

**NEGATIVE INSTITUTIONAL INFLUENCES IN THE SAUDI PUBLIC SECTOR:
WASTA, PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION AND EMPLOYEE OUTCOMES**

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DEDICATION

To the soul of my father *Abdullah Alreshoodi*
and the soul of my mother *Fatimah Alreshoodi*

And to ...

my beloved wife and children

who gave me everlasting support

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ABSTRACT

Public Service Motivation (PSM) has become one of the most prominent and widely used theoretical models to explain employee psychology and behaviours in the public sector. It theorises that higher levels of PSM lead to positive outcomes for public service employees, such as greater job satisfaction, stronger organisational commitment and lower intention to quit. However, these relationships have not been confirmed consistently in different national contexts, and the exact role of PSM in shaping employee attitudes and behaviours is still being explored. Because of this, PSM researchers increasingly advocate for a more institution-focused approach in investigating PSM. This study contributes to the existing research by investigating possible negative institutional influences at macro level, something that has been largely omitted by the PSM researchers so far. Specifically, it looked into the influence of *wasta*, a form of Arabic indigenous nepotism, on PSM and PSM-employee outcomes relationships. The study also aimed to shed light on international PSM dynamics by investigating its role in a new context (The Saudi Ministry of Education) and applies an internationally validated questionnaire for a more precise investigation of PSM in a non-western environment.

A mixed method research design was applied by using 206 survey responses and 20 semi-structured interviews. Qualitative data were used to supplement the quantitative results described by a robust moderated regression model. The results of the study confirmed the presence of a negative effect of *wasta* on both PSM and employee outcomes. *Wasta* also showed negative moderating effect on the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment as well as PSM and job satisfaction. A partial mediating effect of PSM was observed for the relationship between *wasta* and organisational commitment as well as *wasta* and job satisfaction. In the course of analysis, PSM variable was parceled into two factors representing norm-based rational and affective (emotional) dimensions of motivation. The observed effects were stronger for norm-based rational PSM.

The results of the study confirmed the presence of negative institutional influences of *wasta* on PSM, employee outcomes and the relationships between them. Such influences were both direct and indirect. This suggests that public service organisations aiming to enhance their employees' motivation and improve employee outcomes should seek ways to decrease the influence of negative institutions in their working environments. Some practical suggestions in this regard are offered.

Keywords: Public Service Motivation, Institutions, *Wasta*, Employee Outcomes, Saudi Arabian Public Sector, Process Theory, Institutional Perspective

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GMCAR	General Ministerial Committee for Administrative Reform
MMR	Moderated Multiple Regression
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares Regression
PSM	Public Service Motivation
SAGIA	Saudi Arabia General Investment Agency
SD	Standard Deviation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Study Background

Employee motivation has become an important topic of interest among researchers in the field of public administration. For many years, scholars have consistently emphasised the special characteristics of public servants such as altruism, civic duty and commitment to serve the community at large (Frederickson, 1997; Gould-Williams et al., 2014; Perry and Hondenghem, 2008; Rainey, 2003). Perhaps the most popular and comprehensive theory capturing the distinctive nature of motivation driving the public service employees is Public Service Motivation (PSM) theory, which looks at “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations that might drive individuals to perform public service” (Perry and Wise, 1990, p. 368).

Since its introduction and conceptualisation, PSM theory has become one of the most prominent and widely used theoretical models to explain employee psychology and behaviours in the public sector (Perry and Hondenghem, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2011; Wright, Christensen, and Pandey, 2013). Such popularity is explained by its potential to explain public employee motivation and behaviour and by its ability to produce new insights for various disciplines including HRM, organisational behaviour and social science (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann, 2016). PSM is believed to influence employee outcomes from both attitudinal and behavioural perspectives: on the one hand, PSM leads to stronger job satisfaction and higher level of organisational commitment while, on the other hand, it enhances altruistic behaviours (such as, for example, interpersonal citizenship and co-worker support) and reduces turnover intentions (Pandey et al., 2008; Wright et al., 2013).

However, the nearly three decades of PSM research have not provided univocal confirmation of these propositions. Some empirical studies have confirmed PSM's link to employee outcomes by showing positive relationships between PSM and organisational commitment, job satisfaction and decreased turnover intentions (e.g. Andersen and Kjeldsen, 2013; Castaing, 2006; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Liu et al., 2008; Sunaryo and Suyono, 2013; Taylor, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2009), while others do not (e.g. Bright, 2008; Na and Zhu, 2010; Wright and Pandey, 2008). Further, despite the general advancement of understanding of the importance of PSM for public employees' motivation, its precise role in different contexts remains less clear (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele et al., 2011). For example, different levels of PSM have been found among public servants in countries with different political and cultural backgrounds (e.g. Vandenabeele and Van de Walle 2008; Norris, 2003). Some researchers also suggest that the original dimensionality of PSM construct is not applicable in socio-cultural environments different from the USA where the theory originated (Kim, 2012; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Ritz and Waldner, 2011).

Two important consequences arise from these findings. First, the question of the link between PSM and organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit remains open when it comes to different contexts. Some contemporary researchers relate this fact to the presence of **institutions** that may help explain the lack of positive findings or the presence of stronger/weaker relationships between PSM and employee outcomes (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele et al., 2011). Indeed, empirical evidence suggest that institutional mechanisms can either enhance or reduce public employees' PSM (Houston, 2011; Quratulain and Khan, 2015; Vandenabeele, 2011; Wright and Grant, 2010; Wright, Moynihan and Pandey, 2012). As a result, the influence of PSM on organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit may also differ based on context. This study offers a unique insight into how a specific culturally driven institution may determine both PSM levels and its effect on

employee outcomes. Specifically, it examines the moderating effect of a cultural institution on the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes.

Another important consideration is that while PSM research is becoming increasingly grounded within the institutional context, the negative institutional effect on PSM and employee outcomes have largely been omitted by public administration researchers so far. For example, studies examined the positive influences of family socialisation, religious socialisation, professionalism, volunteerism, organisational policies and job design on PSM (e.g. Brewer, 2003; Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2007; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe et al. 2006; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen, 2013; Perry, 1997; Perry et al., 2008; Vandenabeele, 2010). However, as will be discussed later, making an assumption of only positive institutional influences, either in general sense or in relation to PSM specifically, is not correct. Negative contextual influences on both PSM and employee outcomes have been noted (i.e., Giauque et al., 2012; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen, 2013; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). There is also a growing concern that context could contribute greatly to the “dark side” of PSM, that is, the one leading to negative employee outcomes (i.e. Schott and Ritz, 2016; Van Loon et al., 2015). This requires a fresh look on the institutional mechanisms influencing PSM from a *negative* side. This study’s major contribution is to examine such effect from a strong cultural institution in the context of Saudi Arabia. In other words, it looks specifically into possible *negative* moderation effects of cultural institutions on the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes.

Finally, the complex nature of PSM and its relationship with employee outcomes is not yet fully understood. For example, while there is evidence of the relationship between PSM, organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit, it is not possible to confidently claim that this relationship is direct. A useful approach to clarify these relationships is through mediation analysis. Researchers have studied the effects of several organisational and individual mediators such as person-environment fit, person-organisation fit and

perceptions of organisational politics on the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes in various contexts (Christensen and Wright, 2011; Gould-Williams et al., 2015; Shrestha and Mishra, 2015; Steijn, 2008). However, PSM itself is becoming increasingly analysed as a mediator variable (i.e., Giauque et al., 2013; Gould-Williams et al., 2014; Kassim and Mokhber, 2015; Mostafa et al., 2015). This study aimed to contribute to this growing body of research by investigating the mediating effects of PSM in an institutional context of Saudi Arabia. Specifically, it considered the mediating effects of PSM on the relationships between a cultural institution (*wasta*) and employee outcomes in public organisations of Saudi Arabia (The Ministry of Education).

1.2 Study Contributions

1.2.1 Analysis of PSM in a New Context

Perry and Wise (1990) proposed that PSM stems from the idea that public administration work is more likely to appeal to those who want to do public service and place it above their own interests. This view has a strong tradition not only in the US, where the term PSM originated, but also in Asia, Australia and Europe (Horton, 2008; Vandenabeele and Van de Walle, 2008). The idea that public servants strive to do good for others and promote society's wellbeing also has strong philosophical foundations in different societies. Examples are Plato's, Rousseau's and Rawls's ideas of public servants as promoters of the common good; the Confucian ideal of public service; and the Islamic concept of *ihsan*, loving others and doing good for them (Horton, 2008; Ibn Taymyiah, 1985; Rawls, 1993; Yung, 2014). From this standpoint, "predispositions to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations" (Perry and Wise, 1990, p. 368) are more or less universal across different cultures. However, while Anglo-Saxon definition of PSM has the same broad cross-cultural meaning, the elements that comprise it do not.

McGrath et al. (1982) wrote that understanding of any phenomenon is “contingent on the methods, populations, situations and underlying assumptions involved in the process by which [it] has been acquired” (p. 105). In relation to PSM, Ritz and Brewer (2013) have argued that while PSM is “often treated as a universal construct”, the individuals’ values and identities that form its basis “are largely linked to the one’s social environment and cultural context” (p. 225). Until recently, PSM research has been dominated by studies conducted in the USA and Europe. This is not surprising considering that PSM theory originated in the United States and for a long time was firmly situated within the context of US government organisations (Mosher, 1982; Perry, 1996, 1997, 2000; Perry and Wise, 1990). However, the original concept of PSM was deeply ingrained with the norms and values typical for the American public sector and its employees. While it can be assumed that public service motivated employees within different administrative contexts may hold similar views and attitudes towards their work, it is important to empirically test the relationships between PSM and employee outcomes in various national contexts.

As PSM research has become increasingly internationalised, scholars have started pointing out the importance of socio-historic context and administrative cultures when considering the PSM applications in countries outside of the United States (Houston, 2011; Kim, 2009a; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Norris, 2003; Vandenabeele et al., 2008). For example, Vandenabeele et al. (2006) argued that “different administrative traditions will have an impact on how PSM manifests itself and ... it is likely to be case-specific” (p. 27). Therefore, the type of knowledge acquired through research in the United States is limited because it does not allow one to judge to what extent the predicted relationships are generalizable across various national contexts and populations. This prompts additional investigations of PSM within the contexts of different countries and socio-cultural environments.

This study contributes to the growing international PSM research by applying the theory within the context of public management in Saudi Arabia. The current state of research on PSM in the Middle East and Saudi Arabia in particular is still in its infancy. While motivation of employees has emerged as a popular scholarship topic in Saudi Arabia (Aamir et al., 2012; Alamri and Zuraikat, 2011; Ghazanfar and Alhomide, 1994; Jehanzeb et al., 2012; Kashmiri, 2009), there is no consistently applied theory to examine the relationships between motivation and employee outcomes.

Perhaps the closest in relevance studies of PSM in the context of an Arabic country are the ones conducted by Gould-Williams, Mostafa and Bottomley (2015) and Mostafa, Gould-Williams, and Bottomley (2015), who investigate the link between PSM and employee outcomes in the Egyptian public sector. The results of their research demonstrated both direct and indirect effects of PSM on employee outcomes. Given the closeness of socio-cultural environments of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, the findings reported in these studies suggest that PSM could be appropriate for analysing public employee motivation and outcomes, and that both direct and indirect effects of PSM may be present in the context of Saudi public organisations. The assumption is that similar to the findings of Gould-Williams et al. (2015) and Mostafa et al. (2015), public organisations in Saudi Arabia would offer work consistent with prosocial identities of individuals and thus reinforce their PSM identities which, in turn, will positively influence employee outcomes. Therefore, this study enhances understanding of the role that PSM may play within alternative institutional environments.

1.2.2 Analysis of Institutions and Their Negative Role

Despite PSM research being increasingly internationalised, one of the major issues with the existing empirical literature on PSM is that “most studies do not appropriately consider context” (Ritz et al., 2016, p. 424). However, context is important in public management. While assessing the state of current research on PSM, Perry, Hondelghem and Wise (2010) made an

important observation that the role of PSM in shaping employee outcomes in public sector may be more complex than it had been previously thought. Specifically, they mentioned that such complexity arises from the presence of contextual factors and institutions. The contextual effect, in turn, is best described by a moderation analysis where a relationship between two variables can be either enhanced or suppressed by a third variable. As a result, there is a necessity to analyse the potential influence of variables that may moderate the relationship between public service motivation and important work related outcomes. Such variables can be grounded within the institutional contexts in which PSM research is conducted.

An institution is defined as “a formal or informal, structural, societal or political phenomenon that transcends the individual level, that is based on more or less common values, has a certain degree of stability and influences behaviour” (Peters, 2000, p. 18). Through the process of socialisation within a particular institutional context, individuals are drawn into appropriateness of specific behaviours and values. In relation to public service, these could be values that prompt public servants to act in a special public service motivated manner or values that, on the contrary, diminish such motives. Institutional theorists believe that institutions model individual preferences and constrain individual behavioural alternatives (March and Olsen, 1995). Such influence can be direct, by means of shaping employee behaviours, the time spent serving the public, and attitudes, such as organisational commitment, job satisfaction or intention to quit. Also, such influence can be indirect, through the context within these behaviours are supposed to arise. An example is organizational environment where red tape and hostile conditions may contribute to a decrease in PSM level (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). Because of this, PSM researchers often advocate for a more institution-focused approach in investigating PSM (Perry, 2000; Perry et al., 2010).

The importance of bringing together institutional theory and PSM comes from the apparent importance of institutions for public management. In their seminal study of public management

reforms in different countries, Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) demonstrated the strong role of institutions in that process. Other studies show that cultural institutions have a powerful influence on values and behaviours that can be considered appropriate or inappropriate within different work contexts (Raadschelders, 2003; Scott, 2001). So far, the research within the PSM related scholarship has considered social and, to a lesser degree, organisational institutions as antecedents of PSM (i.e. Brewer, 2008; Perry, 1997; Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). However, national and cultural institutions have recently got increasing attention. Applied specifically to PSM, institutions such as culture, religion and history have been found to affect the core dimensions of the construct and the outcomes in different countries (Castaing, 2006; Kim, 2009a; Norris, 2003; Vandenabeele and Van de Walle 2008). Influences of cultural and national institutions represent an important direction of research considering the increasingly globalised nature of PSM studies.

