficulties. +
PSM_COM3: I get very upset when I see other people being treated unfairly.
PSM_COM4: Considering the welfare of others is very important.
PSM_SS1: I am prepared to make sacrifices for the good of society.
PSM_SS2: I am willing to risk personal loss to help society.
PSM_SS3: I would agree to a good plan to make a better life for the poor, even it cost me money.
PSM_SS4: I believe in putting civic duty before self. X

X excluded on the basis of pilot; + Excluded on basis of CFA
The original Dutch items can be obtained from the author on request

Table A4b List of professional role identity items

Professional role identity scale
Commitment to economic interests
Eco1: It is important that veterinary inspectors consider the economic interests of the meat-processing industry.
Eco2: Sometimes I deviate from the rules in order to reduce financial damage to the individual I have to inspect.
Commitment to animal welfare
AW1: I enforce rules more strictly in cases when animal welfare is at risk.
AW2: For me, what motivates me most in my work as veterinary inspector is being able to do something for animals.
AW3: Safeguarding animal welfare is the most important value I defend in my work as veterinary inspector.
Commitment to public health
PH1: For me, what motivates me most in my work as veterinary inspector is being able to safeguard public health.
PH2: If I had to choose, I think safeguarding public health is more important than safeguarding animal welfare.
PH3: Even in cases when there is no specific rule or regulation, if public health is at risk, I act.
Strict rule enforcement
Enforec1: Strict enforcement of rules is the only way to reach your goals
Enforec2: Sometimes it is more important to enforce rules and regulations in the spirit rather than to the letter. (R)
Enforec3: If you want to make a change, it is more important to convince people than to strictly follow the rules. (R)

+ Excluded on the basis of PCA; (R) recoded items
The original Dutch items can be obtained from the author on request

Table A4c List of remaining items

Commitment to the inspectee
ComIn1: I find it difficult to act as a strict enforcer of rules and regulations if I know that the people I am inspecting have done their best to improve things.
ComIn2: I find it difficult to act as a strict enforcer of rules and regulations if I know the person I am inspecting personally.
Proactive personality – based on Parker and Sprigg, 1999
PP1: I am always looking for better ways to do things.
PP2: I excel at identifying opportunities.
PP3: No matter what the odds, if I believe in something I will make it happen.
PP4: I love being championed for my ideas, even against others' opposition.
Professional identification - shortened version of Mael and Asforth, 1992
PI1: I am very interested in what others thing about the profession of veterinary inspector.
PI2: When I talk about veterinary inspectors, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'. (A)
PI3: If a story in the media criticized veterinary inspectors, I would feel embarrassed'.
Work-related tensions - modified version of Lindquist and Whitehead, 1986
WRT: Please indicate to what degree you experience tensions in your work as veterinary inspector.

(A) Item deleted on the basis of low Cronbach's α
The original Dutch items can be obtained from the author on request

Table A5a Results of binary regression analysis with controls (Dilemma 1)

	B	Exp(B)	Sig.	B	Exp(B)	Sig.
Constant	27.07		.58	28.83		.56
Gender (0 = male)	1.05	2.86	.01	1.10	2.99	.00**
Age	-.38	.68	.03*	-.32	.72	.06
Type of employment contract (0 = RVI)	.43	1.53	.32	.56	1.75	.19
Additional employment as veterinarian (0 = yes)	-.22	.81	.61	-.26	.77	.54
Years of employment NVWA	-.02	.99	.54	-.02	.98	.52
Proactivity	.44	1.55	.11	.43	1.54	.11
Team						
DummyP1	.31	1.37	.37	.43	1.53	.21
DummyP2	.30	1.35	.53	.24	1.27	.61
Position						
DummyT1	.47	1.59	.32	.44	1.55	.35
DummyT2	-.05	.95	.90	.01	1.01	.97
Economic interest				.57	1.77	.01*
Commitment to the inspectee	.49	1.64	.02*			
	Omnibus Test Model Coefficients Chi-square 22.87 Sig .02* HL test Chi-square 5.90, Sig .66 Nagelkerke R .13 No of valid observations (of =258) = 222			Omnibus Test Model Coefficients Chi-square 26.28 Sig .01* HL test Chi-square 9.85, Sig .28 Nagelkerke R .15 No of valid observations (of N=258) = 224		

Dummy P1 = Veterinary inspector vs. senior inspector; Dummy P2 = Regular veterinary inspector vs. company inspector; Dummy T1 = Abattoirs vs. living animals; Dummy T2 = Abattoirs vs. import; RVI = 'regular' veterinary inspector

I stop the production process (reference category)

* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed); ** Significant at < 0.01 (2-tailed)

Table A5b Results of multinomial logistic regression analysis with controls (Dilemma 2)

