

CHAPTER 4

Public service motivation among Danish and Norwegian local government administrative managers

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ABSTRACT

Public Service Motivation (PSM) refers to a type of unique motivation to perform behaviour that typically relates to the public sector, such as doing good for others and society and improving the provision of public services. In this chapter, we compare two Scandinavian cases of public service motivation within an administrative local government context: Denmark and Norway. The study is built on survey data collected among municipal administrative managers from three managerial levels in Denmark and Norway. By contrasting and comparing PSM profiles among Danish and Norwegian administrative local government managers, we analyse which factors can explain the similarities and differences in PSM among these administrative elites. We show that Danish managers are more dependent on and woven into the political system, and thereby more attracted to policy making, whereas their Norwegian counterparts score higher on commitment to public interest and compassion. In both countries, managers at lower hierarchical levels closer to the production and provision of public services are inclined towards higher scores on compassion. Our findings contribute to the scarce knowledge on the behaviour of local administrative elites from a PSM perspective. Furthermore, these provide the basis for further research and time-series data to explore PSM in relation to the more current changes in local government.

Keywords: public service motivation, public administration, local government, administrative elites, Scandinavia.

INTRODUCTION

The idea that public officials are driven by a special motivation to serve the whole society for the common good and set aside personal interest is an old idea that can be traced back to the classical Greek philosophers. In modern times, Max Weber (1978) has addressed the phenomenon in his studies of bureaucracy (Horton 2008, Jacobsen 2017). Later, the idea has been conceptualized – known as Public Service Motivation (Perry & Wise 1990, O’Toole, 2006). The concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM) originates from the knowledge that unique motives for serving in public administration differ from motives in the private sector (Perry, Hondeghem & Wise, 2010). Knowledge about PSM is important to improve our understanding of what attracts individuals to work in the public sector and what motivates them to serve others, do good for society and advance public interests, and how the motivation to work for the public interest can improve the provision of public services (Perry & Wise, 1990; Perry

& Hondeghem, 2008). During the last two decades, a comprehensive number of studies dealing with the phenomenon of PSM have been conducted (for an overview, see Pandey & Stazyk, 2008; Ritz, Brewer & Neumann, 2016).

Studies investigating PSM among senior politicians and administrators in the Nordic countries are, however, almost completely absent (Van der Wal, 2013). Of the primarily Danish studies that have examined PSM at the local level in Nordic countries, most focus on professional performance and the implications of PSM for their clients (Andersen & Pedersen, 2012; Andersen & Serritzlew, 2012; Pedersen, 2014). More specifically, they examine the relationship between PSM and the provision of public services among street-level bureaucrats, such as teachers (Andersen, Heinesen & Pedersen, 2014), physiotherapists (Andersen, Pallesen & Pedersen, 2011; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2012), social workers (Kjeldsen, 2014) and general medical practitioners (Jensen & Andersen, 2015). The studies indicate that, within the groups of professionals, PSM is probably more often associated with the nature of public service work than the sector itself. Some Nordic studies distinguish between traditional PSM as an individual's general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people or society (Hondeghem & Perry, 2009) and PSM as a more user-oriented motivation to improve the well-being of individuals or "specific others" (Andersen et al., 2011; Jensen & Andersen, 2015).

A few studies have addressed the behaviour of local councillors and administrative elites from a PSM perspective (Bertelsen, Balle Hansen & Nørup, 2017; Pedersen, 2014), but PSM studies are rather rare within an administrative local government context. In this chapter, our goal is to fill in this knowledge gap by contrasting and comparing PSM profiles among Danish and Norwegian administrative local government managers. Based on survey data from 2016 (Bertelsen & Hansen, 2016) and 2017 (Karlsen et al., 2017), which was collected among municipal administrative managers in Denmark and Norway, our main research question is as follows:

What are the similarities and differences in public service motivation among Danish and Norwegian administrative local government managers and what factors can explain these similarities and differences?