This study applies the institutional perspective in PSM research by considering the role of *wasta* - a strong element of Arabic culture as one of the major institutions affecting work relationships in Saudi Arabian public sector. That *wasta* is an element of Arabic culture, not specific to Saudi Arabian culture, is important. This means that its institutional influence transcends beyond national borders and can be traced in different countries thereby making this research relevant within their contexts as well. For example, research on *wasta* in organisational settings is available in Jordan and Kuwait (Ali & Al Kazemi; Loewe, Blume and Speer, 2008). While not mentioned directly, *wasta* practices have also been investigated in Turkey, Pakistan and Egypt (Arasli et al., 2006; Bute, 2011; Hayajneh et al., 1994; Keles et al., 2011). These studies point to the fact that *wasta* is not nationally bound; rather, it is a socio-cultural phenomenon within Arab societies.

As a form of indigenous nepotism, *wasta* can be considered a negative institution from the perspective of employment in public organisations. It can, therefore, not only decrease the level

of PSM among the public servants but also affect their behaviour and influence outcomes. In this regard, the research makes its strongest contribution to the study of negative institutional influences on PSM, an issue still poorly covered by the existing PSM literature. As a cultural institution, *wasta* has influence not only on PSM but also directly on employee outcomes. Such relationships have been found between nepotism, a close concept to *wasta*, and employee outcomes in various contexts (Abdalla et al., 1998; Arasli and Turner, 2008; Daskin et al., 2013; Keles et al., 2011). However, such relationships, as explained later, can be mediated by PSM. The mediating effects of PSM have been shown in a number of recent studies (i.e. Giauque et al., 2013; Gould-Williams et al., 2014; Mostafa et al., 2015). Therefore, the final contribution of the study in terms of institutional context is investigating the possible mediating effects of PSM on the relationship between institutions and employee outcomes in the context of Saudi public organisations (Ministry of Education).

1.2.3 Validating the International PSM Instrument

As was explained earlier, the idea of PSM and the motives encompassed by it are not confined to the Anglo-Saxon context. For this reason, the Anglo-Saxon definition of this concept is potentially applicable in various cultural environments. However, there are important issues related to how this concept should be measured. The early PSM research originated in the United States (Perry and Wise, 1990). However, since then researchers in other countries have started contributing to knowledge accumulation regarding the concept, its antecedents and consequences (e.g. Kim, 2009b; Kim et al., 2013; Perry, 2010). Ritz and Brewer (2013) specifically pointed out that “a corresponding process of socialization plays an important role for the individual degree of PSM” and that the impact of socialization is felt through the cultural context (p. 225). Since the contemporary PSM literature acknowledges differences in public service administration within various socio-cultural contexts, there is a possibility that the original PSM dimensions and measures may not correctly correspond to the behaviours and

attitudes of public servants in the countries outside the United States. In fact, this has been recognised by recent studies, which found that PSM may have divergent conceptual and operational definitions in different socio-cultural contexts (Cerase and Farinella, 2009; Giauque et al., 2011; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Liu, Tang and Zhu, 2008; Ritz and Waldner, 2011).

For example, Ritz and Waldner (2011) openly questioned the appropriateness of using PSM measures developed for the American context to predict service related motivations of public employees in Germany. Leisink and Steijn (2009) found that use of the full PSM scale developed by Perry posed a number of issues in the Dutch context. Similarly, Liu et al. (2008) found that generalisability of Perry's PSM construct in China was limited. They suggested that PSM could be used as a general theory in international context, but measures could be different from country to country. Kim (2009b) argued that PSM measures in the Korean context should be adjusted to better reflect the society's collectivistic natures and Confucian values.

The potential for conceptual divergence inevitably prompts exploration of the equivalency of public service motivation measures across cultures and nations. In this regard, Perry and Hondeghem (2008) noted that:

Much research is to be done to find evidence for public service motivation in different countries and regions. This is important not only to validate the public service motivation construct, but also to investigate the influence of the country/region as an institution on public service motivation. (p. 307)

Given the fact that the original PSM measures were developed in the context of American government organisations, researchers have questioned the universality of their psychological meanings and psychometric properties in other socio-cultural contexts (Cerase and Farinella, 2009; Coursey and Pandey, 2007; Giauque et al., 2011; Kim, 2009a; Kim, 2011; Ritz and Waldner, 2011). As a result, some have tried to contextualise the PSM construct within a specific national or cultural context. Hondeghem and Vandenabeele (2005), for example, called

for the original PSM dimensions to be supplemented with others reflecting European relevant values such as equality of treatment, neutrality, formalism, continuity, or adaptation. Vandenberghe (2008) introduced a five-dimensional PSM measure by including *Democratic Governance* to reassess the cognitive elements of publicness. Cerrese and Farinella (2009) introduced *Duty Bureaucratic Governance* dimension specifically for Italian public service while Hansen (2009) suggested a *Support for A Universal Welfare State* dimension specifically for Denmark.

On the other hand, other researchers have called for the development of a more consistent and reliable instrument of PSM that could be used across different cultures in which it is applied (Castaing, 2006; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Liu et al., 2008; Taylor, 2007; Vandenberghe, 2008; Wright, 2008; Wright and Pandey, 2008). Such an instrument, if valid and reliable, could be particularly useful in cultural contexts where PSM and its effects are measured for the first time, as is the case with this research. Several researchers have proposed adjusted PSM measurements for international studies (Kim, 2009a; Kim et al., 2013; Kim and Vandenberghe, 2010). A consensus has recently emerged that Kim's (2009a) instrument is the most attractive of these due to its incorporation of the original four PSM dimensions (attraction to policy-making, commitment to public interest, compassion and self-sacrifice) and the comparatively small number of items (12), which reduces respondents' workload. As a result, this study adopts Kim's questionnaire and tests it within the context of Saudi Arabia to provide evidence of whether this international version of a PSM questionnaire provides a good measure of the theory.

1.3 Study Context

According to Common (2013), while the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia "appears receptive to international reform trends, its cultural and administrative context dictates that such trends are not easily implemented" (p. 23). The Saudi government's desire to modernise the public sector

in line with the general trends in international public management often clashes with the deeply entrenched socio-cultural norms and values within the country. Saudi culture represents a strong blend of Arab traditionalism and Islamic values (Bjerke and Al-Meer, 1993). These traditions and values, in turn, determine the specific features of Saudi behaviour, decision making orientation and the development of state institutions. This is especially important in the Saudi case because Saudi Arabia is a tightly knit society, which is characterised by paternalistic relationships, strong social ties, collectivism and respect for authority.

Pillai et al. (1999) wrote that the paternalistic relationships at work in Saudi Arabia come from the tribal traditions and support the stability of family values that usually trump much needed changes to drive organisational improvements within the workplace. In particular, such relationships often serve as obstacles to the replacement of poor performers within organisations who could share relationships with higher ranking officials (Idris, 2007). It has been argued that social frameworks created within Saudi organisations reflect tribalism and the high degree of collectivism expressed in the Saudi society. Common (2013) suggests that Islamic values play an important role in this because higher ranked officials, as Muslims, are obliged to help their relatives. Personal relationships and family positions define the strong social ties in the Saudi society, which, in turn, influence human resource practices, such as hiring and promotion. Common (2013) writes that the traditional value placed on the relationship between family members and friends is usually an influential factor that largely defines the way that social institutions and organisations in Saudi Arabia function. This also translates into respect for authority, since in Saudi organisations those who are in positions of power use and keep it to a very large extent while regular employees rarely get empowered and are usually not given responsibilities outside of their strict scopes of work (Al-Yahia, 2009). The traditionalism and Islamism in Saudi society inevitably influences public sector administration. The foundations of public administration and management in Saudi Arabia has

undergone little changes in the past several decades and remain shaped by what Western commentators refer to as “traditional authority” (Kamrava, 2005, p. 299). Consequently, the dominant cultural features associated with paternalism reinforce the traditional approaches to public management, and any attempts to reform public sector are considered as mere reshuffling of older structures (Al-Otaibi, 2006, p. 24). This can explain the tendency to draw on non-Western reform experiences. The two most notable attempts to reform public service in Saudi Arabia were the establishment of the General Ministerial Committee for Administrative Reform (GMCAR) in 2003 and reforming the Institute of Public Administration in 2005 by introducing e-government there. These reform initiatives were largely based on the experiences of Malaysia and, to some degree, China, Kuwait and South Korea.

Notably, Saudi Arabia has rejected the core ideas of blending market-based human resource management initiatives with the public administration. Consequently, ideas of the New Public Management did not receive support in the context of Saudi Arabia despite the fact that they were applied in some neighbouring nations such as Kuwait and United Arab Emirates (Al-Otaibi, 2006; Common, 2013). The Malaysian approach to public service reform was chosen by the Saudi policymakers largely because of the close cultural, political, and economic ties between the countries (Al Otaibi, 2006). Malaysia is an Islamic state which has made impressive progress in reforming both private and public sectors recently, and Saudi Arabia decided to take these reforms as a basis of successful transformation without much social, cultural, or religious deviation from its original state system. However, even the Malaysian experience has been transferring rather slowly. The GMCAR mostly evaluates the performance and structure of public agencies and focuses on their transparency and financial efficiency. Reforms that would focus on management approaches in public sector or attempt to improve

the motivation of employees are virtually absent. As a result, the Saudi public sector still largely relies on the traditional approaches associated with careerism and lifelong service.

The lack of transfer of new Western public management paradigms into Saudi Arabian public organisations can be viewed from an institutional perspective as much as from cultural perspective. Collectivism, paternalism and social ties are important in a cultural sense as the outcomes of traditionalism and Islamism in Saudi Arabia. However, they are also extremely important for the maintenance of a specific institutional mechanism that permeates the essential working relationships in Saudi organisations. This mechanism is *wasta* which is literally translated as “going in between,” and is a widespread occurrence in organisational practices of many Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia (Hutchings and Weir, 2006a).

Wasta is defined as the means of achieving goals through links and connections with other people and, as such, displays similarities to the practice of nepotism (Smith et al., 2012). Research shows that *wasta* connections are pervasive within Arabic institutions and they largely determine how things are done within the workplace. For example, a study by Loewe, Blume and Speer (2008) in Jordan showed that *wasta* was considered the only way to overcome organisational bureaucratic obstacles. Similarly, Ali and Al Kazemi (2007) found that in Kuwait, *wasta* was strongly relied upon in all aspects of organisational work. In the Saudi Arabian public sector, *wasta* is a common thing. Mellahi and Wood (2001), for example, reported that competition for limited work opportunities in the Saudi public sector encourages hiring and promotion through connections.

Because of its power and pervasiveness in Saudi public sector, *wasta* may well be linked to the motivation of public sector employees. Within the institutional theory of PSM, institutional values are transmitted to individuals through the logic of appropriateness – the perspective that human action is driven by institutionally created rules which are seen as expected, rightful and legitimate (March and Olsen, 1989). The institution of *wasta* has been widespread in Arabic

society for centuries having foundations in family, politics, economics, cognition and morality (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Its penetration into organisational frameworks was inevitable and unavoidable because of the benefits associated with such institution: gaining a secure, well-paid position and helping the members of extended family to do the same. Within organisational frameworks and extended family networks, receiving *wasta* is expected and giving *wasta* is required. This, in turn, strongly affects work relationships and the workplace politics in organisations.

Wasta's effect on PSM could also arise from work relationships. Recruitment and selection through *wasta* is not competency or competition based. It does not necessarily yield the most qualified employees for an organisation. However, it also does not necessarily fill all employment gaps either. As a result, the working personnel in organisations where *wasta* is practiced is likely to consist of those who were hired by merit and those who were hired by *wasta*. This is likely to bring internal tensions whereby non-*wasta* employees' feelings and attitudes towards their work and public services are hurt (Arasli and Tumer, 2008; Hayajneh et al., 1994). It can be assumed then that in relation to employees high on PSM, such tensions could decrease a sense of justice and fairness. Other effects could be higher stress and lack of trust, which were, in fact, found to be outcomes of nepotistic practices at work (Arasli and Tumer, 2008; Keles et al., 2011). These factors lead to the general conclusion that *wasta* will have negative effect on PSM in Saudi public organisations. It can be argued, for example, that those who use *wasta* to get things accomplished will be less motivated to work harder. Similarly, those who experience the negative consequences of *wasta* may feel less motivated to strive harder, and their morale will be damaged.

So far, however, the precise impact of *wasta* on PSM in Saudi organisations remains unexplored. The focus has been on the relationship between *wasta* and motivation in general, although this relationship has not been understood well either in view of few empirical

investigations. Studies emphasized the dual nature of *wasta* when it comes to motivation: on the one hand, it can motivate to work harder and prove one's competences; on the other hand, it can disrupt stability and create hostility which are incompatible with healthy work environments (Kilani et al., 2015). While it is considered an unfair practice, a cause of low morale and demotivation, it is also seen as a tool to overcome workplace related barriers (Al-Hussain and Al-Mazrooq, 2016). Studies in Jordan, Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey showed inconsistent between *wasta*-related concepts of favoritism and nepotism on employee motivation despite the general claims that the link should be negative (Arasli et al., 2006; Bute, 2011; Hayajneh et al., 1994; Keles et al., 2011; Sadozai et al., 2012). Overall, there is a clear lack of studies reporting on *wasta* influence on motivation let alone studies that would specifically investigate the *wasta*-PSM relationship in the context of public organizations. This is a serious omission which this study aims to address.

From a practical standpoint, research on employee motivation in the Saudi Arabian public sector can cast light on the country's public management reforms, which emphasise the contribution of employees to the quality of services in line with the theories of public service such as PSM. Such contribution has been emphasised in the recent report on human capital development by the Saudi Arabia General Investment Agency (SAGIA, 2015). Introducing PSM theory to the analysis of the Saudi public sector could contribute to the overall knowledge about the theory's applications in various national contexts. An important theoretical contribution would also be the inclusion of a specific institution that could act as an important factor affecting PSM, employee outcomes and the relationships between them. This is where *wasta* comes into play with its strong entrenchment in fabric of Saudi public organisations.

1.4 Significance of the Study

To summarise the contributions described above, this study aims to contribute to the emerging body of literature on the institutional perspective on PSM and the importance of contextual

factors affecting PSM and its outcomes. It does so by analysing the link between PSM and employee outcomes in Saudi Arabia, a country where relevant research is scarce. The analysis is placed within an institutional perspective by considering *wasta* - a strong element of Arabic culture representing a form of indigenous nepotism - and the role it plays in shaping the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes in public sector.

This study is important for several reasons. First, it explores the theory of PSM and its outcomes in public sector within a new national context. Second, it provides a theoretical contribution by using a strong Saudi cultural institution to illustrate how the institutional perspective on PSM can explain the specificity of PSM applications in different cultural contexts. Third, the study contributes to the effort to develop a valid measure of PSM that can be used consistently and confidently in the international context. Finally, it provides a deeper insight into the link between PSM and employee outcomes within international context by considering the institution of *wasta* as both the antecedent of PSM and moderator of the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes.