	B	Exp (B)	Sig.	B	Exp (B)	Sig.
I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor						
Constant	16.80		.84	-15.05		.86
Gender (0 = male)	.12	1.13	.84	.36	1.44	.566
Age	.19	1.21	.49	.21	1.23	.47
Type of employment contract (0 = RVI)	-1.38	.25	.05	-1.28	.28	.07
Additional employment contract as veterinarian (0 = yes)	-1.15	.32	.10	-1.20	.30	.09
Years of employment	-.01	.99	.87	.01	1.01	.83
Proactivity	.78	2.17	.08	.69	2.01	.11
Team						
DummyT1	-.68	.50	.19	-.56	.57	.27
DummyT2	-.87	.42	.24	-1.14	.33	.12
Positon						
DummyP1	.02	1.02	.98	.01	1.01	.99
DummyP2	-.44	.64	.55	-.32	.72	.66
Commitment to economic interest				.73	2.08	.03*
Commitment to the inspectee	.77	2.16	.02*			
I make a written report						
Constant	-84.2		.44	-122.6		.26
Gender (0 = male)	.32	1.37	.70	.56	.71	.49
Age	-.32	.72	.38	-.34	.10	.35
Type of employment contract (0 = RVI)	-2.65	.07	.01*	-2.32	.20	.01*
Additional employment contract (0 = yes)	-1.73	.18	.06	-1.59	1.07	.08
Years of employment	.05	1.05	.41	.06	1.15	.24
Proactivity	.17	1.18	.77	.14	.58	.81
Team						
DummyT1	-.56	.57	.46	-.55	1.15	.46
DummyT2	.08	1.08	.93	.14	.80	.87
Positon						
DummyP1	-.40	.67	.67	-.22	.11	.81
DummyP2	-2.231	.11	.03*	-2.22	2.14	.03*
Commitment to economic interest				.76	1.75	.07
Commitment to the inspectee	.35	1.42	.41			
	Likelihood Ration Test Chi-square 39.32 Sig .01* Nagelkerke R .22 No of valid observations (of N=258) = 214			Likelihood Ration Test Chi-square 39.17 Sig .01* Nagelkerke R. 22 No of valid observations (of N=258) = 216		

Dummy P1 = Veterinary inspector vs. senior inspector; Dummy P2 = Regular veterinary inspector vs. company inspector; Dummy T1 = Abattoirs vs. living animals; Dummy T2 = Abattoirs vs. import; RVI = 'regular' veterinary inspector. I stop the production process (reference category)

* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

Table A5c Results of multinomial logistic regression analysis with controls (Dilemma 3)

	B	Exp (B)	Sig.
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture so that I can act if necessary			
Constant	31.25		.80
Gender (0 = male)	.15	1.16	.87
Age	.21	1.23	.58
Type of employment contract (0 = RVI)	1.54	4.68	.12
Additional employment contract (0 = yes)	-1.16	.32	.18
Years of employment	-.02	.99	.80
Proactivity	.46	1.58	.45
Team			
DummyT1	.56	1.75	.48
DummyT2	3.42	30.42	.00**
Positon			
DummyP1	.51	1.67	.64
DummyP2	.96	2.62	.42
Commitment to public health	-1.48	.230	.01*
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and defer my decision until I receive the additional vaccination information I requested			
Constant	114.13		.33
Gender (0 = male)	-.03	.97	.97
Age	.24	.95	.34
Type of employment contract (0 = RVI)	1.44	4.21	.13
Additional employment contract (0 = yes)	-.31	.73	.70
Years of employment	-.06	.95	.34
Proactivity	.55	1.73	.35
Team			
DummyT1	.78	2.19	.31
DummyT2	1.40	4.06	.14
Positon			
DummyP1	.38	1.46	.72
DummyP2	-.00	.10	1.00
Commitment to public health	-1.15	.32	.03*
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested vaccination information			
Constant	142.91		.25
Gender (0 = male)	-.94	.39	.30
Age	.44	1.55	.26
Type of employment contract (0 = RVI)	2.09	8.06	.04*

Table A5c Results of multinomial logistic regression analysis with controls (Dilemma 3) *(Continued)*

	B	Exp (B)	Sig.
I order the cow to be shot and slaughtered and try to predate the fracture AND make my decision on the basis of the additionally requested vaccination information			
Additional employment contract (0 = yes)	-.07	.93	.25
Years of employment	1.11	3.04	.08
Proactivity	.48	1.61	.56
Team			
Dummy T1	3.05	21.14	.01*
Dummy T2	.04	1.04	.97
Positon			
DummyP1	.48	1.61	.58
DummyP2	.22	1.25	.86
Commitment to public health	-.91	.40	.11
	Likelihood Ration Test Chi-square 56.84, Sig .01* Nagelkerke R .25 No of valid observations (of N=258) = 215		

Dummy P1 = Regular veterinary inspector vs. senior inspector; Dummy P2 = Veterinary inspector vs. company inspector; Dummy T1 = Abattoirs vs. living animals; Dummy T2 = Abattoirs vs. import; RVI = 'regular' veterinary inspector

I order the cow to be shot and disqualify it. (reference category)

* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed); ** Significant at < 0.01 (2-tailed)

Table A6 Results of logistic regression analysis with moderator PSM dimensions 'compassion'

	Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients		Nagelkerke (pseudo) R	B	Exp (B)	Sig.	No of valid observations of N=258
	Chi-square	Sig.					
	4.79	.19	.030				222
Public Health_cent.				-.10	.91	.67	
PSM_COM_cent				.59	1.81	.04*	
Public Health _cent x PSM_COM_cent				-.15	.86	.71	
Constant				-.26	.77	.06	
	10.10	.02*	.06				226
Economic interests_cent .				.45	1.570	.01*	
PSM_COM_cent				.62	1.85	.03*	
Economic interests_cent x PSM_COM cent				-.13	.88	.71	
Constant				-.30	.74	.03	

0 = I disqualify the cattle (reference category); 1 = I defer the decision until I have talked to my supervisor

* Significant at < 0.05 (2-tailed)

DUTCH SUMMARY

Professionals in dilemmasituaties

Ambtenaren worden in hun werk vaak geconfronteerd met contrasterende belangen en waarden. Hierbij kan bijvoorbeeld gedacht worden aan het spanningsveld tussen klassieke of traditionele waarden zoals veiligheid, integriteit, neutraliteit en legaliteit enerzijds en business waarden zoals transparantie, effectiviteit, efficiëntie en innovatie anderzijds. Vooral professionals hebben hiermee te maken aangezien discretionaire ruimte en complexiteit kenmerkend zijn voor hun werkzaamheden. Regels en procedures bieden professionals niet altijd uitsluitsel over hoe om te gaan met dilemmasituaties. In deze situaties dienen zij zelf(standig) keuzes te maken.