In the following sections of the chapter, we first present Perry and Wise's (1990) and Perry's (1996) seminal theoretical concept of PSM and the sub-dimensions of this concept that we apply. We then give a case description related to the characteristics of the Danish and Norwegian local government context and their administrative leaders, followed by some tentative hypotheses. In the subsequent section, we describe our comparative data and empirical approach. Finally, we discuss, interpret and draw conclusions based on our findings.

THEORY: PERRY'S DIMENSIONS OF PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION

According to Perry & Wise (1990, p. 368), PSM can be defined as “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations and that seem to be more prevalent in public government than in private sector organizations” (Wise, 2000). In their article, Perry et al. (2010) refer to the existing knowledge accumulation and common denominators in PSM research (Perry & Wise, 1990; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999; Brewer & Selden, 1998; Vandenabeele, 2006) with the following common definition features: “motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions”, “interest for a community of people, a state, a nation, public community and social service” and “belief, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest that concern the interest of a larger political entity” (Perry et al., 2010, p. 682). In previous research the original four subscales have been used individually and in different combinations (Perry 1997). Among the (4) Perry’s original subscales (Perry 1996), we have used (3) dimensions (excluding “self-sacrifice”). According to Perry et al. (2010) these (3) dimensions point out PSM’s focus on public institutions and has proved to be useful in comparative studies across countries. The (3) dimensions are:

- *Attraction to public policy making*: motivation to improve decision-making concerning public services to help others and society
- *Commitment to the public interest*: motivation to provide public services and to serve society
- *Compassion*: empathically based motivation to do good for others by improving public services

METHOD, CASE DESCRIPTION AND DATA

CASE DESCRIPTION: DANISH AND NORWEGIAN MUNICIPALITIES HAVE MANY COMMON FEATURES, BUT THEY ALSO HAVE SOME DIFFERENCES

Denmark and Norway can be described as the most similar cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Grønmo, 2006). We have thus based our study on a “most similar case” design (Grønmo, 2006). This means that the two countries/cases that we compare have some differences in terms of the independent variable (PSM), but similar with respect to all other conditions except those to be explained. Consequently, a few of the independent variables are different and may explain variations on the dependent variable (PSM). In the Danish and Norwegian municipal context, these differences are municipal size, the organisation of

political-administrative relations in the municipalities and differences in the prevalence of the New Public Management mechanism.

There are, however, many similarities between Denmark and Norway. Both countries are unitary states with a high degree of decentralisation of tasks and service provision to local governments. Both countries have a long tradition of subnational self-government with a high level of autonomy, especially with regard to organisational freedom (Baldersheim, Houlberg, Lindström, Hlyndsdottir & Kettunen, 2019; Bentzen, Lo & Winswold, 2019).

During the last few decades, financial sustainability in local governments has been challenged, which in turn has led to the pressure to modernise and streamline municipal services. Issues such as size, organisational structure and the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) have been prioritised (Havari, 2015).

Compared to Norway, Denmark has been a more eager reformer in terms of increasing municipal size. A comprehensive amalgamation of municipalities took place in 2007 and Denmark has some of the largest municipalities in Europe (mean 58,459 and median 43,000 residents). Even after voluntary merger attempts from 2014 to 2020, Norwegian municipalities can still be characterised by small population sizes (mean 12,408 and median 4,600 residents (<https://stats.oecd.org>)).

Danish municipalities therefore have more extensive administrative resources and the capacity to deliver advanced services than the numerous small Norwegian municipalities. We assume that when municipal size increases, so does the distance to citizens, which in turn has democratic costs (Hansen, 2015; Reingewertz & Serritzlew, 2019). We also assume that when municipal size increases, so do more specialised and professional administrations (Jacobsen & Thorsvik, 2019) and that large bureaucracies seem to allow for more distortion of citizen preferences than smaller ones (Denters et al., 2015).

Regarding similarities and differences in Public Service Motivation among Danish and Norwegian public servants, international PSM-comparisons reveal relatively similar PSM-profiles between the two countries (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle 2008). Denmark has slightly higher average PSM scores (4,90) versus Norway (4,83). Denmark scored 4,65 on Politics and policy and 5,28 on compassion versus Norway 4,83 and 5,17.