1.5 Research Questions

Based on the identified research gaps and the practical importance of PSM for the public sector in Saudi Arabia, the following research questions are formulated:

- 1- What is the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes in the Saudi public sector?
- 2- What is relationship between the negative institution (*wasta*) and employee outcomes in the Saudi public sector?
- 3- What is the relationship between *wasta* and PSM?
- 4- Does PSM mediate the relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes?
- 5- Does *wasta* moderate the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes?

1.6 Research Objectives

The study will pursue the following objectives:

- To conduct a comprehensive literature review of PSM studies examining employee outcomes in public organisations;
- To conduct a comprehensive literature search on the topic of *wasta* and its relevance to Saudi Arabian public organisations;
- To construct a conceptual model for investigating the relationships between PSM, employee outcomes and *wasta* applicable to the context of Saudi public organisations;
- To collect and analyse quantitative and qualitative data to test the relationships hypothesised in the conceptual framework;
- To analyse the results of the study within the context of the available knowledge about PSM and employee outcomes in Saudi public organisations;
- To identify theoretical and practical implications of the findings and suggest directions for future research in the field.

1.7 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters including the current one. Chapter Two presents the discussion of PSM theory and reviews the connection between the main PSM variables and employee outcomes. Chapter Three reviews *wasta* as a form of indigenous nepotism in the Arabic world and, specifically, in Saudi Arabia. The review takes an institutional perspective on PSM and presents *wasta* as an influential institution likely to affect the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. Chapter Four presents the study methodology including the research design, inquiry method, study target population and sample, and the approaches to data collection and analysis. Chapters Five and Six present the results of the quantitative data collection and analysis. Chapter Seven presents the results of qualitative data collection to

clarify the key relationships identified during the quantitative data analysis. Chapter Eight presents the discussion of the study's main findings, offers the major conclusions, implications and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION AND EMPLOYEE OUTCOMES

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the theoretical and empirical basis for investigating the impact of PSM on employee outcomes as well as provide a case for institutional influences on this relationship. The chapter begins with a thorough review of the PSM concept and definition by focusing on its philosophical foundations and the evolution of views on PSM. A case is made that PSM is a theoretically distinct construct from employee outcomes. Next, the link between PSM and organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit is established. A review of the relevant empirical work is provided. After that, the case for institutional influences on PSM is presented by applying Process Theory (Perry, 2000) and an institutional perspective (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Finally, an analysis of the existing literature on the institutional impacts on PSM and employee outcomes is provided with identification of the major gaps that this study aims to fill.

2.2 PSM Concept and Definition

2.2.1 Philosophical Foundations of PSM

While most of the contemporary research seeks to answer the question of why people choose public service and how to make public servants perform better, it is as important to understand how the core ideas behind PSM came to existence and prominence and how they are currently applied in practice. By understanding the foundations of PSM, it is possible to attain a deeper insight into the concept of PSM and its role in the contemporary public service. It will also illustrate why PSM might be regarded as a universal concept, while its actual manifestations might not. Later, these assertions will lead to justification of the institutional perspective on

PSM, which, as this paper argues, is contingent upon the public administration contexts in which it exists.

As a concept, PSM has existed for only a few decades; however, its basic tenets are prefigured in the history of political, moral and religious philosophies across the world. While not always offering the same views on public servants and their duties, these philosophies are unified under the umbrella of an idealistic idea of unselfish citizen individuals who are driven by a higher calling that motivates them to perform for the public good. O'Toole (2006) contrasted such a calling to self-interested behaviour because individuals driven by the PSM ideals should be guided by the desire to serve the public and set aside personal interests because of that. Examples of such an ideal could be traced equally in Western, Asian and Middle Eastern philosophical texts.

Horton (2008) argued that public service idealism permeated European political and moral philosophy from Plato to Thomas Hill Green. Plato in his *Republic* described the guardians who would rule his ideal polity as ideal public servants who would care for the common good first. Similarly, Aristotle proposed an ideal of a good man who aspired to the good life and good state and served common good (Horton, 2008). He saw this ideal as a motivational force to serve the public. According to O'Toole (2006), the original ideas of Plato and Aristotle formed the basis of the common good and public service (p. 20). These ideas were echoed in the works of the prominent medieval Italian theologian Thomas Aquinas underlining that "virtue" meant putting one's own interests aside and serving the common good. According to Aquinas, public servants who are not virtuous would fail in their duty to God and to the common welfare (Horton, 2008). During the Enlightenment era in Europe, religious views were replaced by an emphasis on reason, however, philosophers of that time continued to distinguish public service. One of the leading thinkers of the era, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1895) wrote

about the general will – a concept closely associated with the acts for the common good. He distinguished this form of will from personal and corporate wills which appealed to pursuing one's own interest and interests of an organisation. Consequently, those committed to public service should be guided by the general will more than by personal or corporate will (Rousseau, 1895). Rousseau's ideas found support in the works of later idealists like Hegel and Green. Green, in fact, is credited with developing the outlook for those individuals who came to dominate the British public administration (O'Toole, 1990). Like Rousseau and Plato, he saw public servants as guardians of the common good who had a duty to preserve it (Horton, 2008).

The philosophical foundations of PSM are also found in the United States, where the concept of PSM originated. Perhaps, the most convincing in this regard are the works by John Rawls and Gordon Tullock. Rawls advanced the idea of common good in his work titled *Political Liberalism*. There, he introduced the concept of public reason – the common reason for all citizens. Rawls (1993) thought that while individuals may hold different views on what is good, they still would agree on the principle of justice as fairness that consists of the principles of liberty (preservation of basic rights for all) and difference (the greatest benefit for the least advantaged society members). Public officials, in Rawls' view, should be guided by these principles which would ensure their commitment to the common good (Rawls, 1993, p. 5). The interplay between self-interest and public interest was also explored by Tullock. His view was that while individuals may be driven by self-interest maximisation, almost everyone is “to some extent interested in wellbeing of others and in various ‘abstract goals’ like public interest” (Tullock, 1976, p. 39). Therefore, public servants may pursue own interests; however, they would be also broadly motivated by the wish to serve the citizens.

The pursuit of the public good as a motivation for public servants is also widely acknowledged in Eastern philosophy, particularly in the works of Confucius which had a profound impact

throughout Asia. According to Frederickson (2002), within Confucian philosophy, public administration is “morality in action” (p. 617). Consequently, becoming an official is equivalent to accepting moral influence - ensuring that ethical principles and moral behaviours are spread by example throughout the society (Yung, 2014). Morality, on the other hand, is directly associated with the desire to do good for people. As Frederickson (2002) noted, Confucian public officials are “benevolent (disposed to do good) and have extensive love of the people” (p. 616). In other words, to be a good public official, one must strive for the good of the people above all. Self-discipline, one of the Confucian virtues, serves as a direct means for such behaviour among the public officials (Bangcheng, 2009). The link between the Confucian ideal of public service and PSM was recently discussed by Yung (2014) who argued that as a political ideal and philosophy Confucianism successfully converges with at least three PSM dimensions: compassion, self-sacrifice and a commitment to the public interest.

Finally, the moral and ethical foundations for PSM can be traced in the Islamic perspective on public administration. According to Rahman and Rahman (1996), traditional Islamic values provide public servants with internal and external motivations for responsible administrative behaviour. Administrative responsibility largely follows from the universal Islamic assertion that one should do what is good and avoid doing what is evil. Applied to public service, this inevitably translates into public servants’ commitment to do good for others and become responsive for their needs (Ibn Taymyiah, 1985). Closely related to this notion are justice to others, love for others and perfection (*ihsan*). The Qur’an (4:135) emphasises commitment to justice by setting aside personal interests and giving others their due. For public administrators, this is especially important because they ought to be sensitive to the needs of others more than their own interests. Similarly, the *Hadith* stresses love for the others, as the Prophet Muhammed (peace be upon him) said, “None of you has faith unless he loves for his brother what he loves

for himself” (Ali, 1977). This moral virtue stresses the importance of committing oneself to the well-being of others. Consequently, a Muslim public administrator ought to be responsive to the welfare of all people within society. Justice and love for others are further reinforced by the Islamic concept of perfection (*ihsan*), which translates one’s love of God into doing good things for people and benefiting them. Through the pursuit of *ihsan*, one becomes selfless by developing a sense of responsibility and commitment to others (Rahman and Rahman, 1996). For Muslim public administrators, *ihsan* means responsibility to serve the public and refraining from pursuing one’s own interests and/or evil deeds.

As is seen from the selective review of the philosophies above, the core ideas of PSM, which are goodness towards others and selflessness, have been prescribed in one way or another by philosophical, moral and religious teachings across the world. This means that, as an ideal, PSM has not been the prerogative of the Western school of public administration thought. Rather, PSM can be considered as a logical outcome of convergent historical and philosophic perspectives on what public service should involve. It is not surprising then that similar value-based concepts of motivation emerged in different parts of the world. In the United Kingdom, public administration scholars write about the existence of a public service ethos (Chapman, 2000; Pratchett and Wingfield, 1996). In Canada, there is the concept of “*l’ethique du bien commun*” which describes the value of communal capital and the rules and principles that serve as a means to assure the existence of all members of the society (Chanlat, 2003). In Germany, public servants are associated with *Beamtenethos* – a set of values reflecting public interest (Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006). In China, there is a strong belief “in mission” of public servants to promote good for the society (Robertson et al., 2007). Finally, in the Islamic countries, commitment to serve the public is enshrined in the principles of *iman* and *taqwa* that

generate moral virtues like *ihsan* to care for the well-being of others (Rahman and Rahman, 1996).

This makes the idea of PSM relevant in different cultural and national environments. Indeed, besides the United States, where the PSM concept originated, it has been found to be applicable in Belgium (Vandenabeele, 2011), France (Castaing, 2006), Switzerland (Giauque et al. 2011), China (Bangcheng, 2009; Liu et al., 2008; Liu et al., 2011), the Netherlands (Steijn, 2006; Vandenabeele and Van de Walle, 2008), Germany (Vandenabeele et al., 2006), Malta (Camilleri, 2006, 2007), Italy (Cerese and Farinella, 2006), South Korea (Choi, 2004; Kim, 2005), Central America (Snyder et al., 1996), Australia (Taylor, 2008) and Egypt (Gould-Williams et al., 2015). However, a close examination of these works demonstrates that the structure and content of PSM and the relevant concepts are not always consistent. This suggests that PSM can be influenced by distinctive contextual factors within each public administration.

2.2.2 Evolution of PSM Definition

PSM has received an increasing attention from the contemporary public administration researchers only since the 1990s (Perry et al., 2010). In line with the philosophical foundations discussed above, the key assumption behind PSM was that the internal values of public servants were a strong force enabling them to behave in ways beneficial for their organisations and society at large (Giauque, Anderfuhren-Biget and Varone, 2015). This idea countered the rational choice theories that proposed self-interest as the exclusive explanatory factor of human behaviour. In their seminal article on PSM, Perry and Wise (1990) provided the perspective that personal sacrifice and duty to the public interest should be considered as practical values that direct human behaviour in public administration. Later, Perry (1996) presented PSM as a multidimensional concept that reflected a willingness to forgo tangible personal rewards and benefits for the opportunity to service others.

Taking into account the assumed distinctive needs and interests of public service employees, Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as a “predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations” (p. 368). PSM, according to Perry and Wise, had a number of important behavioural implications. First, they believed that employees with high PSM would be likely to look for opportunities to work in public sector. Second, high PSM would be inevitably associated with higher performance in the public sector. Finally, public organisations would need special incentives to manage employees, and these incentives would not necessarily be material. All these implications directly and undeniably linked PSM to public administration context.

The PSM definition of Perry and Wise (1990) was broader than the one offered by the earlier research, which linked PSM to particular traits such as job involvement (Buchanan, 1975). However, with time this definition has also become challenged as the researchers explored various aspects of PSM construct and its role in employee motivation. Two particular aspects of Perry and Wise’s proposition became questioned with time: whether PSM should be considered only within the public domain and whether PSM was synonymous with motivation to work in the public sector.

With regards to the first question, there seems to be an agreement that PSM is not a purely public sector phenomenon. For example, analysis of PSM’s role in government agencies prompted Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) to offer a more general definition of the PSM construct. They added altruism as a necessary condition for PSM by defining PSM as “general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind” (p. 23). This definition was close to the one suggested by Brewer and Selden (1998), who envisioned PSM as “the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful ... public, community, and social service” (p. 417). A special feature of the definitions of Brewer and Selden and Rainey and Steinbauer is that they emphasised PSM’s

behavioural implications beyond the boundaries of public administration. Later definitions of PSM followed this notion by not confining the concept specifically to public administration. For example, Hondeghem and Perry (2009) and Vandenabeele (2008) argued that PSM can be found in employees of both public and private sectors. Steen (2008) confirmed this idea by stating that when employees in private organisations believe that their organisational culture follows what is socially good and desirable, they would engage in behaviours for the public good.

At the same time, researchers distinguished PSM from public sector motivation (e.g. Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Perry and Hondeghem, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2013). Leisink and Steijn (2009) as well as Vandenabeele (2013), for example, envisioned motivation to work in public sector as a collection of intrinsic (PSM) and extrinsic factors, the latter being salary, stability and work-life balance. From this perspective, PSM is just one of several factors that motivate individuals to join public sector organisations. This can be especially true in the national contexts where public sector employment is valued higher than the private sector employment. To sum up, there has been a shift in how researchers envision PSM. This shift reflected two major trends: 1) taking PSM outside of the context of public administration only and 2) considering PSM to be more than just motivation to do public good. Consequently, some recent definitions of PSM abstained from associating it with motivation and proposed instead that PSM is an attitude that prompts display of prosocial behaviours. In this regard, the definition proposed by Vandenabeele (2007) is useful: PSM is “the belief, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organisational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate” (p. 547). This definition clearly distinguishes PSM as being composed of values and attitudes and not simply motives. Similarly, Brewer (2010) envisioned PSM as “a set of values and attitudes that influence behaviour” (p. 157). Finally, Hondeghem and Perry (2009) defined PSM as “an

individual's orientation to delivering service to people with the purpose of doing good for others and society" (p. 6). Similarly, Christensen and Whiting (2009) viewed it as "a desire to serve the public good through loyalty to the government and public institutions, commitment to social justice, and compassion" (p. 44).