In deze dissertatie wordt onderzocht welke factoren een rol spelen in de besluitvorming van professionals die werkzaam zijn in de publieke sector op het moment dat ze met tegenstrijdige waarden en belangen geconfronteerd worden. Met andere woorden, met dit onderzoek wordt geprobeerd inzichtelijk te maken waarom professionals verschillende besluiten nemen in dilemmasituaties. Dit zijn situaties waarin een beslissing onvermijdelijke negatieve consequenties voor een van de conflicterende waarden of belangen heeft. Gelijke behandeling is een kernwaarde van de publieke sector. Daarom is het belangrijk dat de besluiten die professionals nemen in vergelijkbare situaties zo min mogelijk van elkaar verschillen. Meer inzicht in wat professionals in beweging zet in dilemmasituatie is dan ook belangrijk omdat het kan helpen afwijkende keuzes bij te sturen.

In dit onderzoek ligt de focus op de impact van twee specifieke motieven op de besluitvorming in dilemmasituaties. Het eerste motief is *public service motivation* (PSM), een bestuurskundig concept dat verwijst naar de motivatie van mensen om zich in te zetten voor het algemeen belang. Het tweede motief is *professionalism,* een sociologisch concept dat verwijst naar de collectieve controle van specifieke en theoretische kennis binnen een bepaald vakgebied of professie. Die komt voort uit geïnstitutionaliseerde procedures en gesocialiseerde professionele normen en waarden. De centrale onderzoeksvraag in deze dissertatie is dan ook:

> *Wat is de gecombineerde invloed van PSM en professionalism op de besluitvorming van professionals werkzaam in de publieke sector in de context van dilemmasituaties?*

Het is een algemeen geaccepteerde en vaak onderzochte assumptie dat beide concepten een voorspellende waarde hebben. Tot op heden is echter weinig bekend over (1) de betekenis van PSM en *professionalism* en hun invloed op gedrag in de specifieke context van dilemmasituaties, (2) de verhouding van deze twee concepten tot elkaar en (3) de ontwikkeling van PSM over de tijd heen. Dit roept verschillende vragen op die in dit

onderzoek aan bod komen zoals: komen medewerkers met een hoge PSM op voor veiligheid of voor transparantie als aspecten van het algemeen belang wanneer deze twee publieke waarden met elkaar in conflict zijn? Kiezen professionals oplossingen die voordelig zijn voor de eigen professie (*neo-Weberian approach*), of willen ze individuele klanten helpen (*occupational professionalism*), dan wel de samenleving in het algemeen (*functionalistic approach*)? Staan PSM en *professionalism* haaks op elkaar of vullen de twee concepten elkaar aan? Behouden mensen hetzelfde niveau van PSM over de tijd heen of verandert dit? En wat zijn dat de mechanismen die mogelijke veranderingen in PSM kunnen verklaren'?

Het doel van deze dissertatie is om naast het beantwoorden van de centrale onderzoeksvraag nieuwe benaderingen van PSM en *professionalism* te presenteren die duidelijker zijn wat betreft de betekenis en de consequenties van de twee concepten in situaties waarin verschillende waarden en belangen conflicteren. Daarnaast worden inzichten gegenereerd wat betreft de relatie tussen PSM en *professionalism* en de ontwikkeling van PSM door de tijd heen.

Integratie van identity theory

Een centraal argument in dit proefschrift is dat de integratie van *identity theory* in de studie van PSM en *professionalism* helpt de betekenis en de consequenties van de twee concepten in de context van dilemma's te verduidelijken en ons begrip van hun relatie te verdiepen. In de *identity theory* wordt beargumenteerd dat gedrag ontstaat door de wisselwerking tussen 'de ik' en de samenleving. Dit komt het beste tot uitdrukking in het concept *role identity* dat gezien wordt als bepalend voor gedragingen. De meeste mensen beschikken over een groot aantal verschillende *role identities*. Hierbij kan gedacht worden aan de *role identity* als kind, ouder, partner, professional, vriend, medewerker van een organisatie, lid van een team, et cetera. Met de term *role* wordt hier bedoeld het geheel aan verwachtingen dat iemand heeft in bijvoorbeeld zijn of haar rol als professional binnen een specifieke (culturele) context. De term *identity* verwijst naar de individuele interpretaties die deze verwachtingen of rol. Met aandacht voor inzichten van de *identity theory* is een aantal verwachtingen te formuleren over hoe de betekenis en consequenties van PSM en *professionalism* verduidelijkt kunnen worden.

De verwachting is dat we te weten komen wat professionals als belangrijke aspecten van hun werk zien en hoe ze zich vervolgens gedragen in dilemmasituaties door *professionalism* als *professional role identity* te beschouwen en te bestuderen hoe medewerkers hun professionele rol interpreteren. Kiezen zij voor zelfzuchtige oplossingen, voor de belangen van de individuele klant of de belangen van de samenleving? Door PSM als *role identity*-afhankelijk concept te beschouwen kan men stellen dat inzichtelijk wordt welke betekenis

mensen in hun verschillende rollen aan het algemeen belang geven en welke beslissingen ze vervolgens in dilemmasituaties nemen. Sommige *public service motivated* artsen vinden het bijvoorbeeld belangrijk dat medische behandelingen kostenefficiënt zijn, omdat voor hen de betaalbaarheid van het gezondheidszorgstelsel gekoppeld is aan het algemeen belang. Andere artsen focussen zich in eerste instantie op het opkomen voor de belangen van de patiënt omdat voor hen 'zich in zetten voor het algemeen belang' niet los kan worden gezien van acties die de belangen van de individuele patiënt ten goede komen.