DATA COLLECTION

The Danish study population was limited to municipal directors and senior executives responsible for the areas of school/culture, technology/environment and elderly/social care from all 98 municipalities, leading to a total population of 1,097.

The survey was conducted online between 18 May and 28 June 2016 using the survey system SurveyXact (Bertelsen & Hansen, 2016). This system sent an email to all respondents. In early July 2016, the final data file, containing data from 649 respondents (response rate: 59.2%), was generated, cleaned and prepared.

Due to linguistic similarities, the Danish questionnaire was translated directly into Norwegian by the Norwegian researchers and cultural and political differences were discussed with the principal Danish researchers. A consensus-based questionnaire was tested with a panel of Norwegian community senior executives and minor changes were made. All 426 Norwegian municipalities were included. Afterwards, the municipal websites were reviewed to identify each community's top management team, and a total population of 1,527 was identified. The Norwegian survey was conducted between 15 March and 30 April 2017. The data file consisted of 647 respondents (response rate: 42.4%) (Karlsen et al., 2017). Statistical methods are described further in Appendix 1.

HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESES REGARDING DIFFERENCES IN MANAGERIAL SYSTEMS – RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

Denmark has a *committee-leader-model*, which means that mayors are the formal heads of administration and CEOs play a dependent role vis-a-vis the mayor and political system (Mouritzen & Svava, 2002; Kjær, 2015). Meanwhile, in the Norwegian local government system, councillors (CEOs) are prioritised in the *council-manager model*, in which the mayor is in a relatively weak position without room to manoeuvre in terms of instruction or intervention in the administration's daily affairs (Mouritzen & Svava, 2002). Previous comparative studies about local government CEOs in the Nordic countries have revealed that Danish CEOs provide a stronger basis for democracy than their Norwegian colleagues – probably because the latter have a more independent position (Rose 1996). Formally, the Norwegian CEO is close to the political system in the junction between the administrative and political sphere, but not as formally dependent and close to the political system as Danish CEOs, where their influence is highly dependent on the mayor and where there is political opposition in the council (Ejersbo, Hansen & Mouritzen, 1998; Sletnes, 2015). In addition, Danish CEOs' adaptation to their roles varies, with some acting as the de facto executive and others assuming the role of a staff assistant for the mayor. However, in some Danish municipalities, the CEO now plays a more important political role (Ejersbo et al., 1998; Hansen, 1997). Regardless of country differences, we propose that municipal CEOs are more likely to be more attracted to policy making than their lower ranking colleagues. Our argument is contextual. Municipal CEOs are more involved in politics than

any other municipal bureaucrats. In order to enter and stay in the position they need this kind of motivation. We therefore propose the following hypotheses: *H1. Danish managers are more dependent and woven into the political system and therefore more attracted to policy making than their Norwegian counterparts, and H2. CEOs in both Denmark and Norway are more attracted to policy making than their lower-ranking associates.*

HYPOTHESIS REGARDING ADMINISTRATIVE LEVEL AND TENURE

In the majority of PSM literature, PSM is related to public employment (Vandenaabeele & Van de Walle, 2008) and most empirical findings tend to indicate that the age and organisational experience of the respondents seem to have a positive effect on PSM (Perry, 1997). In a recent PSM study testing the effect of tenure on public service behaviours (Jensen & Vestergaard, 2017), the findings imply that longer-tenured public service providers altered their public service behaviours less significantly. Perry (2000) argued in the same manner, emphasising that context variables, particularly those related to the organisational setting, are the most dominant predictors of the PSM dimensions. The PSM of public employees can be understood as mainly the result of their organisational environment, forcing them to adapt their values and attitudes to that environment. Due to these findings, we propose that *tenure* moderates the relationship between PSM and public service behaviours. In other words, commitment to the public interest and compassion are weaker for more tenured senior executives compared to managers at lower hierarchical levels with fewer years of service. This proposition is based on our argument that senior executives in local governments will become “locked in” or institutionalised to follow specific work routines and standardised patterns of actions as they accumulate experience in their specific job settings, and are therefore more concerned about economic steering capacity and the municipalities’ overall economic sustainability. It is also reasonable to assume that bureaucrats at the top of the hierarchy will have a greater distance to citizens than bureaucrats lower down the ladder. The distance between the top and bottom in an administrative hierarchy also has the imminent implication that top bureaucrats do not have full knowledge of the consequences and a moral obligation with regard to the effects of their decisions (Bauman, 1989). The compassion factor may therefore be correlated to the position of higher managers in the hierarchy, but also perhaps because human clients, in the wake of the NPM era, are being reduced to quantitative steering categories (Le Grand, 2010).