Aside from an attitude or a set of attitudes, researchers have also considered PSM as a malleable trait which is prone to managerial influence but nevertheless slow to change (Gould-Williams et al., 2014; Wright and Grant, 2010). This follows from the studies on personality that evolves via life role transitions and altruism which despite being a relatively stable variable is prone to some change over long periods of time (Johnson, 2001; Roberts and DelVecchio 2000; Trzesniewski et al. 2003; Orth et al. 2012).

Based on the discussion above, PSM is both an attitude to the public and community and a trait like variable which is, although slow to change, still susceptible to managerial influences. Defining PSM as an attitude and a trait like variable has important implications such as distinguishing it from employee outcomes. PSM is an attitude towards society and community; it extends beyond the boundaries of an organisation to which employee outcomes are attached. For example, a public servant dissatisfied with his/her working environment may still express desire to serve the public good (Brewer, Selden and Facer II, 2000). Being a trait-like characteristic, PSM is also more stable over time in contrast to employee outcomes which can change easily based on working conditions and environment (Gould-Williams et al., 2014). In other words, poor working conditions may influence job satisfaction and organisational commitment quickly enough while PSM level will not be affected at least for some time. Moreover, as an attitude, PSM can be considered an antecedent of attitudinal outcomes (Boselie et al., 2005; Gould-Williams et al., 2014). Therefore, whenever public servants have opportunities to satisfy their altruistic attitudes, it is likely that they will display higher levels of PSM and, consequently, readily associate with an organisation, be satisfied with their jobs

and display less inclination to quit (Bright, 2008; Kim, 2012; Naff and Crum, 1999; Perry and Wise, 1990; Steijn 2008). PSM dimensions and empirical investigations of these theoretically predicted relationships are discussed below.

2.2.3 PSM Dimensions

Early research in public motivation did not have a comprehensive conceptualisation of PSM. Studies simply considered its existence on the basis of strong intrinsic motivation of public service employees' (i.e., Cacioppe and Mock, 1984; Rainey, 1982). PSM was conceptualised as a collection of values directed at helping others and benefiting society at large. This was used to distinguish public service employees' motives from the motives of those who work in private sector (Wright, 2008). Starting from the 1990s, however, the concept of PSM became more strongly embedded in motivation theory and defined as a collection of different motives: affective, rational and normative (Perry and Wise 1990). These motives were aligned primarily and uniquely with work in public service. Perry (1996) introduced four dimensions of PSM which became the basis of its future conceptualisation: attraction to public policy making, public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice.

Within the conceptual framework of PSM proposed by Perry (1996), the PSM dimensions are linked to the three key motives identified above. The rational motive was linked to attraction to policymaking through desire to maximize the need for power and self-importance in order to advocate special interests. The affective motive was linked to compassion and self-sacrifice through an emotional response to public issues. Finally, the normative motive was linked to the desire to serve the public and a duty to society. Taken together, the three motives and four dimensions offered a better conceptualization of PSM through theoretical support and the possibility that rationality and self-interest could also play role in public service.

However, Perry's (1996) conceptualisation of PSM has not been consistently applied in PSM research. Variations emerged both in how PSM is defined and operationalised. In a review of

PSM studies following Perry's (1996) conceptualisation and operationalisation of PSM, Wright (2008) found that only three out of sixteen used PSM measures validated by Perry. Some researchers omitted certain dimensions (i.e., Castaing, 2006, Choi, 2004), while others introduced new dimensions (i.e., Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 1998; Brewer et al., 2000) and yet others collapsed all dimensions into a single PSM scale (i.e. Bright, 2005; Karl and Peat, 2004; Kim, 2005). Such diversity in PSM definition and operationalization places limitations on the degree of confidence in findings of separate studies. On the other hand, it also represents an opportunity to search for a better operational match of PSM concept to the realities of different contexts in which it is investigated. This study used the flexibility of PSM interpretation and operationalization to apply PSM in a new public administration context which is discussed in more details in Chapter Four.

2.3 PSM and Employee Outcomes

The importance of PSM for public management is reflected in its role for employee outcomes and organisational performance. Perry and Wise (1990) and the subsequent theorists of PSM posited that PSM should lead to desirable employee outcomes. This is due in part to the opportunities available for individuals to satisfy their altruistic values within the public sector. Such values are based on considerations of the needs of others and exerting effort to benefit other people rather than oneself or own organisation. Also, drawing on more general theories of motivation, Perry and Wise (1990) argue that individuals will be motivated to perform well if they find their work to be meaningful, can identify with their tasks and are aware of the significance of their tasks – attributes that again should be satisfied within the public sector.

2.3.1 PSM and Organisational Commitment

Over the last three decades, organisational commitment has been defined and measured in many different ways. For example, Meyer and Hersovitch (2001) distinguished commitment

to career, commitment to job and commitment to organisation in general. Torka and Schyns (2010) defined commitment in terms of attachment to co-workers. Chughtai (2013) considered commitment in the form of attachment to supervisors. However, these various definitions and measures share a common proposition in that organisational commitment is considered to be a bond of the individual to the organisation or its particular part (Camillieri, 2006; Mowday et al., 1984). From this perspective, organisational commitment can be considered as a degree of attachment towards the organisation of employment. This is reflected through the general definition of organisational commitment by Mowday et al. (1979): “the relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organisation” (p. 226). Meyer and Allen (1991) added a psychological dimension to the concept by defining it as “a psychological state” that defines employee-organisation relationship and has implications for continuing or discontinuing employment there (p. 67). Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2012) expanded on this definition by adding that besides employment per se, organisational commitment also characterises “an affective attachment to the organisation, internalisation of its values and goals, and a behavioural desire to put forth effort to support it” (p. 349).

Based on the above ideas, organisational commitment is based on three main determinants: (1) an emotional attachment to the organisation made possible by the congruence between personal and organisational values, (2) a normative commitment, which might develop if employees feel connected to their organisation by “duty” or a feeling of “reciprocity”, and (3) “continuance commitment” that originates in the lack of alternative employment and therefore directs employees to “hang” their job (Meyer and Allen, 1991, 1997; Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001; Meyer, et al. 2002). This approach, at least in terms of PSM, is an outgrowth of Perry and Wise’s (1990) original categorisation of motives and dimensions, as well as a substantial body of literature on organisational commitment from the field of organisational behaviour (Perry

and Hondeghem, 2008). Both of these concepts—PSM and organisational commitment—are widely viewed as having normative, affective, and rational dimensions.

Crewson (1997) was first to explore the connection between PSM and organisational commitment. Specifically, he proposed that a preference for service over economic benefits should lead to greater commitment to the organisation (Crewson, 1997). Based on data from several surveys of public agencies in the United States, he found that public service motivation was consistently and positively correlated with organisational commitment. Consequently, Crewson argued that the findings had performance, recruitment and retention implications that required additional exploration. Crewson's research covered public employees in the United States. Subsequent studies in the US confirmed positive associations between higher levels of PSM and organisational commitment (Brewer and Selden, 1998; Ferdosipour and Montazeri, 2012; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Park and Rainey, 2007).

During the 2000s, researchers started analysing the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment in different national contexts. Perhaps, the first such study was conducted by Kim (2005), who found that PSM was positively associated with affective commitment of public workers in Korea. Consequently, both PSM and affective commitment were found to be positively related to organisational citizenship behaviour and job satisfaction. Finally, Kim's findings linked all four variables to improved organisational performance. These findings were re-confirmed by a later study by Kim (2012).

Camilleri's (2006) analysed, among other things, the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment within the Maltese Public Service. The findings of the study further highlighted the association between the two concepts. Camillieri suggested that the link between PSM and organisational commitment was established through both affective and normative motives. On the one hand, employees strongly identified themselves with the organisation and its goals (affective commitment); on the other hand, they felt a general

obligation to remain with their organisation (normative commitment). However, affective commitment appeared to be somewhat more important than normative commitment.

Cerese and Farinella (2006) came to similar conclusions while examining affective and continuance commitment and their association with PSM among Italian public workers. The authors considered affective motives in the analysis of PSM's association with organisational commitment. The findings for affective commitment as a correlate with PSM were significant across each dimension of PSM. Castaing (2006) surveyed three groups of French civil servants and found evidence that each dimension of organisational commitment correlated with the PSM construct. As was the case in Cerese and Farinella (2009), affective commitment turned out to be the strongest correlate with PSM. This was followed by normative and then continuance commitment. However, Castaing also found that it was hard for public managers to "strongly influence affective and normative commitment to the organisation by managing the psychological contract of civil servants" (p. 96). Therefore, Castaing suggested PSM was an antecedent, not an effect of organisational commitment.

Given the evidence from the above studies, it seems apparent that an individual's emotional attachment to the organisation is of particular importance for any effort to foster and sustain PSM. By offering a conducive emotional environment, public organisation managers, these studies suggest, could capitalise on the employee's desire to remain with the organisations and commit themselves to serving the public. With the opportunities to satisfy the desire to serve the public and the tools to do so, public organisations may foster a strong level of organisational commitment.

Other studies in a number of different national contexts demonstrated direct or indirect relationship between PSM and organisational commitment. In a study of Chinese public employees, Xiaohua (2008) showed that PSM had a positive direct relationship with organisational commitment. Leisink and Steijn (2009) examined the effects of PSM on work

outcomes of the Dutch public service employees and showed a positive direct association between PSM and organisational commitment. Two studies by Taylor (2007, 2008) showed positive influence of PSM on organisational commitment of public servants in Australia with the strongest correlates for affective and normative forms of commitment. Vandenaabeele (2009) found a significant positive association between PSM and organisational commitment of Belgian civil servants in addition to organisational commitment's mediating role in the relationship between PSM and organisational performance. Gould-Williams et al. (2014) examined the role of civic duty in motivation of public employees in the UK. Civic duty was found to have a positive significant relationship with affective commitment.

Table 2.1. Studies on the Relationship between PSM and Organisational Commitment

Author(s)/Year	Country	Sample of employees	Direct Relationship Confirmed?	Comments
Crewson (1997)	USA	-	Yes	First study to explore and confirm the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment.
Brewer and Selden (1998)	USA	2,188	Yes	PSM was found to be positively related to job commitment, which translated into a strong attachment to the organisation.
Moynihan and Pandey (2007)	USA	274	Yes	PSM was among other factors, such as individual attributes, job characteristics and organisational variables to positively influence organisational commitment.
Park and Rainey (2007)	USA	6,957	Yes	Explored the effect of public service oriented motivation, which is virtually the same as PSM.
Ferdosipour and Montazeri (2012)	USA	-	Yes	The study focused on public service managers. Strong positive relationship between PSM and organisational commitment was confirmed for this group.
Kim (2005)	Korea	1,739	Yes	PSM was positively associated specifically with affective commitment of public servants. Both PSM and affective commitment positively correlated with job satisfaction and organisation citizenship behaviour.

Kim (2012)	Korea	814	Yes	Re-confirmed the relationships of the previous study.
Camilleri (2006)	Malta	2,135	Yes	The relationship between PSM and organisational commitment was found to be reciprocal: the variables were showed to influence and reinforce each other.
Castaing (2006)	France	754	Yes	PSM was suggested to influence organisational commitment through the “psychological contract” of civil servants.
Xiaohua (2008)	China	319	Yes	PSM had a direct positive relationship with organisational commitment.
Cerese and Farinella (2009)	Italy	1,258	Yes	PSM positively and significantly correlated with all forms of organisational commitment, although affective motives turned out to be the strongest correlates.
Taylor (2007)	Australia	203	Yes	PSM had positive significant correlation with organisational commitment with the strongest correlates for affective and normative forms of commitment.
Taylor (2008)	Australia	2,274	Yes	PSM had positive significant correlation with organisational commitment with the strongest correlates for affective and normative forms of commitment. The results were significant for both public and private sector employees.
Leisink and Steijn (2009)	Netherlands	4,130	Yes	Positive direct relationship between PSM and organisational commitment was found.
Vandenabeele (2009)	Belgium	3,506	Yes	Besides being a strong correlate with PSM, organisational commitment was a strong mediator between PSM and organisational performance.
Gould-Williams, Bottomley, Redman, Snape, Bishop, Limpanitgul and Mostafa (2014)	UK	1,755	Yes	A specific aspect of PSM, civic duty, was found to be significantly and positively correlated with affective commitment.

In general, it can be said that available studies unanimously support the relationship between PSM and the organisational commitment of public servants. Among the sixteen located studies on the subject (Table 2.1.), there were none reporting an absence of the relationship between the two. Importantly, the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment was confirmed for different national contexts: USA, Australia, Korea, the Netherlands, Malta, France, China, Belgium and the UK. In line with the existing literature evidence this study predicts that:

Hypothesis 1a: PSM will have a positive relationship with organisational commitment.

2.3.2 PSM and Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is, perhaps, the most commonly explored outcome of PSM. The concept has several conceptually close definitions. Locke (1976, p. 1304) defined job satisfaction as the “a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one’s job or job experience” (Saari and Judge, 2004). Spector (1997) provided a more simplistic definition by stating that job satisfaction refers to “an individual’s general attitude toward his or her job” (p. 2). Similarly, Robbins (1998) viewed job satisfaction as a measure of attitude towards a job. More recently, Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2012) viewed job satisfaction in the form of an evaluation that expresses an individual’s “contentment with, and positive feelings about one’s job” (p. 347).

In the literature, job satisfaction is considered either from a global or specific perspective. The former focuses on individual’s overall satisfaction, while the latter only considers specific aspects of job, such as compensation, relationships with supervisors and co-workers and working conditions (Spector, 1997). The second perspective, however, is seen as inferior because it makes it hard to distinguish the concept of job satisfaction from its determinants (Vandenabeele, 2013). Therefore, a global approach to defining job satisfaction is preferred. From the perspective of PSM, a public service employee would be more satisfied with a job

that allows them to deliver meaningful services that are beneficial for society (Perry and Hondeghem, 2008). However, factors such as working conditions and relationships with colleagues and supervisors are likely to play a role as well. For example, poor personal relationships with co-workers may create negative perceptions of people. Working conditions may be such that they restrain personal initiative in helping others. Supervisors may assign individuals to jobs that they do not consider meaningful in benefiting society at large. As a result, job satisfaction can be considered as a product of multiple contextual factors and job characteristics.