Dit voorbeeld maakt duidelijk wat de verwachte relatie tussen PSM en *professionalism* is: *professionalism* – benaderd als *professional role identity* – geeft betekenis of richting aan PSM. Als we weten hoe werknemers hun taak interpreteren om voor het algemeen belang op te komen vanuit hun professionele rol, dan weten we wat hun betekenis van PSM op dat moment is. Dit helpt wederom om beter te kunnen voorspellen hoe werknemers zich zouden gedragen indien ze met een dilemma geconfronteerd worden. Zonder deze link met *(professional) role identity* blijft het onduidelijk hoe *public service motivated* mensen zich dan zouden gedragen. Ook al beschikken twee individuen over hetzelfde PSM-niveau dan kunnen ze toch andere beslissingen nemen, omdat ze een ander idee hebben van wat het algemeen belang precies is.

De vraag die dan nog in theoretische zin beantwoord dient te worden is wat de gecombineerde invloed van PSM en *professionalism* is op de besluitvorming van professionals in dilemmasituaties (de centrale onderzoeksvraag). Op basis van de hierboven omschreven verwachtingen betreffende de relatie tussen PSM en *professionalism* en de vraag hoe de betekenis van de twee concepten duidelijker gemaakt zou kunnen worden, is te verwachten dat PSM de relatie tussen *professionalism* (als *professional role identity*) en besluitvorming modereert. Individuen met een hoge mate van PSM zullen sterker geneigd zijn beslissingen te nemen die in het verlengde liggen (van 'hun' interpretatie) van het algemeen belang dan individuen die minder *public service motivated* zijn. Bij deze laatste groep zal de kans groter zijn dat zij pragmatische belangen laten prevaleren.

Public service motivation over de tijd heen

De afgelopen vijf jaar zien we steeds meer longitudinale studies waarin de ontwikkeling wordt bestudeerd van PSM over de tijd heen. Deze studies zijn belangrijk omdat ze helpen de vaak gevonden hogere mate van PSM bij ambtenaren te verklaren. Zijn ambtenaren meer *public service motivated* omdat ze de publieke waarden internaliseren (socialisatiehypothese) of worden mensen met een hoge PSM aangetrokken door de publieke sector omdat ze daar de kans krijgen zich meer voor het algemeen belang in te zetten (aantrekkingshypothese)?

Als de mate van PSM over de tijd heen toeneemt, zou dit een indicator kunnen zijn voor de socialisatiehypothese. Een gelijkblijvende PSM zou een indicator kunnen zijn voor de aantrekkingshypothese. De resultaten van vorige onderzoeken zijn tegenstrijdig. Er zijn onderzoeken waaruit blijkt dat PSM (of specifieke dimensies van PSM) over de tijd heen toeneemt of gelijk blijft, terwijl andere onderzoeken erop lijken te wijzen dat de mate van PSM (of specifieke dimensies van PSM) minder wordt.

Een centraal argument van dit proefschrift is dan ook dat het niet voldoende is om op die socialisatie- en aantrekkingshypotheses te focussen, aangezien beide een mogelijke afname van PSM niet kunnen verklaren. Als we onze kennis van PSM willen verdiepen, dienen we onze aandacht meer te richten op de vraag *waarom* PSM over de tijd heen afneemt. De realiteitsshock – een mismatch tussen initiële baanverwachtingen en de realiteit van het dagelijkse werk – wordt vaak als potentiële verklaring voor de afname van PSM aangedragen. Deze shock houdt in dat mensen geconfronteerd worden met werkaspecten die ze in eerste instantie niet verwacht hadden zoals hoge werkdruk, weinig dankbaarheid en veel administratieve lasten. Daarom is er geen of te weinig ruimte voor hun PSM met als gevolg dat de mate van PSM afneemt. Het valt te verwachten dat empirisch onderzoek naar de impact van de realiteitsshock op de ontwikkeling van PSM belangrijke inzichten oplevert aangaande de verandering van de mate van PSM als professionals gaan werken in de publieke sector.

Onderzoeksdesign en –methoden en de case

Om de verwachtingen empirisch te kunnen onderzoeken en antwoorden te kunnen vinden op de onderzoeksvragen, is in dit proefschrift gekozen voor een *mixed method design*. In deze dissertatie is dit een combinatie van kwalitatieve interviews en een kwantitatieve vragenlijst. In de eerste fase van dit onderzoek werden interviews afgenomen aangezien kwalitatieve methoden zich lenen voor het bestuderen van de vraag hoe medewerkers hun PSM en *professionalism* interpreteren binnen de specifieke context van dilemmasituaties. Om te analyseren hoe PSM zich ontwikkelt over de tijd heen en welke mechanismen hiervoor een verklaring bieden, is ook een analyse gedaan gebaseerd op longitudinale data. De tweede empirische fase van deze dissertatie bestaat uit een kwantitatieve vragenlijst die ontwikkeld is op basis van de resultaten van de interviews. De kwantitatieve resultaten maken het mogelijk bevindingen te generaliseren en de relatieve sterkte van effecten te bepalen.