Based on these (tentative assessment), we propose the following hypothesis:

H3. Commitment to the public interest and compassion are weaker among more tenured senior executives and stronger among managers at lower hierarchical levels.

HYPOTHESIS REGARDING NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT REFORMS AND PSM

The Nordic countries have often been portrayed as efficient, successful economies, democracies with exemplary welfare and security arrangements and model states in terms of government reforms (Greve, Lægreid & Rykkja, 2016). For the last two decades, these public sector reforms have been driven by a desire to increase efficiency, accountability, user centeredness and responsiveness to societal demands (Christensen & Lægreid, 2011). During the first decade of NPM-inspired reforms in the 1980s, Norway was characterised as a reluctant reformer (Olsen, 1993; Christensen & Lægreid, 1998), whereas Denmark was characterised by “big bang” reforms that introduced a new approach, such as the “modernisation programme” launched in the 1980s (Ejersbo & Greve, 2014). However, most accounts suggest that the scope of privatisation and outsourcing has been moderate in both Denmark and Norway compared to Anglo-Saxon countries like the UK and New Zealand. As such, Denmark and Norway have been exposed to much of the same reforms and institutional pressure. Previous studies in Europe suggest that lower PSM scores were found after marketisation and NPM reforms, such as outsourcing and contracting out, as well as a greater focus on economic steering than on typical public administration values (Pratchett & Wingfield, 1996). If market values permeate society, public service motivation and its constituting values will become less important (Le Grand, 2010). However, since Norway and Denmark have been characterised as “light” NPM reformers compared to their counterparts in Finland and Sweden (Havari, 2015), we control for market-like mechanisms, for which the scope probably varies between municipalities, such as contracting out and outsourcing figures. Based on these assumptions, we test out the following hypothesis:

H4. Local government managers in Denmark and Norway with experience from municipalities using market mechanisms like contracting out and outsourcing have significantly lower PSM scores than managers without such experience.

HYPOTHESIS REGARDING PREVIOUS POSITION, PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC SERVICE

Based on the findings of previous studies, PSM scores are higher among public employees than private sector employees. Furthermore, PSM in the public sector has a distinctly public character (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle, 2008). According to Perry and Wise (1990, p. 368), “the greater an individual’s PSM, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization” (Leisink & Steijn, 2008, p. 122). Individuals with high PSM or value-based

public organisations focused on the common good, equity, justice, etc. will be more inclined to apply for public service to achieve so-called value congruence (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman & Johnson, 2005). In contrast, a more open labour market in which employees have careers across the public and private sectors will dilute the differences and erode distinctly public values (Le Grand, 2003; Hebson, Grimshaw & Marchington, 2003).

There is ongoing debate about the degree of “publicness” of public organisations (Bozeman, 2013; Jacobsen, 2015). Due to marketisation reforms and increased pressure for innovation and entrepreneurship, organisations in policy environments may appear to be public-private hybrids. Leadership takes place in a myriad of hybrids between the public and private sectors. In such situations, challenges for leaders may be more strongly linked to basic features such as task and organisational size rather than to whether an organisation is either public or private (Jacobsen, 2015). Moynihan (2008, p. 247) pursued the same line of thought and claimed that the “market model” could crowd out intrinsic incentives such as PSM. We also follow this presumption and examine whether there is a difference among local government managers with a background in the public or private sector, controlling for previous job experience in economics or finance (“hard sectors”) versus health and welfare sectors (“soft sectors”), to determine whether these careers have any impact on their PSM scores. Based on this knowledge, we propose the following hypotheses:

H5. Managers recruited from the private sector have significantly lower PSM scores than their counterparts with tenure from the public sector,

H6. Managers with tenure from the public sector working with economics/finance have significantly lower PSM scores than their counterparts with tenure from soft sectors.