The relationship between PSM and job satisfaction is important for public management theory. On the one hand, the impact of PSM on human resource outcomes in public sector is widely recognised (Bright, 2010; Perry et al., 2010). It is logical to expect then that PSM can provide a unique source of satisfaction for public servants in case they consider their job pro-social and publicly needed. On the other hand, an employee satisfied with his or her job is likely to contribute more to the organisation. Empirical investigations showed that job satisfaction is strongly related to many other work-related outcomes (Kim, 2005; Lambert et al., 2001; MacKenzie, et al., 1998; Nimalathan and Brabete, 2010; Warsi et al., 2009). Specifically, job satisfaction is often related to better employee performance (Nimalathan and Brabete, 2010). Studies also found connections between job satisfaction and organisational commitment (Kim, 2005; Warsi et al., 2009) as well as between job satisfaction and organisational citizenship behaviour (Chiu and Chen, 2005; Kim, 2005; Vilela et al., 2008). Employees having a high degree of job satisfaction are also less likely to quit and more likely to contribute more to the overall organisational performance (Kim, 2005; Lambert et al., 2001). These findings make the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction one of the key relationships to consider in the theory and practice of PSM. It is then not surprising that job satisfaction is the most researched employee outcome in PSM studies.

Rainey (1982) was the first to consider the possible relationship between PSM and job satisfaction. Focusing on differences between public and private organisations' management in terms of rewards, Rainey argued that public sector managers could derive unique satisfaction from working in positions that contribute to the public good. Perry and Wise (1990) considered job satisfaction as a major outcome of PSM, because people who have a chance to serve the public interest are likely to be more satisfied with the job they do. The first empirical investigations of the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction, however, came to light only at the end of the 1990s. Brewer and Selden (1998) found that whistle-blowers in the US federal civil service demonstrated higher levels of job satisfaction. The authors concluded that whistle-blowers were driven by the concern of public interest and, therefore, their behaviours were in line with PSM theory. Naff and Crum (1999) provided further support for the PSM-job satisfaction relationship by using data from nearly 10,000 US federal employees and applying the original PSM scale by Perry (1996).

A positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction was generally reported in the studies focusing on European and Australian national contexts, although the degree of the relationship also varied. Steijn (2008) found a strong positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction on a sample of public and private organisations' workers in the Netherlands. Andersen and Kjeldsen (2013) also reported a strong positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction on a sample of public and private organisations' employees in Denmark. A moderately strong relationship between PSM and job satisfaction was reported by Cerase and Farinella (2009) in a study of administrative workers in Italy. Vandenabeele (2009) found job satisfaction as a significant mediator between PSM and employee performance. Finally, Gould-Williams et al. (2014) found a positive relationship between a specific component of PSM (civic duty) and job satisfaction in a study of public organisation employees in the UK. In Australia, a series of

studies by Taylor (2007, 2008, 2014) confirmed the positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction.

Outside of the Western context of public administration, PSM and its relationship to job satisfaction has been recently gaining a lot of attention in Asia, especially China. Between 2008 and 2014, at least eight studies researching the PSM-job satisfaction in China could be located. In general, these studies confirmed the positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction, although some dimensions of PSM proved to be more influential than others. Xiaohua (2008) showed that PSM was positively related to the job satisfaction of Chinese graduate students of public administration. Liu, Tang and Zhu (2008) found that PSM was positively related to the job satisfaction of Chinese administrative employees, although the study did not find a significant relationship between the compassion dimension of PSM and job satisfaction. Similar findings were reached in two subsequent studies by Liu and colleagues. Liu (2009) found a positive relationship between two specific dimensions of PSM (commitment to public service and self-sacrifice) and job satisfaction. Liu, Zhang, and Lv (2014) also found a positive relationship between PSM's specific dimension of compassion and the job satisfaction of the Chinese public servants. Liu and Tang (2011) confirmed the positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction, although they also showed that the relationship could be mediated by the factor of money. Two recent studies showed that PSM has a significant positive influence on job satisfaction among Chinese administrative workers (Kaipeng and Xuefei, 2014; Zhu, Wu, and Yan, 2014).

Apart from the Chinese context, PSM's influence on job satisfaction was also explored and confirmed in other Asian countries. Kim (2005) found that PSM was positively related to job satisfaction among public servants in Korea, and that both PSM and job satisfaction related to better organisational performance. These findings were confirmed in a later study by Kim (2012). Sunaryo and Suyono (2013) confirmed the positive relationship between PSM and job

satisfaction on a sample of public workers in Indonesia. Job satisfaction in that study was also linked to higher OCB.

The studies exploring the link between PSM and job satisfaction among employees in public sectors are shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Studies on the Relationship between PSM and Job Satisfaction

Author(s)/Year	Country	Sample of Employees	Direct Relationship Confirmed?	Comments
Brewer and Selden (1998)	USA	2,188	Yes	First study to support the PSM-job satisfaction relationship.
Naff and Crum (1999)	USA	9,710	Yes	Higher levels of PSM were related to high levels of job satisfaction.
Moynihan and Pandey (2007)	USA	274	Yes	Direct strong relationship between PSM and job satisfaction
Park and Rainey (2007)	USA	6,957	Yes	Public service oriented motivation (PSOM) positively influenced employee job satisfaction
Bright (2008)	USA	205	No	Relationship between PSM and job satisfaction fully mediated by person-organisation fit
Wright and Pandey (2008)	USA	206	No	Relationship between PSM and job satisfaction mediated by employee-organisation value congruence
Na and Zhu (2010)	USA	-	No	Relationship between PSM and job satisfaction mediated by perceived organisational support
Caillier (2014)	USA	-	No	Relationship between PSM and job satisfaction fully mediated by mission valence
Steijn (2008)	Netherlands	6,449	Yes	PSM had positive relationship with job satisfaction in both private and public organisations
Cerese and Farinella (2009)	Italy	1,258	Yes	Moderate relationship between PSM and job satisfaction reported
Vandenabeele (2009)	Belgium	3,506	Yes	Moderate relationship between PSM and job satisfaction reported. Job satisfaction

				also reported as a mediator between PSM and employee performance
Castaing (2006)	France	754	Yes	Moderate relationship between PSM and job satisfaction reported
Gould-Williams, Bottomley, Redman, Snape, Bishop, Limpanitgul and Mostafa (2014)	UK	1,755	Yes	Specific aspect of PSM, civil duty, had a positive relationship with job satisfaction
Andersen and Kjeldsen (2013)	Denmark	2,811	Yes	The relationship between PSM and job satisfaction does not differ significantly between private and public sector organisations
Taylor (2007)	Australia	203	Yes	Moderate relationship between PSM and job satisfaction reported
Taylor (2008)	Australia	2,274	Yes	Moderate relationship between PSM and job satisfaction reported. The relationship is significant for both private and public organisations
Taylor (2014)	Australia	233	Yes	Moderate relationship between PSM and job satisfaction reported
Liu, Tang and Zhu, (2008)	China	191	Yes	Strong positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction except for compassion dimension of PSM
Liu (2009)	China	99 for study A, 473 for study B	Yes	Commitment and self-sacrifice dimensions had a strong positive relationship with job satisfaction
Liu and Tang (2011)	China	167	Yes	Relationship between PSM and job satisfaction mediated by money
Chunkui (2011)	China	319	Yes	PSM had a positive effect on employee job satisfaction
Cun (2012)	China	-	Yes	PSM and job satisfaction also had positive relationships with organisational citizenship behaviour
Liu, Zhang and Lv (2014)	China	135	Yes	The Compassion dimension of PSM was strongly related to job satisfaction

Zhu, Wu, Yan (2014)	China	1,027	Yes	PSM had strong positive relationship with job satisfaction
Kaipeng and Xuefei (2014)	China	325	Yes	PSM had strong positive relationship with job satisfaction
Kim (2005)	Korea	1,739	Yes	PSM and job satisfaction are both positively correlated with organisational citizenship behaviour and organisational performance
Kim (2012)	Korea	814	Yes	PSM and job satisfaction are both positively correlated with organisational citizenship behaviour and organisational performance
Sunaryo and Suyono (2013)	Indonesia	136	Yes	PSM and job satisfaction both linked to stronger organisational citizenship behaviour
Kjeldsen and Andersen (2013)	Australia, Canada, the USA and 11 countries from Europe	19,373	Yes	The PSM-job satisfaction relationship is confirmed across nations, although to varying degrees.
Taylor and Westover (2011)	USA, Canada, UK, Germany, France, Denmark, and Norway	4,595	Yes	The PSM-job satisfaction relationship is confirmed across nations, although to various degree and nature

Several important observations can be drawn from the reported results. An immediate observation is that, unlike organisational commitment, job satisfaction was not univocally linked to PSM. Several studies did not find direct relationships between PSM and this construct (Bright, 2008; Caillier, 2014; Na and Zhu, 2010; Stazyk, 2010; Wright and Pandey, 2008). Two factors are important to consider here. First, it seems that the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction was affected by mediators. Bright (2008) found that the relationship was fully mediated by person-organisation fit – a degree of compatibility between public service employees and their organisations. Such fit exists when employees and organisations share the same values. In relation to public service, it defines to what extent internally held PSM values

are congruent with organisational goals and operations. It, therefore, determines to what extent employees are satisfied with their position and work they perform. Another identified mediator was perceived organisational support – the degree to which employees believed that organisations cared about them and values their contributions (Na and Zhu, 2010). Full mediation in this regard demonstrated that public service employees sought organisational support in their desire to serve public in order to be satisfied with their jobs. Finally, two studies by Wright and Pandey (2008) showed evidence of full mediation by value congruence, while their second study (Wright and Pandey, 2011) and the study by Caillier (2014) showed full mediation by mission valence. Taken together, these mediations showed the importance of organisational environment for job satisfaction. Second, all six studies showing no direct relationship between PSM and job satisfaction were conducted in the United States. While earlier investigations in the US demonstrated positive links between PSM and job satisfaction (Brewer and Selden, 1998; Naff and Crum, 1999; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007), starting from 2008 studies, no direct effects were observed.

Both factors point to the likely effects of national context and, by extension, institutions. It is also notable that while the PSM-job satisfaction relationship is universal, its degree and nature vary from country to country. This further suggests that specific institutional factors may be in play. Still, considering that this study is conducted outside the United States and that the link between PSM and job satisfaction was confirmed in the non-US context studies, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H1b: PSM will have a positive relationship with job satisfaction.

2.3.3 PSM and Intention to Quit

According to Chang et al. (2013), intention to quit refers to the extent to which an employee wants to leave the organisation. The concept is often used interchangeably with intent to leave and turnover intentions (Khatri et al., 2001; Price, 2001). It is considered the best predictor of

employee turnover (Barrick and Zimmerman, 2005; Griffeth et al., 2000; Lee and Bruvold, 2003). Intention to quit is often used in management research rather than actual turnover behaviour, as the latter is influenced by extraneous factors, such as the availability of alternative jobs (Khatri, et al., 2001). Therefore, actual turnover may be low even though employee turnover intentions are high. If such is the case, then low labour turnover would conceal the effects of poor management practices. Further, according to Hanisch (2002), quit intentions are usually associated with negative employee behaviours such as absenteeism, tardiness, and unauthorized breaks, which in turn may negatively affect the quality of public service delivery. Ultimately, higher intention to quit among employees is associated with lower organisational effectiveness due to low levels of morale and consequent withdrawal behaviours (Chang et al., 2013).

From the perspective of PSM, satisfaction with one's job should be related to the ability to satisfy the need to help the others. Assuming that public sector organisations can provide opportunities for employees to satisfy their altruistic motives, then public employees with high PSM should be more likely to identify themselves with their organisation. Consequently, they will develop a strong emotional attachment to their organisation, be more willing to work toward the achievement of its goals, and less likely to quit (Gould-Williams et al., 2014).

Naff and Crum (1999) is perhaps the first study to directly explore the relationship between PSM and intention to quit showed that those with higher levels of PSM were less likely to quit their jobs. Later studies used conceptually close to intention to leave constructs in explaining the relationship with PSM. Giaque et al. (2012) explored the effect of PSM on resignation in Swiss public service. The study discovered a strong positive correlation between PSM's dimensions of compassion and self-sacrifice and resignation. In a study of PSM outcomes in the Dutch civil service, Steijn (2008) found that PSM fit was positively related to employees' desire to stay in their jobs. Similar results were reached by Park and Rainey (2008) in the

United States, although they considered public service oriented motives rather than PSM. Na and Zhu (2010) also found that PSM's negative relationship with turnover intentions remains even despite the absence of a significant relationship between PSM and job satisfaction. However, Gould-Williams et al (2014) found that there was no significant relationship between commitment to public interest and intention to quit of local government employees in the UK. Still, the negative relationship between PSM and intention to quit has not been confirmed universally. Bright (2008) found the PSM relationship to turnover intentions was fully mediated by person-organisation fit. Similar results were obtained later by Caillieri (2014) on a sample of US public service employees and by Gould-Williams et al. (2015) on a sample of 671 public service employees in Egypt. Table 2.3 presents a list of studies that explored the link between PSM and intention to quit among public employees.

Table 2.3. Studies on the Relationship between PSM and Intention to Quit

Author(s)/Year	Country	Sample of Employees	Direct Relationship Confirmed?	Comments
Naff and Crum (1999)	USA	9,710	Yes	First study to show the negative link between PSM and intention to quit
Bright (2008)	USA	205	No	No significant relationship between PSM and turnover intentions when mediated by person organisation fit
Park and Rainey (2008)	USA	6,900	Yes	Public service oriented motivation negatively related to turnover intentions
Na and Zhu (2010)	USA	-	Yes	PSM is negatively related to turnover intentions
Caillieri (2014)	USA	-	No	PSM is positively related to lower turnover intentions.
Gould-Williams et al. (2015)	Egypt	671	No	The relationship was fully mediated by person organisation fit.
Gould-Williams et al. (2014)	UK	1755	No	No significant relationship between commitment to public interest and intention to quit

Castaing (2006)	France	754	Yes	PSM is positively related to continuance commitment.
Steijn (2008)	Netherlands	6,449	Yes	PSM fit is positively related to intention to stay.
Cerese and Farinella (2009)	Italy	1,258	Yes	PSM is positively related to continuance commitment.
Giaque t al. (2012)	Switzerland	3,754	Mixed	The Compassion and Self-Sacrifice dimensions of PSM had positive effect on resignation.

As is seen, despite its importance, empirical research of the relationship between PSM and intention to quit is not as extensive as in the case of organisational commitment and job satisfaction. In the absence of strong confirmatory results, the evidence for a direct relationship between PSM and intention to quit seems even less convincing than for job satisfaction. Again, however, notable presence of mediators can be observed in the studies where no direct relationship between the constructs was observed. Once again, this may point to the subtle role of institutional factors in the aforementioned relationship. Given that the majority of the reported studies did find negative relationship between PSM and intention to quit and considering the theoretical claims of the negative relationship, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H1c: PSM will have a negative relationship with intention to quit.