In dit proefschrift is ervoor gekozen om dierenartsinspecteurs in dienst bij de Nederlandse Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit (NVWA) te bestuderen. Dierenartsinspecteurs

zijn klassieke professionals, omdat zij een academische opleiding hebben afgerond, over veel specifieke en theoretische kennis beschikken en gewend zijn om autonoom te handelen. Namens de NVWA zorgen zij ervoor dat iedereen zich aan de regels houdt, welke tot doel hebben de volksgezondheid en het dierenwelzijn te beschermen. Dit conflicteert soms met de economische belangen van de landbouwsector (vleesverwerkende industrie, veehouderij, logistieke bedrijven, etc.). Dierenartsinspecteurs hebben in hun opleiding tot dierenarts en in hun functie als dierenarts geleerd daar rekening mee te houden. Dilemmasituaties ontstaan doordat deze verschillende aspecten van hun werk niet altijd gecombineerd kunnen worden. Daarnaast hebben inspecteurs in hun dagelijkse werkzaamheden te maken met zware werkomstandigheden, onder andere door wisselende werktijden, veel lawaai, viezigheid, agressie en verzet en het individualistische karakter van hun werk.

Onderzoeksresultaten

Om de onderzoeksvraag te kunnen beantwoorden, is het belangrijk om eerst inzichtelijk te maken in wat voor situaties professionals dilemma's ervaren en wat mogelijke beslissingen zijn die ze nemen. Daarna worden de hierboven beschreven verwachtingen rondom de nieuwe benaderingen van PSM en *professionalism* en de ontwikkeling van PSM over tijd heen empirisch onderzocht. In de meeste gevallen gebeurt dit door kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve data te combineren. Als laatste wordt de centrale onderzoeksvraag geanalyseerd.

Ervaren dilemmasituaties en types besluitvorming

De resultaten van het onderzoek laten zien dat dierenartsinspecteurs frequent met dilemmasituaties geconfronteerd worden en als gevolg hiervan veel spanningen in hun werk ervaren. Dit wordt zowel door de kwalitatieve als de kwantitatieve resultaten bevestigd. De meest voorkomende types dilemma's zijn situaties waarin de volksgezondheid en/of het dierenwelzijn in conflict is met de economische belangen van het bedrijfsleven. Echter zijn er ook enkele situaties waarin het beschermen van de volksgezondheid negatieve consequenties voor het dierenwelzijn heeft of vice versa. Andere – minder vaak genoemde – dilemma's zijn situaties waarin de werkinstructie niet toepasbaar bleek te zijn en situaties waarin dierenwelzijn de leidraad voor beslissingen zou moeten zijn. Het laatste speelt vooral omdat het dierenwelzijn een subjectieve connotatie heeft. Vaak genoemde situaties die spanningen opleveren maar geen dilemmas bevatten zijn situaties waarin agressie een rol speelt, support vanuit de organisatie en uniformiteit ontbreken of de tijdsdruk hoog is.

Uit de kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve resultaten blijkt dat professionals verschillende soorten beslissingen nemen wanneer ze geconfronteerd worden met dilemmasituaties. In

de meeste gevallen nemen de toezichthoudende dierenartsinspecteurs een besluit dat de keuze inhoudt voor één van de waarden of zij stellen hun besluit uit en overleggen eerst met hun leidinggevende. Een derde – minder vaak voorkomende – strategie is het bedenken van een nieuwe creatieve oplossing die het mogelijk maakt twee conflicterende waarden tegelijkertijd te waarborgen. In dit soort situaties doen dierenartsen meer dan wat ze volgens de officiële protocollen zouden moeten doen.

Professionalism als professional role identity

De verwachting dat *professionalism,* ingevuld als *professional role identity,* duidelijker is wat betreft de betekenis en consequenties van het concept in dilemmasituaties wordt grotendeels bevestigd door zowel de kwalitatieve als ook de kwantitatieve analyse. De interviewresultaten maken duidelijk dat dierenartsinspecteurs vier belangrijke aspecten van hun werk, namelijk communicatie en sociale vaardigheden, handhaven, organisatiewaarden en basis voor kennis, verschillend zien. Sommigen baseren hun kennis en beslissingen op wet- en regelgeving, anderen op dierengeneeskundige kennis. Er is gekeken hoe de verschillende interpretaties van werkaspecten zich tot elkaar verhouden. Met andere woorden: zijn er dierenartseninspecteurs met verschillende *role identities* en vertalen deze verschillende *role identities* zich ook in verschillende besluiten? Op basis van de onderzoeksresultaten kunnen we een onderscheid maken tussen drie verschillende types dierenartsinspecteurs: (1) dierenartsinspecteurs met een *veterinary medicine-related professional role identity* bij wie de focus vooral ligt op het waarborgen van dierenwelzijn. Dit type inspecteur is minder gefocust op het strikt handhaven van de regels om de geïnspecteerde persoon (financiële) moeilijkheden te besparen; (2) dierenartsinspecteurs met een *organization-focused professional role identity* die zich wel richten op het strikt handhaven van de regels en het beschermen van de volksgezondheid; en (3) dierenartsinspecteurs met een *mixed or hybrid professional role identity.* Deze laatste groep is gevoeliger voor contextuele omstandigheden. Afhankelijk van bijvoorbeeld de geschiedenis van de geïnspecteerde persoon, de relatie met hem/haar en de mate van werkdruk verandert de manier waarop ze hun professionele rol interpreteren.

Empirische onderbouwing voor het bestaan van deze drie verschillende interpretaties van de professionele rol wordt ook gevonden in de kwantitatieve data. De analyse laat bijvoorbeeld zien dat dierenartsinspecteurs die handhaven belangrijk vinden, zich ook focussen op het waarborgen van volksgezondheid en niet bij de financiële consequenties van hun handhaven stilstaan. Er is ook kwantitatief empirisch bewijs voor de veronderstelde invloed van de *professionele role identity* op de besluitvorming in dilemmasituaties. De

resultaten van de analyse laten zien dat hoog scoren op de dimensie 'betrokkenheid bij het economisch belang' de kans verhoogt dat inspecteurs hun beslissing uitstellen. Hoog scoren op de dimensie 'betrokkenheid bij volksgezondheid' daarentegen vergroot de kans om ter plekke een besluit te nemen dat het risico voor de volksgezondheid minimaliseert. De scores op de dimensies 'strikt handhaven' en 'betrokkenheid bij dierenwelzijn' hadden geen significant effect op de besluiten van de dierenartsinspecteurs in de drie dilemmasituaties die onderzocht zijn in dit proefschrift.