FINDINGS

As shown in Table 4.1, Danish administrative officers are older, have more subordinates, longer public work experience and more weekly working hours than their Norwegian counterparts. There are more female administrative officers in Norway than in Denmark.

TABLE 4.1: Characteristics of Danish (DK) and Norwegian (N) community administrative officers (2016/2017) (N=1296). 1=chief executives. 2=mid-level executives. 3=operative level managers. 4=other managerial positions.

	Total sample				Denmark				Norway				p-value
	Mean	(SD)	Median	(25-75 %)	Mean	(SD)	Median	(25-75 %)	Mean	(SD)	Median	(25-75 %)	
Gender. n (%)													
Females	562		(45.8)		276		(42.8)		286		(49.1)		.029
Position. n (%)													
Level 1 manager ¹	215		(16.9)		66		(10.2)		149		(23.7)		-
Level 2 manager ²	498		(39.1)		229		(34.5)		269		(42.8)		-
Level 3 manager ³	427		(33.5)		289		(44.8)		138		(22.0)		-
Other ⁴	133		(10.5)		61		(9.5)		72		(11.5)		-
	Mean	(SD)	Median	(25-75 %)	Mean	(SD)	Median	(25-75 %)	Mean	(SD)	Median	(25-75 %)	
Age (years)	54.4	(7.1)	55	(49 - 60)	55	(7.1)	55	(49 - 61)	53.8	(7.0)	54	(49 - 59)	.006
Number of subordinates	578	(1205)	108	(16 - 593)	871	(1474)	275	(55 - 1100)	261	(693)	29	(8 - 233)	<.001
Years in current position	6.5	(5.9)	5	(2 - 9)	6.5	(5.6)	5	(2 - 9)	6.4	(6.2)	4	(2 - 9)	.697
Years in public service	21.0	(10.2)	20	(13 - 29)	21.6	(10.0)	20	(15 - 30)	20.1	(10.5)	20	(12 - 28)	.015
Number of previous municipal or regional employment	2.7	(1.5)	2	(2 - 4)	3	(1.5)	3	(2 - 4)	2.4	(1.4)	2	(1 - 3)	<.001
Weekly working hours	47.6	(7.2)	45	(43 - 50)	49.3	(7.1)	50	(45 - 53)	45.7	(6.9)	45	(40 - 50)	<.001

Our principal component analysis revealed acceptable structural validity of the three PSM-scales (Attraction to policymaking, Commitment to public interest, and Compassion) in a Nordic context.

Our Hypothesis # 2 that Level 1 managers (CEOs) in both Denmark and Norway are more attracted to policy making than their lower-ranking associates is supported. The Danish CEOs scored significantly higher on policy attraction and lower on commitment to public interest and compassion than their Norwegian counterparts.

A possible explanation for the lower scores on the dimensions of commitment to public interest and compassion in Denmark may be the differences in average municipality size in Denmark and Norway. After the Danish municipalities were merged and increased significantly in size, the distance between politicians and individual citizens also increased. As the administration has grown and become more professionalised, local politicians have also experienced a shift in influence and power in favour of the administration. In addition, research has revealed a negative association between increased municipality size and satisfaction with services in the wake of the Danish municipality merger reform in 2007 (Blom-Hansen, Houlberg & Serritzlew, 2016; Blom-Hansen, Houlberg, Serritzlew & Treisman, 2016). These findings are in accordance with Denters et al. (2015) that small bureaucracies seem to allow for less distortion of citizen preferences.