2.4 Institutional Influences on PSM

2.4.1 Importance of Institutions in PSM Studies

So far, PSM has been discussed as an antecedent variable of employee outcomes such as organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit. However, as an attitude variable, PSM itself and its outcomes can be influenced by certain factors. This assumption arises from the different levels of PSM observed in various contextual and socio-cultural settings as discussed above. Such factors are likely to be institutions. March and Olsen (1995)

viewed institutions as directly or indirectly formalised interrelated practices and routines. Such a definition of institutions is similar to the one provided by Peters (2000), which emphasised the presence of social structures, values, rules and norms guiding individual behaviours. Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) proposed that institutions are “social structures infused with values and rules [which] are embedded across societies” (p. 58).

When proposing the original definition of PSM, Perry and Wise (1990) explicitly noted that PSM is a product of motives “grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations” (p. 368). Despite the fact that definitions of PSM have evolved over time, Vandenabeele (2007a) argued that regardless of differences in these definitions they all are grounded in institutions. This assertion echoes claims made by organisational researchers in general. DiMaggio and Powell (1991), for example, asserted that organisations and organisational processes are deeply embedded in institutional contexts. Paauwe and Boselie (2003) argued that “organisational practices are either a direct reflection of, or response to, rules and structures built into their larger environment” (p. 59). Kaufman (2011) proposed that, in general, institutions matter in all kinds of organisational studies.

PSM researchers have started paying more attention to the institutional grounding of PSM by considering institutional frameworks surrounding national public administrations (Anderfuhren-Biget, 2012; Camilleri, 2007; Peng and Pandey, 2013; Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele et al., 2006; Vandenabeele et al., 2008). Many see this as an important step in conceptualising multifarious institutional influences on PSM and linking PSM empirically to institutional factors (Houston, 2011; Anderfuhren-Biget, 2012; Meyer et al., 2014). Consequently, in their comment on advancing the PSM research, Moynihan, Vandenabeele and Blom-Hansen (2013) asserted that PSM “should never be seen apart from its institutional environment” (p. 289). This proposition is logical given that despite more than two decades of research, there is still much uncertainty about what may cause and influence

PSM (Meyer et al., 2014; Wright and Grant, 2010). The importance of studying the influence of institutions on PSM is further established within two major theoretical views - The Process Theory and The Institutional Perspective on PSM.

2.4.2 The Process Theory of PSM

The Process Theory of PSM is the original theory proposed by Perry (2000) where he criticised the traditional rational choice model of behaviour. Perry presented an “alternative” motivation theory based on four key principles (p. 476). First, humans are motivated by rational, normative and affective processes. In Perry’s view, social norms and responses to various social contexts were as important for behaviour as utility maximisation. This assertion laid the foundation for multidimensional scale of PSM which mapped the processes to four dimensions: attraction to public policy with rational process; commitment to civic duty and public interest with normative process; and compassion with affective process.

The second assumption of Perry’s theory is that people are motivated by their self-concepts. Perry drew on March and Olsen’s (1989) work that distinguished a logic of appropriateness from a logic of consequence. According to March and Olsen, the former invokes behaviour based on what a person considers appropriate while the latter – by calculation of the expected costs, benefits and alternative choices. Perry (2000) argued that the logic of appropriateness matters more in the context of public service. In other words, people may behave in ways that they consider appropriate but which may not necessarily be in their self-interest. Further, the rules that define what is appropriate are institutionalised in social practices and become internalised by individuals.

The third assumption of Perry’s theory is that “preferences or values should be endogenous to any theory of motivation” (Perry, 2000, p. 478). Preferences and values, according to Perry, have to be strongly considered in motivation theories, something that motivation researchers had failed to do prior to the Process Theory. Because preferences and values become internal

standards, they guide individual behaviour and, by extension, motivate. Rational choice, according to Perry, cannot explain how the internal preferences and values are formed and what their effect might be.

The final assumption of Perry's theory is that "preferences are learned in social processes" (Perry, 2000, p. 478). Specifically, individuals form their values and preferences, among other things, by being exposed to social institutions. Based on the works of Selznik (1957), Scott (1987), Friedland and Alford (1987) and others, Perry proposed that social institutions play the central role in defining social values. Institutional logic – the composition of social institutions and belief systems they form – is the mechanism through which values are defined and appropriate behaviours are established.

As is seen, the key assumptions within Process Theory emphasise the importance of institutions. Individual's self-concept serves as sort of filter through which motivation takes place, and this concept, according to the Process Theory, neither exists nor is formed in a social vacuum. As a result, values and identities that formulate behaviour are influenced by exposure to institutions and their mechanisms. This influence on PSM becomes clearer through the conceptual framework of The Process Theory presented in Figure 2.1.

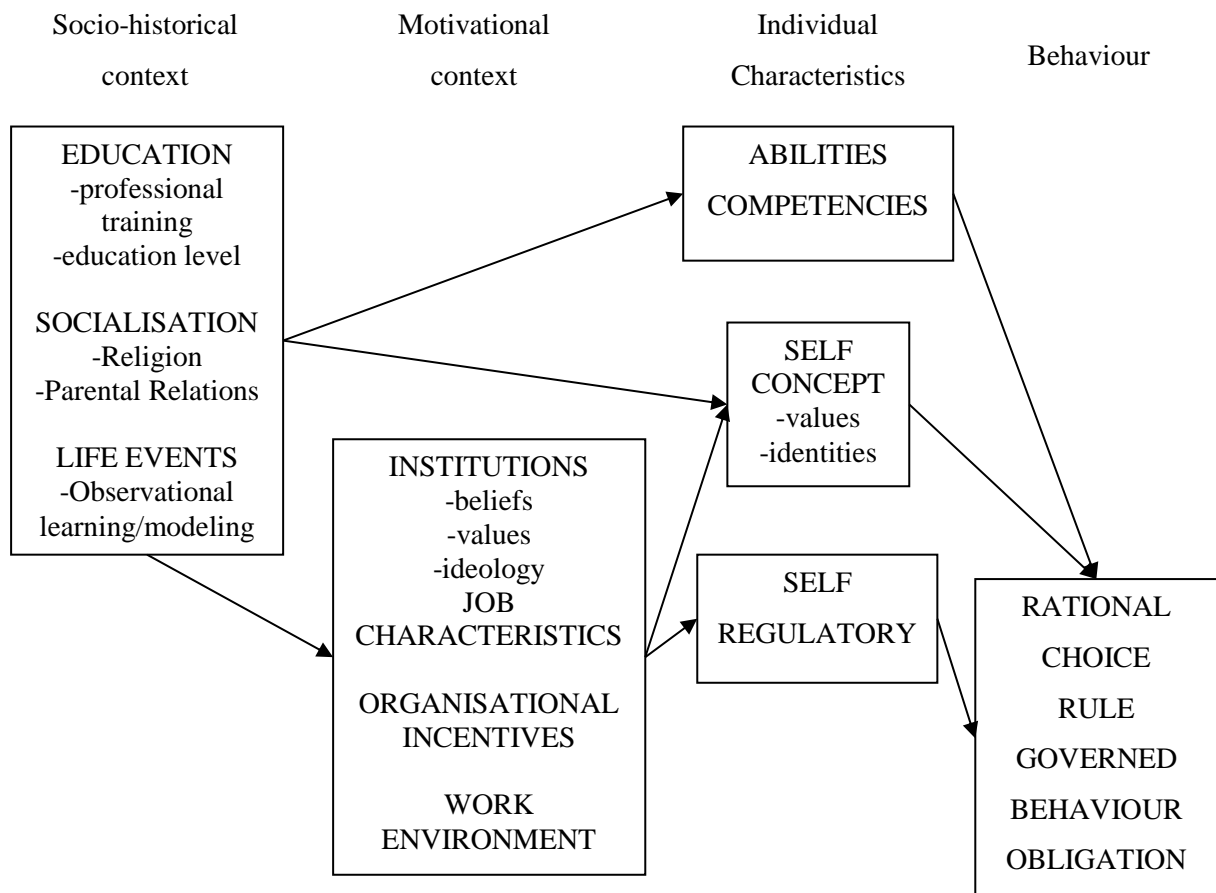


Figure 2.1. *The Process Theory of PSM* (Perry, 2000, p. 481)

As follows from the framework, individual behaviours are product of individual characteristics, which are, in turn, influenced by two types of contexts – socio-historical and motivational. In this regard, Perry (2000) mentioned that “a key to formalising a theory of public service motivation is an understanding of the environmental variables that shape individual preferences and motives” (p. 480). Within the socio-historical context, such environmental variables are social institutions of families, religion, schools as well as life events in both inside and outside of organisational settings. Within the motivational context, such variables are government institutions and organisational factors such as work environment, job characteristics and organisational incentives. Individual characteristics, which consist of abilities, competencies, self-concept and self-regulation, react to the contexts and form a basis for behaviour. Perry (2000) stressed that in relation to PSM development, the logic of appropriateness is more

important than the logic of consequence. This is because public servants are motivated by interests that attract them to public service. Such interests are helping others and promoting the common good.

The Process Theory and its main postulates have been tested by many public administration researchers (e.g. Anderfuhren-Biget, 2012; Andersen, 2009; Brewer, 2010; Brewer and Selden, 1998; Bright, 2008; Horton and Hondeghem, 2006; Hondeghem and Perry, 2009; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Peng and Pandey, 2013; Perry *et al.*, 2010). However, the results of these studies were inconsistent both with sociohistorical and motivational contexts (e.g. Perry, 1997; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Giauque *et al.*, 2010). Given the concerns related to Perry's PSM framework, PSM scholars started drawing from a range of institutional and social theories in order to produce stronger theoretical foundations for identifying factors influencing PSM. In this regard, a comprehensive attempt was made by Vandenabeele (2007) who expanded the original PSM framework by supplanting it with institutional theory, the concept of identity and motivational psychology based on self-determination theory. This work laid the foundation for what can be considered an institutional perspective on PSM.

2.4.3 Institutional Perspective on PSM

The institutional perspective on PSM brings together three strands of research. It is built upon the motivation theory proposed by Perry (2000), the institutional logic offered by Vandenabeele (2007) and several identity theories to explain the process through which institutions influence motivation. Consequently, the conceptual framework of the institutional perspective on PSM includes institutions that transmit institutional logics onto individuals; the public service identity that absorbs the logic and interprets it; and the behaviour that is an outcome of the self-regulation process (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). The framework is shown in Figure 2.2. Each element and mechanism in the framework is discussed below.

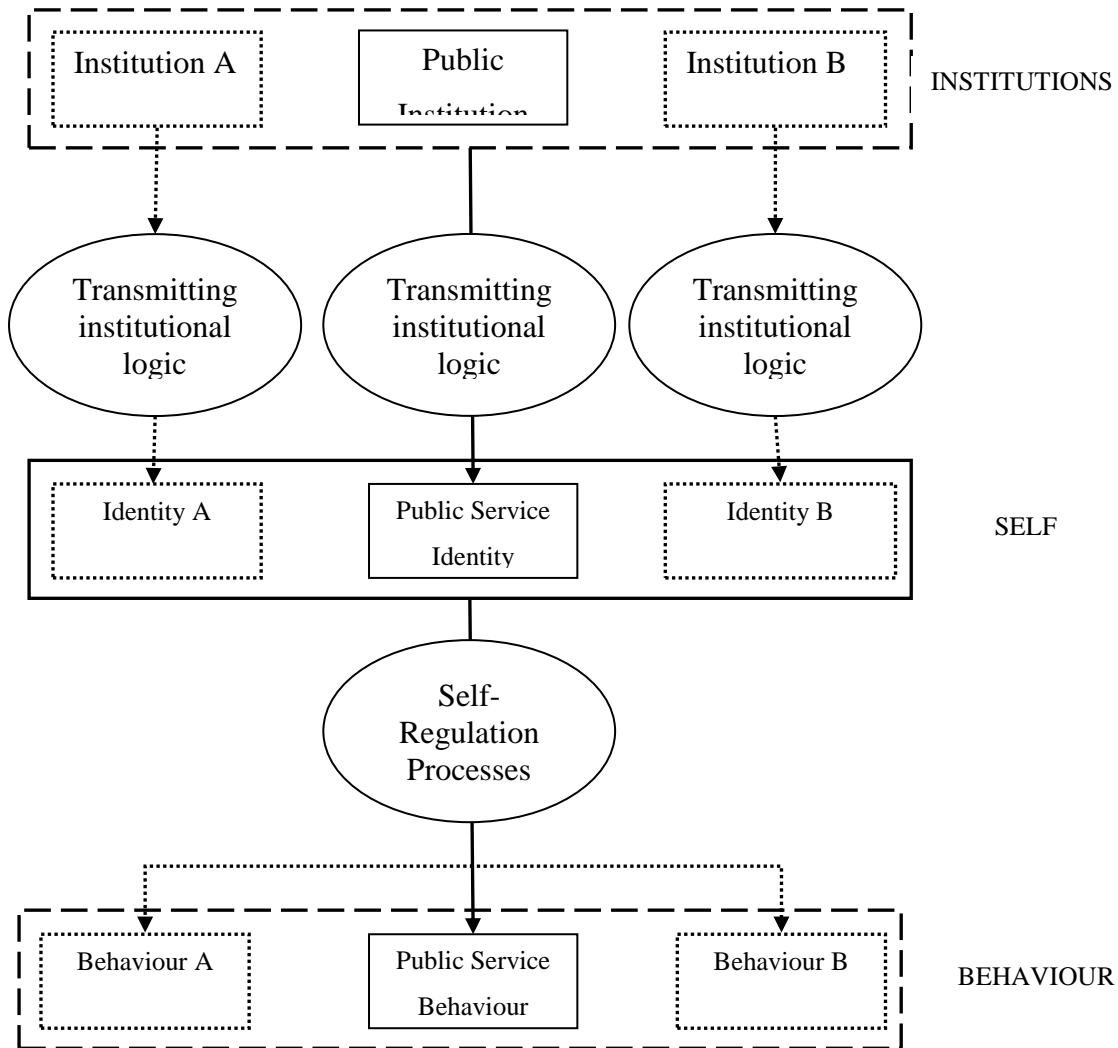


Figure 2.2. *Institutional Perspective on Motivation* (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008, p. 57)

2.4.3.1. *The Role of Institutions*

As in The Process Theory, institutions play the key role in explaining motivation within the institutional perspective on PSM. Institutions are defined within the framework as “social structures infused with values and rules [which are] embedded across societies in religion, family, and other social structures” (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008, p. 58). March and Olsen (1995) argued that institutions not only define and constrain behavioural alternatives, but also define individual preferences. Consequently, institutions both indirectly and directly influence individual behaviour motives. This is translated in expectations of how people are expected or

supposed to act. March and Olsen (1989) attributed this to “the routines, procedures, conventions, organisational forms and technologies” from which actions are derived and which encompass codes, beliefs, knowledge and culture (p. 22).