PSM, role identity en de relatie met professionalism

In het onderzoek wordt ook aangetoond dat PSM als (*professional) role identity-afhankelijk* concept duidelijker is dan de traditionele benaderingen wat betreft de betekenis en de consequenties van het concept in dilemmasituaties. Verder zien we dat de *professional role identity* richting geeft aan PSM. Het kwantitatieve onderzoek laat in dit geval tegenstrijdige resultaten zien.

Wanneer men slechts de vraag stelt 'wat motiveert jou in je werk?' blijkt dat werknemers refereren naar onder andere het abstracte en vage idee van 'het algemeen belang' of ze noemen verschillende aspecten zoals dierenwelzijn, dierengezondheid en volksgezondheid. Aangezien deze aspecten echter niet altijd tegelijkertijd gerealiseerd kunnen worden, blijven de betekenis en de consequenties van PSM onduidelijk. Ook uit de kwantitatieve data blijkt dat de geïnterviewden niet één duidelijk beeld hebben van wat het algemeen belang eigenlijk is. Maar liefst 23 verschillende interpretaties werden door respondenten gegeven.

De kwalitatieve resultaten laten zien dat de betekenis en de consequenties van PSM duidelijker worden wanneer er gefocust wordt op de vraag hoe dierenartsinspecteurs hun taak om het algemeen belang te dienen interpreteren vanuit hun professionele rol. Inspecteurs met een *veterinary medicine-related professional role identity* geven aan dat ze hun taak vooral zien als het zorgen voor een competitief Nederland op economisch gebied. Inspecteurs met een *organization-focused professional role identity* denken hierbij aan uniformiteit en handhaving van regels en procedures. In de praktijk nemen deze dierenartsinspecteurs nooit een besluit dat van de regels afwijkt; zelfs niet op momenten waarin dierenwelzijn en volksgezondheid niet in het gedrang komen. *Professional role identity* lijkt dus betekenis te geven aan PSM. De kwantitatieve resultaten leveren in dit geval geen verdere ondersteuning, maar zijn tegenstrijdig. De analyse laat zien dat PSM positief samenhangt met volksgezondheid en dierenwelzijn, maar negatief met economische belangen en strikt handhaven.

Public service motivation over de tijd heen

De longitudinale analyse van PSM heeft interessante inzichten opgeleverd wat betreft de ontwikkeling van deze motivatie. Uit de kwalitatieve analyse blijkt dat niet zozeer een realiteitsshock de afname van PSM over de tijd heen kan verklaren, maar dat er ook een alternatieve verklaring is: het onvermogen met lastige werkomstandigheden om te kunnen gaan zoals agressie, isolement en misleiding. Dierenartsinspecteurs die hun PSM verliezen, hebben in tegenstelling tot inspecteurs die *public service motivated* blijven geen concrete verwachtingen van het werk. Uit de data kunnen we afleiden dat deze groep inspecteurs de lastige kant van hun werk als nog lastiger ervaart en daarom gefrustreerd en teleurgesteld raakt. Collega's die vanaf het begin reële baanverwachtingen hebben, blijken in staat te zijn om strategieën te ontwikkelen die hen helpen met agressie en andere negatieve aspecten van het werk om te gaan (bijvoorbeeld *reframen* als spel) met als gevolg dat ze hun PSM behouden.

Het effect van PSM en professionalism in dilemmasituaties

In het onderzoek kan echter geen bewijs worden gevonden dat PSM de relatie tussen *professionalism* en besluitvorming (als *professional role identity*) modereert. Dit geldt zowel voor PSM als overkoepelend concept als voor de grote meerderheid van de analyses die de effecten van de verschillende dimensies van PSM apart bestuderen. Slechts in twee van de 48 gevallen heeft de dimensie *compassion* een interactie-effect. Daarnaast is opvallend dat PSM ook geen direct effect op besluitvorming in dilemmasituaties heeft. Dit kan als empirische onderbouwing worden gezien voor de argumenten dat (a) het niet voldoende is om de mate van PSM te weten als we willen voorspellen welke beslissingen *public service motivated* mensen in dilemmasituaties nemen en (b) het belangrijk is om PSM met andere concepten te combineren die duidelijker zijn over hoe dierenartsinspecteurs het algemeen belang dienen.

Belangrijke conclusies

In dit proefschrift is onderzocht welke rol PSM en *professionalism* spelen in de besluitvorming van dierenartsinspecteurs die met dilemmasituaties geconfronteerd worden. Uit de theoretische discussie van de twee concepten blijkt dat de betekenis en de consequenties van PSM en *professionalism* in deze specifieke context niet duidelijk zijn. Er is daarom in dit proefschrift voor gekozen om nieuwe benaderingen voor PSM en *professionalism* te presenteren. Deze nieuwe benaderingen zijn concreter wat betreft de betekenis en de consequenties van de concepten. In deze paragraaf zullen de belangrijkste bijdragen van dit proefschrift voor zowel de wetenschap als de praktijk samengevat worden. Daarnaast gaan

we kort in op de beperkingen van het onderzoek en kijken we naar de vraag wat mogelijk interessante vragen voor toekomstig onderzoek zijn.