As shown in Table 4.2, the multivariate regression analyses, when controlling (mathematically nullifying the effect) for several possible predictors simultaneously, we found that the difference between Denmark and Norway is statistically significant in all PSM scales. On average, when compared to Norwegian administrators, Danish administrators scored 4.1 percent higher ($p=.007$), 7.5 and 12.2 percent lower (both $p<.001$) on policy attraction, commitment to public interest and compassion, respectively. These differences in PSM between Denmark and Norway are not in accordance with results from the international comparative study by Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (2008), where Norway scored higher on politics and policy, and Denmark higher on compassion. However, these differences are minor, and our survey data is not directly comparable to Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (2008) – as different measuring instruments have been used.

Our results also support Hypothesis # 1 that the Danish municipal managers are more dependent and woven into the political system and therefore more attracted to policy making than their Norwegian counterparts. The picture drawn from the regression analyses confirms the results of bivariate analyses: Danish managers in general scored higher on policy attraction, but lower on commitment to public interest and compassion compared to Norwegian managers. We can only speculate, but may assume, that Danish local government CEOs and associate top managers are more likely to be exposed, dependent and involved in politics and political play in city councils than their colleagues in Norway. This may be due to differences in the formal structure between the two countries. The Norwegian CEOs manage according to the council–manager form, while their Danish counterparts manage according to the committee–leader form, which makes the latter more attracted to policy making. Our findings are also in accordance with Perry (1997), Steijn & Leisink (2006) and Pandey & Stazyk (2008) (Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.3: PSM scores of Danish and Norwegian community administrative officers (2016/17)

	Total sample (n=1065)		Denmark (n=550)		Norway (n=515)		p-value
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
Attraction to policy making	85,4	(18,2)	87,7	(17,1)	83,0	(18,9)	<.001
Commitment to public interest	83,2	(16,8)	71,6	(13,8)	95,1	(9,8)	<.001
Compassion	70,3	(17,6)	62,7	(16,3)	77,8	(15,4)	<.001

Furthermore, our data show independently of country that the managerial level is significantly associated with policy attraction, thereby also supporting our Hypothesis # 2; Level 1 managers (municipal CEOs) in both Denmark and Norway are more attracted to policy making than their lower-ranking associates. On average, for every step up on the hierarchical ladder, policy attraction increased by 4.3 percent ($p < .001$).

Interestingly, we also found that managers at the top municipal level were less oriented to compassion than their colleagues at lower organisational levels (Table 4.2). On average, for every step down on the hierarchical ladder, compassion increased by 3.3 percent ($p < .001$). This finding partly supports our Hypothesis # 3 that commitment to the public interest and compassion are weaker among more tenured senior executives and stronger among managers at lower hierarchical levels. When controlled for other predictors, the organisational level was not found to be associated with public interest – only compassion was.

We hypothesised (cfr. Hypothesis # 4) that local government managers in Denmark and Norway with experience from municipalities using market mechanisms like contracting out and outsourcing will have significantly lower PSM scores than managers without such experience. As shown in Table 4.2, we did not find significant associations between the chosen NPM indicators and the PSM scales. Such findings in our analyses do not, however, prove that such associations do not exist and therefore need to be scrutinised further.

We also found that managers recruited from the private sector (cfr. Hypothesis # 5) scored 5.4 percent lower ($p = .019$) on average than those recruited from the public sector on compassion (Table 4.4). Likewise, on average, those with previous positions related to finance or economics (cfr. Hypothesis # 6) scored 3.2% lower ($p = .018$) on compassion than their counterparts recruited from the public sector. The finding may be interpreted in accordance with the assumption that blurry hybrid identities between the public and private sectors are becoming more present among some of these managers. Previous experience in the public sector seems to predict higher scores on commitment to public interest, in accordance with earlier PSM research (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle, 2008; Perry & Wise, 1990).

Our analysis has uncovered important differences between Danish and Norwegian local government managers, despite our very similar design. In relation to the six hypotheses, our main findings can be summarized as follows: H1 and H2 were supported. H3 was only partly supported (lower hierarchical level to compassion). H4 was not supported. H5 and H6 were only partly supported.