Politt and Bouckaert (2004) offered an extensive analysis of how institutions are country specific and how they influence public service reforms in different parts of the world. Further, Raadschelders (2003) and Scott (2001) wrote that national institutions have a defining power to what could be considered the key values in a national society. These aspects are especially important for PSM research. On the one hand, PSM originated within a specific cultural context (USA), and its relationship with employee outcomes was often measured without taking into account different cultural contexts. On the other hand, it has been widely reported that public administrations within different socio-cultural frameworks are divergent in terms of management based on different institutional groundings (e.g. Camilleri 2007; Perry, 2000; Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele *et al.*, 2006; Vandenabeele *et al.*, 2008). This encourages further investigation of the role of institutions in PSM and its outcomes. Institutions, being value based, structured, influential social aspects can become both antecedents and explanatory variables in such relationships. To understand the exact mechanism behind institutional influence on individual behaviour, it is necessary to look at the concept and mechanisms of institutional logic.

2.4.3.2 Public Institutional Logic

Institutional logic, also known as logic of appropriateness, was introduced by Friedland and Alford (1987) who defined it as “a set of material practices and symbolic constructions—which constitutes its organising principles” (p. 248). Central to this view was that human society is an inter-institutional system. Institutions provide different sets of beliefs and cognitions that are shared by their members. Friedland and Alford (1987) used the concept to distinguish the

major belief systems in the grand institutional regimes such as capitalism, bureaucracy, democracy, family and religion. These regimes in their work were represented by their own institutional logics that established organising principles, practices and bases of legitimation. Central to the idea of a public institutional logic are two commonalities: the normative character of private and public and the idea of community (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). The former assumes that public is normatively distinctive from private, while the latter asserts that humans have a shared common life and identity and have concern for others (Benn and Gaus, 1983; March and Olsen, 1995).

A more comprehensive view on an institutional logic was offered by Thornton and Ocasio (1999) who defined it as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (p. 804). They clarified the construct by providing several principles that underlie it. The first principle is *embedded agency* – a set of interests, identities, values and assumptions embedded within the prevailing institutional logic (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, p. 103). Decision making according to this principle is a product of interaction between individual agency and institutional structures. This principle distinguishes institutional logics from rational choice perspectives that emphasise individualistic interests (Ingram and Klay, 2000; Schneiber and Clemens, 2006)).

The second principle underlying an institutional logic is, in line with Friedland and Alford (1987), is the *view of society as an inter-institutional system*. Such a view assumes that there are multiple sources of rationality prompted by the contending logics of different institutions. In other words, organisations in public sector can be influenced by the institutional logics of the democratic state, national culture and public service professions. Additionally, individuals working in an organisation can be influenced by organisational factors, religious societies of

which they are members, families and other institutions. In other words, institutional logics are multidimensional, coming from various institutions and resulting in heterogeneous attitudes and behaviours in organisations and individuals.

The third principle of an institutional logic is the material and cultural foundations of institutions (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, p. 105). According to this principle, institutional orders possess both cultural and material characteristics even when these are not immediately noticeable. For example, the institution of free market has an undeniable material side to it, but it also has a cultural dimension dealing with the "right thing to do" because its origins are located in values and utilities. Further, institutional logic incorporates symbolic, cognitive and normative dimensions of culture (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Friedland and Alford, 1987; Geertz, 1973; Mizruchi and Fein, 1999). These dimensions allow institutions to offer individuals a highly contingent set of social norms that ensure that behaviour is driven by a logic of appropriateness (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). These norms, in turn, are drawn from institutional experiences and exemplars (Ocasio, 1999).

The fourth principle of an institutional logic is that it is present at multiple levels: individual, organisational and societal (Friedland and Alford, 1987; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). This allows for flexibility of analysis. It also makes the organisational field "central" to institutional theory because being between society and organisation it is instrumental in disseminating and reproducing socially developed expectations and practices (Greenwood et al., 2002). Because the organisational field is commonly referred to as an industry or sector, this principle asserts that the institutional logic in private and public organisations will typically be different.

Different institutional logics lead to formation of particular organisational types by determining their designs, governance and objectives (Meyer et al., 2014). Scholarship has defined a traditional public institutional logic having foundations in legalism and bureaucracy with the core values being public interest, equity, and professionalism among others (Pollitt and

Bouckaert, 2004). A private, or market, organizational logic emphasizes competition, performance orientation and efficiency (Lynn, 2006; Politt and Bouckaert, 2004). It is not difficult to see that these two logics are inherently different and, therefore, shape different kinds of values and employee identities. Public administration research stresses that public service employees' behaviors are strongly influenced by a public service ethos – willingness to provide something to society through work (Buchanan, 1975; Horton, 2008; Brewer and Selden, 1998). This, in turn, gets manifested in motivation to serve the good of society at large. Public service domain offers more opportunities for this through the tasks and activities it provides (Bright, 2005; Wright, 2008). A public institutional logic then offers frames of reference and organizing principles that play an important role in shaping a public service identity. It activates the values and worldview associated with public service which a market logic does not. A public service identity, in turn, mediates between a public institutional logic and PSM so that “individuals with a high PSM strongly identify with the traditional values, worldviews, and frames of reference provided by [this] institutional logic” (Meyer et al., 2014, p. 877). PSM then can be considered the micro-level manifestation of a public institutional logic, and its level determines how strongly it is applied at work.

The final principle of an institutional logic is historical contingency (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, p. 108). The major takeaway from this principle is that the relative influence of institutions shifts over time. A clear example of this principle in action is the rise of the market logic in Middle Eastern countries whereby absolute dominance of religion is declining among the younger generation.

In sum, institutional logic is a product of inter-institutional society. It represents practices, beliefs and symbolic constructions by which individuals structure the world and make it meaningful (Meyer et al., 2014). The development of an institutional logic is inevitable in organisational settings because they cannot be considered outside of the context of the various

institutions in which they are embedded. When it comes to PSM, it is rooted in various institutions as was demonstrated by Perry (1997) and other researchers (Brewer and Selden 1998; Bright 2008; Horton and Hondeghem 2006; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). As a result, public service motivated behaviour can be considered as a product of institutional logics. The mechanisms through which such logics are transmitted are considered further.

2.4.3.3 Mechanisms for Transmitting Institutional Logic

According to Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), a public institutional logic has to be transmitted to the individual level to influence behaviour. This transfer is conducted through a series of distinct but overlapping mechanisms: socialization, social identification, cultural preferences, and social learning. *Socialisation* is the process that maintains institutions and distributes them among the institutional members. Institutions are maintained by means of providing institutional membership to individuals through the processes of externalisation, objectification and internalisation added by the mechanisms of control (Scott, 2001). These processes and mechanisms are described within Berger and Luckmann's (1967) Social Construction of Reality theory which claims that socialisation is the most important supporting factor for institutions and it takes place through identification with significant others. An institutional perspective then allows development of different institutions in different contexts over time and within specific historical and cultural paradigms. In the end, institutions define rules, values and norms that exert influence on individual decision making process within specific contexts.

Close to socialisation concept is the idea of *social identification*, which was introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1985). This concept implies that people form identities based on how they classify themselves in terms of social categories (Tajfel and Turner, 1985). They become closer to and more supportive of the institutions they represent through collective identities – the

cognitive, normative and emotional connectivity by members of a particular social group (Polleta and Jasper, 2001). This identity actually arises through the process of communication and socialisation. Those who share a collective identity are likely to cooperate with the members of the group with which they associate, follow its prescribed behaviours and protect the interests of the group (March and Olsen, 1989). According to Meyer et al. (2014) the work of identity is in connecting institutional orders, field level making and the sense-making of individuals.

The third mechanism that helps transmit an institutional logic is *culture*. According to Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) culture's importance as a public institutional logic transmission mechanism is in being a source of preferences. Wildavsky (1987) wrote that preferences emerge from social interaction and that they serve to either oppose or defend various ways of life. Consequently, in making important decisions, the choices made are the choices of culture, which are "shared values legitimating different patterns of social practice" (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 5). Relevant to institutions, cultural theory asserts that preferences are formed through supporting opposing or defending institutions: individuals observe how institutions operate on the private-public dichotomy of agency, interest and access and respond in emotional and cognitive ways to patterns of social practices. Consequently, preferences become internalised over time. In other words, culture defines shared values that legitimise social practice patterns among institutional members. These values shape individuals' identities and preferences.

The final mechanism for public institutional logic transmittance within Perry and Vandenabeele's (2008) framework is *social learning*. Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977) posits that learning and social context are inseparable: learning takes place through observation, instruction or direct involvement. Consequently, it is society that forms the rules that motivate individual behavioural decisions. Bandura (1986) noted that "by observing others, one forms rules of behaviour, and on future occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action"

(p. 47). Applied to public institutional logic, this translates into forming behavioural patterns based in norms and standards that are common within the relevant institutions.

2.4.3.4 Self and Identity

Vandenabeele (2007) suggested identity as a key to the process of moving from institutional to individual level. Indeed, prominent institutional theorists claimed that identity could be an important aspect in this (March and Olsen, 1995; Scott, 2001). Earlier studies considered identity as constituting the element of “self” (Stryker, 1980). Later studies emphasised different interpretations of self and identities linked to it. For example, a role identity, that is seeing oneself in a specific role, is distinguished from a social identity (seeing oneself as a group member) and from a personal identity (seeing oneself different from others) (Stets and Burke, 2005). However, all these forms are defined in terms of social structures (Vandenabeele, 2007). Albert and Whetten (1985) saw identities as constructed upon normative and cultural institutions, and Stryker (1980) saw identity as one’s internalised position within an institution. As such, institutional theory recognises identity but gives it an individual level perspective. This makes identity an important connecting element between institutions and behaviour. According to Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), “any motivational scheme tied to a logic of appropriateness gives self-concept or identity a central role” (p. 63). The concept of self is usually linked to answering the question “Who am I?” and this serves as an important point in motivational research. This was recognised early by Foote (1951) and later elaborated in works by Katz and Kahn (1966) and Shamir (1991). Katz and Kahn (1966) introduced the idea of self-idealisation and value expression as the motivation to preserve an acceptable self-concept which is also an essential motivational pattern in organisations. In relation to PSM, Brewer et al. (2000) conducted a study where he identified four distinctive self-concepts: samaritans, communitarians, patriots, and humanitarians. These concepts had different motivational

consequences for public service thereby suggesting that self may play an important role in an institutional approach to PSM. However, Perry and Vandenberg (2008) noted that despite being useful, the concept of self is rather complex and difficult to measure. They suggested, therefore, that researchers rely on the concept of identity, which can be appropriately structured and whose components can be easier delineated.

The concept of identity was initially developed independently, but later integrated into self-oriented research (Wiegert et al., 1986). While existing scholarship recognises several forms of identity, such as role identity, social identity, personal identity and relational identity, social identity or its forms are most commonly used (Brewer and Gardner, 1996; Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). They see identity as “a sense of belonging to a group or to a position in a social structure” (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008, p. 65). Being defined in terms of social structure, identity can be considered as self-placed in a context of social relationships (Weigert et al., 1986). As a result, it links institutions and individual behaviour by invoking the public content of institutions (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008).

In relation to PSM, identity can be said to influence public service motives by the extent to which PSM becomes a part of individual identity and by the degree that an individual considers his or her organisation and its mission to satisfy PSM related values (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Consequently, for an individual with high PSM level who views his/her job and organisation as a way to satisfy public service values, stronger behavioural outcomes will result from PSM (Coursey, Yang and Pandey, 2012).

2.4.3.5 Self-Regulation

According to Perry and Vandenberg (2008), every individual is exposed to institutional mechanisms that instil public institutional logic and ultimately internalise public values. However, since the level of exposure varies, PSM will also vary across individuals. As a result,

different individuals will bring different levels of PSM to their respective organisations. Those individuals whose identities are strongly leaning towards the public will bring an interest and valuing of public service. Through the process of socialisation, public service motives of these organisational members could transfer to others within an organization (Pandey and Stazyk, 2008). Self-regulation is then a process through which an individual enacts his or her public service identity. The process of self-regulation and its place within the institutional framework of PSM is either explicitly or implicitly addressed in four theories: Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1977), Self-Determination Theory (Deci and Ryan, 2004), Predisposition-Opportunity Theory (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982) and Goal-Setting Theory (Latham and Locke, 1991).

Social Cognitive Theory

Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1977, 1986) describes how self-regulation influences individual cognition and consequently behaviour. The key concept within the theory is that of reciprocal determinism – the interaction between an individual, environment and behaviour. Individuals acquire and possess a set of learned experiences achieved through contact with the external social context and respond to stimuli to achieve goals (Bandura, 1986). However, behavioural capabilities are dependent upon knowledge and skills. In other words, individuals must know what they are expected to do and how to do it. One way to achieve this is through observational learning: whenever individuals observe successful behaviour in others, they “model” their own behaviour in a similar way and reproduce it. This behaviour, in turn, results in both internal and external responses that will influence the likelihood of its repeat and ties individual behaviour with the environment.

Bandura (1986) posited that self-regulation arises from self-observation, judgment and self-reaction. These, in turn, take origin in cultural and social cues including those provided by others. Within the Social Cognitive Theory, individuals do not evaluate actions based on the

expected consequences; rather, they evaluate actions in accordance with the consistency of those actions with their own internal standards (Bandura, 1986). In this regard, Grusec (1992) stated that individuals tend to hold on to their self-concept regardless of changing situations. There is a clear link to identity here because any action depends on judgment and self-reaction. Therefore, based on this theory, behaviour is more likely to be driven by PSM if the internal standards against which it is judged are in line with public institution grounded identities (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008).

Self-Determination Theory

Self-Determination Theory (Deci and Ryan, 2004) is another important self-regulation framework. An important aspect of this theory is that unlike Social Cognitive Theory, it views motivation in terms of a continuum, not a dichotomy. The proposed motivation continuum has the extremes defined by autonomous (what and individual wants to do) and controlled (what and individual has to do) forms of motivation. At the far control extreme, amotivation exists – when an individual has completely no intention to behave in a certain manner. Deci and Ryan (2000) asserted that amotivation exists when individuals cannot regulate own behaviour and lack self-determination. Extrinsic motivation exists when individuals behave to satisfy external regulatory forces, such as the need for an income or some level of social status. Finally, intrinsic motivation exists when individuals are genuinely interested in certain behaviour. This form of motivation is autonomous, and if an environment fosters satisfaction of psychological needs of an individual, internalisation of values takes place: internal regulation takes place of external regulation of behaviour (Deci and Ryan, 2004).