Ten eerste laat dit onderzoek zien dat de betekenis en de voorspellende waarde van PSM (gezien vanuit een traditioneel perspectief) in de context van dilemmasituaties beperkt is. Dit omdat het algemeen belang – een cruciaal aspect van PSM – een vaag begrip is en op veel verschillende manieren geïnterpreteerd kan worden. De resultaten ondersteunen de op de *identity theory* gebaseerde verwachting dat het belangrijk is om eerst duidelijk in beeld te brengen hoe mensen vanuit de verschillende rollen die zij vervullen het algemeen belang interpreteren. Daarom kan PSM beter als *role identity-afhankelijk* en niet als één universeel concept worden beschouwd. Deze nieuwe benadering van PSM is nuttig omdat het bijdraagt aan de validiteit van het concept: op deze manier komen we beter te weten wat de betekenis van PSM is en kunnen we beslissingen die *public service motivated* individuen in dilemmasituaties nemen beter voorspellen.

Een tweede belangrijke bijdrage van dit onderzoek heeft te maken met de actuele discussie over de stabiliteit van PSM. Meer specifiek, de vraag of de hogere mate van PSM bij ambtenaren ten opzichte van medewerkers in de private sector zoals die gevonden is in eerder onderzoek, verklaard kan worden door de socialisatie- en/of de aantrekkingshypothese. De resultaten wijzen erop dat PSM stabiel is bij werknemers die een duidelijk beeld hebben van de negatieve aspecten van hun werk, omdat ze makkelijker strategieën kunnen ontwikkelen om daarmee om te gaan. Bij werknemers zonder concrete baanverwachtingen neemt PSM echter af. Deze werknemers lijken sneller gefrustreerd te raken wat een negatief effect heeft op hun PSM. De conclusie is dat het gebrek aan coping strategieën, naast de veelbesproken realiteitsshock, een alternatieve verklaring geeft voor een afname van PSM door de tijd heen.

Een derde belangrijke bijdrage van dit onderzoek is dat het de beperkingen van de vaak gebruikte benadering *sociology of professionalism* blootlegt in de context van conflicterende waarden. In aanvulling daarop wordt in dit onderzoek een alternatieve benadering van *professionalism* gepresenteerd. De sociologie van *professionalism* gaat ervan uit dat mensen met dezelfde professionele achtergrond op dezelfde manier denken en handelen. Geïnspireerd door inzichten van *identity theory* is in dit onderzoek gekozen om *professionalism* als *professionele role identity* te beschouwen. Binnen deze benadering wordt niet alleen gekeken naar wat de algemene professionele richtlijnen zijn, maar ook hoe mensen deze interpreteren. Aangezien de resultaten bevestigen dat professionele richtlijnen alleen geen duidelijk beeld geven over hoe professionals hun professionele rol interpreteren en vervolgens ook niet welke beslissingen ze nemen in dilemmasituaties, is het

voor vervolgonderzoek van belang om de tekortkomingen van de klassieke sociologische benadering mee te nemen.

Ten vierde draagt dit onderzoek bij aan de discussie rondom de relatie tussen *professionalism* en PSM. Door traditioneel onderzoek aangaande deze relatie systematisch te analyseren, wordt duidelijk waarom vorige studies tot verschillende conclusie zijn gekomen wat betreft de relatie tussen deze twee concepten: verschillende onderzoeken zijn gebaseerd op verschillende benaderingen van *professionalism*. Op basis van de twee argumenten die hierboven gepresenteerd zijn, wordt in dit onderzoek een nieuwe benadering uiteengezet die verder gaat dan het traditionele idee dat PSM en *professionalism* óf elkaar aanvullen óf elkaar tegenspreken. Hoe dierenartsinspecteurs het algemeen belang interpreteren vanuit hun professionele invalshoek helpt ons te begrijpen waarom mensen die evenveel *public service motivated* zijn verschillende keuzes maken in dilemmasituaties. Anders geformuleerd, *professionalism* benaderd als *professional role identity,* geeft richting of betekenis aan PSM. Door *identity theory* in de studie van PSM en *professionalism* te integreren zijn we meer te weten gekomen over de vraag wat de relatie tussen PSM en *professionalism* is.

Een laatste conclusie van dit onderzoek is dat de gecombineerde invloed van PSM en *professionalism* in de besluitvorming van professionals werkzaam in de publieke sector beperkt is op het moment dat ze met dilemma's geconfronteerd worden. Andere factoren blijken een belangrijke – of wellicht zelfs een belangrijkere – rol te spelen. Vooral factoren als de mate van betrokkenheid bij de geïnspecteerde, de wens geen fouten te maken en persoonlijke, morele overwegingen lijken hierbij van invloed te zijn. De conclusie is dat verschillende motieven naast elkaar kunnen bestaan: de overweging of iets passend en rechtvaardig is in de gegeven situatie blijkt van belang, maar ook rationele, emotionele en morele overwegingen spelen een rol.

Implicaties voor de praktijk

De resultaten van dit onderzoek laten zien dat het niet voldoende is om mensen met een hoge mate van PSM aan te trekken of te behouden om gedrag te voorspellen. Het lijkt vooral belangrijk te zijn om als organisatie duidelijk te communiceren wat wordt verstaan onder 'het algemeen belang'. Door HR-instrumenten effectief in te zetten (denk aan trainingen, regelmatig overleg, duidelijke visie) kan de uniformiteit van besluitvorming in dilemmasituaties (gedeeltelijk) beïnvloed worden.

Daarnaast laat het onderzoek zien dat het belangrijk is om tijdens het selectieproces van potentiële nieuwe medewerkers aan verwachtingenmanagement te doen. Medewerkers met een duidelijk beeld van hun toekomstige werk lijken er beter in te slagen strategieën te ontwikkelen om met potentiële moeilijkheden in hun werk om te gaan. Dit heeft als gevolg

dat hun PSM gelijk blijft. Een alternatief advies voor HR-managers is om in cursussen te investeren die erop gericht zijn medewerkers te leren met werkgerelateerde moeilijkheden om te gaan. Hierdoor kunnen ze minder gefrustreerd raken en hun PSM behouden.