Given the many contextual similarities between these two countries, the findings were somewhat surprising as we revealed a statistically significant

difference between Denmark and Norway on all PSM scales. Extant literature has overlooked studies of PSM among local government administrative managers in the Nordic countries. Our study is thus a pioneering work in a Nordic context, where there will be a need for follow-up studies and time series data. Theoretically, our study strongly indicates that formal structure matters to motivation, both in terms of hierarchy and in terms of the formal rules of the relations between the political and the administrative system (H1, H2 and H3 were confirmed or partly confirmed). Secondly, marketisation and NPM variations seems unrelated or weakly related to PSM (H4, H5 and H6 were not confirmed). Since NPM has been a strong reform trend in many countries this is an important finding. However, this finding should be tested in other contexts as well, since NPM has been only moderately strong in the Nordic countries (Christensen & Lægread 2012). Finally, the fact that Norway and Denmark differ significantly on all the included PSM measures suggests that national culture relationship to PSM should be better theorised and examined in future research.

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APPENDIX 1: STATISTICAL METHODS

A total of ten items measured attitudes towards PSM (Appendix, Table 4.4).

TABLE 4.4: PSM-items

Dimension	Items
Attraction to policy making	In general, I associate politics with something positive
	I find the political decision-making process exciting
	In general, my impressions of politicians is positive
Comm. to public interest	Meaningful public service is very important to me
	I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community, even if it harmed my interests
Compassion	It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress
	I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on one another
	I have little compassion for people in need who are unwilling to take the first step to help themselves
	Most social programs are too vital to do without
	Everybody is entitled to a good service even if it costs a lot of money

Each item was scored based on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”) (Table 4.4). These ten items have acceptable internal consistency with a Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of .74. When Bartlett’s test was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test was not significant ($p = .685$), we performed a principal component analysis (PCA) to test the structural validity of the three PSM dimensions. The ten items were analysed in a direct oblimin rotation with selection criteria equal to eigenvalue > 1.0 , resulting in four components. The eigenvalues (explained variance) of components 1, 2, 3 and 4 were 2.388 (23.9%), 1.890 (18.9%), 1.117 (11.2%) and 1.008 (10.1%), respectively. When performing a PCA, the selection of components is critical, so a parallel analysis (10 variables, $n = 215$, 100 iterations) was performed. Component 4 had a lower eigenvalue (1.008) than the eigenvalue criterion in a randomly-generated data matrix (1.181) and was therefore rejected. A second PCA was then performed, forcing a three-component extraction (Appendix, Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5: Principal component analysis of PSM-items

		1	2	3
Attraction to policy making	In general, I associate politics with something positive	.809		
	I find the political decision-making process exciting	.808		
	In general, my impressions of politicians is positive	.749		
Comm. to public interest	Meaningful public service is very important to me			-.736
	I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community, even if it harmed my interests			-.788
Compassion	It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress		.410	
	I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on one another		.471	
	I have little compassion for people in need who are unwilling to take the first step to help themselves		.453	
	Most social programs are too vital to do without		.730	
	Everybody is entitled to a good service even if it costs a lot of money		.769	
	Cronbach's alpha	.742	.587	.522
	Eigenvalue	2.388	1.890	1.117
	% of explained variance	23.9	18.9	11.2

An examination of the structure matrix revealed that two of the items (“It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress” and “Daily events often remind me how dependent we are on one another”) had higher component loadings in Component 2 than in Component 3. This finding, together with a pragmatic approach, led to the retainment of the two items from Component 3.

The values of the items of Components 1, 2 and 3 were totalled and converted into scales ranging from 0–100, in which higher values indicate a stronger PSM. Due to the non-normal distribution of values in the components, Mann-Whitney U tests were conducted on the continuous variables and chi-square tests and Fisher’s exact tests (2x2) were conducted on the categorical variables. Furthermore, bivariate correlation analyses were performed to calculate the Spearman correlation coefficients. Median (25–75% quartiles) and mean (standard deviation) values are reported. We applied linear multivariate regression analyses to calculate the associations between independent variables for each of the components. An examination of variation in the inflation factors in the models revealed no consequential multicollinearity between the independent variables. The probability-probability plot between expected and observed cumulative distribution was considered acceptable. A two-tailed p value < 0.05 was set as a limit for statistical significance.