Een derde praktische implicatie van dit onderzoek heeft te maken met de verschillende visies die professionals op hun werk hebben. HR-managers dienen hiervan op de hoogte te zijn op het moment dat nieuwe teams gevormd worden en/of belangrijke taken verdeeld worden. Het is bijvoorbeeld nuttig om rekening te houden met de vraag welke samenstelling van verschillende rolinterpretaties binnen een (project-)team het beste is om de organisatiedoelstellingen te bereiken.

Beperkingen en een agenda voor toekomstig onderzoek

De bovengenoemde conclusies dienen geïnterpreteerd te worden in het licht van de beperkingen van dit onderzoek. In deze laatste paragraaf zal aan deze beperkingen aandacht worden besteed en zullen ideeën voor toekomstig onderzoek worden besproken.

De beperking van de kwalitatieve resultaten is dat ze niet gegeneraliseerd kunnen worden. De kwantitatieve resultaten kunnen gegeneraliseerd worden, maar ze zijn gebaseerd op *cross-sectional data* (data die op één moment in de tijd verzameld zijn) en zelf-gerapporteerde data. Het is hierdoor niet mogelijk om uitspraken te doen over causaliteit. Dat wil zeggen: beide benaderingen hebben hun beperkingen, maar de combinatie van de twee (*mixed-method design*) zorgt voor een beter begrip van de onderzochte problemen.

Een tweede beperking van dit onderzoek is dat alle resultaten gebaseerd zijn op een enkele professie. We weten niet of de conclusies ook gelden voor andere professionals werkzaam in de publieke sector en buiten de Nederlandse context. Daarom is meer onderzoek nodig naar de vraag of de bevindingen van dit proefschrift geverifieerd kunnen worden binnen andere omgevingen. Hierbij kan bijvoorbeeld gedacht worden aan een andere culturele context, maar ook aan professies die een minder sterk professioneel karakter hebben zoals docenten op basisscholen en fysiotherapeuten.

De lage Cronbach's α van de variabele *professional role identity* en de kleine omvang van de steekproef vormen ook beperkingen. Beide beperken de statistische kracht van de analyses met als gevolg dat het moeilijk wordt om significante effecten te vinden. De volledige onderzoekspopulatie (alle toezichthoudende dierenartsinspecteurs) bestaat echter uit slechts 403 individuen. Hierdoor is een grote-N studie per definitie niet mogelijk.

Toekomstig onderzoek zal zich ook moeten richten op de vraag hoe de betekenis of de richting van PSM op een kwantitatieve manier gemeten kan worden. Met de resultaten van dit onderzoek ontstaat de suggestie dat het niveau van PSM minder belangrijk is,

maar dat om te bepalen welke keuze mensen maken het vooral cruciaal is om te weten welke betekenis mensen aan 'hun' PSM geven. Daarom is het belangrijk een instrument te ontwikkelen dat zowel de richting als de sterkte van PSM meet. Hiermee zouden we op een betere manier kunnen generaliseren en voorspellen hoe *public service motivated* professionals zich in dilemmasituaties gedragen. Zo ontstaat antwoord op de vraag welke waarden zij waarborgen en welke zij opgeven.

Ten slotte wordt met dit onderzoek duidelijk gemaakt dat het belangrijk is verder uit te diepen waarom sommige medewerkers na binnenkomst bij een publieke organisatie hun PSM verliezen. Op basis van de resultaten wordt duidelijk dat niet de vaak aangehaalde realiteitsshock, maar vooral het onvermogen met negatieve werkaspecten om te gaan een alternatieve verklaring biedt voor het verlies van PSM. In de toekomst is het daarom ook interessant om longitudinaal onderzoek met psychologische literatuur rondom *coping* strategieën te combineren. Dit zou ons begrip van de PSM-adaptiemechanismen tot een hoger niveau brengen.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Carina Schott was born on 11 November 1985 in Konstanz, Germany where she completed her secondary school in 2005. After moving to the Netherlands, she obtained her Bachelor degree in Psychology from Twente University in 2008. In 2010, she graduated *cum laude* in Public Administration and Organization Science from Utrecht University and received the department's academic prize for the best master thesis (specialization: Strategic Human Resource Management) that year.

Carina started as a PhD at the Institute of Public Administration at Leiden University in 2011. In addition to completing the post-graduate program organized by the Netherlands Institute of Governance (NIG), participating in didactical courses offered by Leiden University Graduate School of Teaching (ICLON), she frequently attend international conferences such as European Group of Public Administration (EGPA), International Research Society for Public Management (IRSPM), and European Academy of Management (EURAM), and organized meetings with experts to discuss her research. She also initiated and convened the course Bachelor Project Quantitative Research Methods, taught working groups at bachelor level (Quantitative Methods and Techniques, Public Policy Implementation), the course Strategic Human Resource Management in the Public Sector (MA level), and supervised master students in the writing of their theses. In 2015, she obtained the Basic University Teaching Qualification (BKO).

Carina's work has been published in *Public Management Review*, *The American Review of Public Administration*, *International Journal of Public Science*, *International Journal of Public Administration*, and *Evidence-based HRM: A Global Forum for Empirical Scholarship*. Her publications address a variety of Public Management topics such as Public Service Motivation, Professionalism, Coping Strategies, and High Performance Work Systems. In her work she makes use, and combines, both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

She currently works as researcher and lecturer at the Institute of Public Administration at Leiden University. From November 2015 on, she will be working as a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre of Competence for Public Management at the University of Bern, Switzerland.