Contrary to Social Cognitive Theory, Deci and Ryan (2004) distinguish not one but four types of extrinsic motivation. External regulation exists when individuals seek to either obtain a reward or to avoid punishment (Deci and Ryan, 2004). This type of motivation simply disappears when associative rewards and punishments are removed; that is, this form of

motivation is not internalised at all. Next comes introjected regulation where individuals adopt the rules but still do not internalise them. Individuals follow the tasks because they think they should do them and because they may feel guilty for not doing so (Deci and Ryan, 2000). The third kind is identified regulation where individuals actually identify with the value and benefits of activities they perform. This value becomes internalised by becoming an element of self (Vandenabeele, 2007). Individuals become committed to performing actions despite the possible external pressures. The final kind of extrinsic motivation is integrated regulation (Deci and Ryan, 2004). At this stage, individuals completely identify with the activity value; it becomes congruent with the other internalised values. As such, alignment of various identities has taken place (Vandenabeele, 2007).

As is seen, the first two forms of motivation (external and introjected regulations) within the theory are controlled while the latter two (identified and integrated regulations) are autonomous. With the controlled forms of motivation, the causality of action remains completely external and individuals do not fully realise the significance of their actions. With the autonomous forms of motivation, there is a desire to perform actions because individuals internalised them and become committed to performing them. It is also clear that this theory sees individuals as proactive actors who are nevertheless influenced by external contexts. An important aspect of proactiveness is the different forms of identity that make individuals interested in specific forms of behaviour (Deci and Ryan, 2004). According to SDT, identities are formed historically, through experience and interactions with institutions and other individuals.

Internalisation of values is another essential element of SDT. This process, according to Deci and Ryan (2004), is influenced by three forms of psychological needs: autonomy, relatedness and competence. These needs are present in each individual, and they mediate internalisation process (Vallerand et al, 2004). Whenever the environment fosters these needs, the likelihood

for developing autonomous motivation will be higher. Likewise, these basic needs become functional in developing individual identities and the corresponding regulation types as discussed above.

SDT provides an important contribution to an institutional perspective on PSM by clarifying the relationships between the individual and institutional levels by linking identity concept to institutions through the process of the environmental responsiveness to the psychological needs of an individual. In relation to PSM specifically, from an SDT perspective, it can be considered to have roots in the institutionalised public service values which became internalised into a public service identity. Based on this theory, autonomous motivation leads to stronger public service motives. Individuals may internalise public organisation's values and develop the desire to serve public. This is in line with the PSM theory which suggests that work-related practices may persuade individuals in public organisations to become more public service oriented (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007).

Predisposition-Opportunity Theory

Predisposition-Opportunity Theory (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982) posits that individuals' motives are "predispositions to act under appropriate external cues" (p. 210). Predispositions in this case are equivalent to identities (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). The theory sees motivation as a function of three forms of motives: rational choice, normative conformity and affective bonding, the principle that was adopted by Perry's (2000) Process Theory as well. While not denying the influence of rational choice, Knoke and Wright-Isak argued that such influence is limited. Normative conformity in their view provides a plausible consideration in motivation through social norms and actions that it creates. Social action "combines elements of voluntary individual will and collectivism represented by internalisation of social norms" (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982, p. 215).

In addition to normative conformity and rational choice, Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982) introduced an emotional side to motivation through the concept of affective commitment. Affective bonding, according to them, represents an emotional response to social contexts which is also purposive. Emotions, or self-expression, symbolically interact with social contexts and serve as a basis for motivation. While internalisation of social norms in the theory represents elements of collectivism and individual will, self-regulation is related to the incentives offered by the individual's organisation. These incentives are measured against the motives described above resulting in eight different forms self-regulation. According to Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982), commitment to the organisation and consequent behaviour and contribution are possible only when the incentive systems match with individual motives. Consequently, people choose to work in organisations that align with their predispositions (identities).

In relation to this research, Predisposition-Opportunity Theory proposes that self-regulated public service behaviour is more likely to take place when organisational incentives correspond to the identities (predispositions) of individuals. When the public identity of an individual matches with corresponding organisational incentives, public service motives will be likely directing individual behaviour. In other words, PSM related behaviour will be likely to occur in the organisational environments that provide opportunities for it to flourish. In theory, public organisations should provide incentives for individuals with public oriented identities because they offer an opportunity to do public good. However, the presence of negative factors, such as *wasta*, may damage the link between such opportunities and public service identities. In this case, public employee behaviours will less likely be guided by PSM.

Goal Setting Theory

Goal-Setting Theory (Latham and Locke, 1991) proposes the idea that motivation is purposeful. The primary concept within the theory is goals, which are “applications of values

to specific situations” (Locke, 1991, p. 292). The focus of the theory is how goals influence behaviour and performance (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Starting with the idea that some people perform tasks better than others who are equal to them in terms of knowledge and skills, the theory proposes that motivation is at work (Latham and Locke, 1991). Motivation, in turn, is explained by differences in goals. Since individuals pursue different goals, they tend to differ in terms of motivation, behaviour and performance.

As a concept, goals within the theory have two key attributes: content and intensity (Latham and Locke, 1991). Content can be measured in terms of specificity (that is how clear or vague the goals are) and difficulty (how hard it is to achieve them). By analysing relevant motivational studies, Latham and Locke (1991) proposed that the more difficult a goal is the better is performance given adequate ability and commitment. This is because individuals adjust their effort by trying harder on more difficult tasks. Similarly, the theory proposes that individuals are likely to exert more effort on more specific tasks. This is where self-regulation comes into force: for an individual a specific hard goal clarifies to a large extent what effective performance is because there is a narrow interpretation of performance levels.

With regards to goal intensity, it is seen as an amount of mental effort required to achieve it (Latham and Locke, 1991). The major aspect of goal intensity is commitment – the level of attachment to the goal, consideration of its importance and determination to achieve it. Goal commitment act both as a direct cause and a moderator of performance. It was shown that in relation to hard goals less committed people stop pursuing them in favour of easier goals, and when goals are low, high commitment may restrict performance because of the desire for more challenging tasks (Erez and Zidon, 1984). In relation to PSM, this theory proposes that the presence of public identity increases goal commitment and, therefore, motivation. High on PSM individuals, according to the Goal Setting Theory, will perceive goals related to public

service as more important and difficult to achieve. Accordingly, commitment to such goals will be stronger.

According to Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), the relationship between goal achievement and goal performance can be linked to institution and identities through the concept of values. According to Goal Setting Theory, goals arise from the desire to do things consistent with individual values (Latham and Locke, 1991). Values, on the other hand, are a product of identities and institutional influences. For example, for individuals with strong public identities, stronger regard for public service goals and commitment is more likely. Eventually, public identities will enhance goal commitment (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008).

2.4.3.6 Summary of the Institutional Perspective on PSM

In summary, an institutional perspective on PSM is useful framework that combines institutional, psychological and social elements. The institutional perspective on PSM presents motivation as an outcome of interplay between institutions and individual identities which inevitably influences individual behaviour. Institutions within the framework serve as a means to structure and transmit rule and value-based behaviours, public content being their central element and the social mechanisms being the transmitters of institutional content. This content should vary across societies and the level of exposure to institutions.

Within the institutional perspective identity acts as a mediator between institutions and behaviours. Whenever identities bring into play the public content of institutions, individual behaviour becomes governed by the logic of appropriateness. The logic of appropriateness becomes the primary mechanism to govern behaviour whenever individuals' identities are invoked by public content. It drives individuals to act in specific ways even when such acts are not in their best interests. Such influence is embedded in the institutionalisation of rules,

identities and beliefs through the mechanisms of socialisation, social identification, culture and social learning.

The institutional perspective suggests that PSM will vary among individuals because of the various exposures to institutional context and mechanisms that invoke a public institutional logic. However, with time, individuals' motivations may change based on the environments within which they are situated (Deci and Ryan, 2004). Self-regulation serves as the primary framework within which such changes take place (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Consequently, self-regulation theories are used to provide insights into this process and, by extension, into how institutional content becomes embedded in behaviours through identity.

Social-Cognitive Theory focuses on the psychological processes associated with PSM. It envisions self-regulation as a function of self-observation, judgment and self-reaction. Motivation, according to this theory, is influenced by self-monitoring, judging own behaviours against internal standards originating from social and cultural cues and creating incentives to respond to own behaviour (Bandura, 1977, 1986). A logic of appropriateness here arises from the fact that individuals assess actions based on consistency with their internal standards. In relation to PSM, this suggests that if there is a match between the internal standards of behaviour and identities grounded in public institutions, then public service motives will be more likely to govern behaviour (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008).

Another psychological process theory of self-regulation is Self-Determination Theory. The theory suggests that individuals engage in activities prompted by their identities which, in turn, can be natural (intrinsically regulated) or based upon satisfaction of autonomy, relatedness and competence needs (extrinsically regulated) (Deci and Ryan, 2004). It is the latter, as the theory proposes, that serve as the bases for internalisation of values into identity which serves as a source of motivation. An environment fostering such values then would increase motivation.

More autonomous identities within the theory are related to stronger effect of externalised regulation. Applied to PSM, this suggests that individual behaviour will be more likely guided by public service motives if public identities associated with such behaviours are more or less autonomous. Such identities, in turn, are created in environments which are free from coercion, pressure, alienation and strict control.

The Predisposition-Opportunity Theory is another theory of self-regulation, but it focuses on the interplay between social environment and identity. Closely to the process theory of PSM, Predisposition-Opportunity Theory suggests that motivation is a product of rational choice, normative conformity and affective bonding (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982). It argues that self-regulated, motivated public service behaviour can only take place when these individual motives align with behavioural incentives. This proposition corresponds well with the idea of fit, but it can be applied to the environmental characteristics as well. If an environment is not conducive to the three types of motives, PSM-related behaviour will be less likely to take place.

Finally, the Goal Setting Theory provides a goal specific focus to the relationship between self-regulation, PSM and behaviours. This theory envisions motivation as purposeful: goals influence behaviour (Latham and Locke, 1991). However, when it comes to motivation, some goals are more influential than others. Specific and harder to achieve goals are believed to increase motivation through commitment and content. In relation to PSM, this theory is used to propose that the presence of public identity increases goal commitment and, therefore, motivation. Such individuals, according to the Goal Setting Theory, will perceive goals related to public service as more important and difficult to achieve.

Taken together, the four theories of self-regulation help understand how institutions may influence public behaviours through identity within the Institutional Perspective on PSM. While none of these theories have yet been formally integrated within the institutional

perspective on PSM, they offer useful insights at the individual level of analysis and show how public institutions, identity and behaviour can be considered together.

2.4.3.7 Links to the Process Theory of PSM

The institutional perspective on PSM draws heavily on the Process Theory of PSM introduced by Perry (2000) and bolsters some of its key relationships by stronger theoretical justifications. This fact and that Perry was also one of the main contributors to the institutional perspective suggests that it was developed not to replace but to refine the Process Theory. The Process Theory was developed in response to what Perry (1990) identified as inability of the rational choice theories to fully conceptualise motivation. He argued that social norms and social contexts play as much role in individual motivation as utility maximisation. Similarly, the institutional perspective on PSM suggests that the rational choice theories cannot account for all types of behaviours taking place in public service (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). It suggests that such behaviours can be explained by considering them from the perspective of public institutions.

Comparing the conceptual frameworks of the Process Theory of PSM and an institutional perspective helps to further understand the relationship between them. The Process Theory suggests that socio-historical and motivational contexts influence individual characteristics which, in turn, become reflected in individual behaviour. The socio-historical and motivational contexts, according to Perry (2000), represent the environmental and the situational factors that affect individual behaviour. Within the institutional perspective, these are combined into an institutional context (for references, see Figure 2.2). However, process theory retains the major idea that individual actions are guided by the environmental factors embedded in public institutions. Within the socio-historical context of Process Theory, individuals are affected by the institutions of family, religion and profession, and within the motivational context they are

affected by additional institutions within which an individual is embedded (Perry, 2000). In fact, Perry (2000) argued that the inclusions of institutions as the major influencers of individual behaviour is one of the main defining aspects of the Process Theory, the one that distinguishes it from the rational choice motivation theories. A very similar claim is made within the institutional perspective which claims that individual motivation has roots in institutional contexts (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008, p. 57). The only difference between the Process Theory and the institutional perspective then seems to be the absence of rigid institutional classifications in the latter. The institutional perspective does not make specific claims that family, religion and profession should have influence on PSM; instead, it argues that relevant factors within a socio-cultural context would do. This makes the institutional perspective somewhat more flexible.

The relationship between the Process Theory and the institutional perspective on PSM is also traced through the processes that enable transfer of institutional values into individual behaviour. In both cases, the individual serves as a channel between institutional influence and behaviour. Institutional values are transmitted in both cases through the logic of appropriateness – a set of contextual values that determine behaviour and decision making based on institutionalised social norms (March and Olsen, 1989). In short, the logic of appropriateness dictates what is the right thing to do in a particular situation. Both the Process Theory and the institutional perspective on PSM suggest that individuals will develop PSM not because they can be offered rewards or sanctions associated but because it can be or not be in line with the internalised standards developed via institutions (Perry, 2000; Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Importantly, the Process Theory and the institutional perspective both employ socialisation and observation processes (Bandura, 1977) to explain how institutional values become embedded in individuals.

The individual as a channel between institutionally dictated social norms and behaviour is assigned an important role in both the Process Theory and the institutional perspective. This corresponds to the logic of appropriateness whereby individuals, after identifying the kind of situation they are in, define who they are (March and Olsen, 1989). Within the Process Theory individual characteristics serve as a collection of distinct components that define an individual (Perry, 2000). Specifically, such components are individual abilities and competencies, self-concept and self-regulation. The institutional perspective views individuals solely in terms of the concepts of self and identity (Perry and Vendenabeele, 2008). Variations in self-concept are what, according to the institutional perspective, causes differences in motivational consequences related to public service. These variations, in turn, are caused by identity and values. As is seen, the institutional perspective does not directly address the concepts of abilities and competencies in an individual when it comes to mediation between institutions and individual behaviour. However, their role was not discussed in Perry (2000) either, although the study did explain how differences in self-concept are influential in forming PSM. Despite some differences in the way that individuals are considered by the Process Theory and the institutional perspective on PSM, both recognise the importance of self-regulation in formation of individual behaviour. Perry (2000) used Bandura's (1986) model of self-regulation to argue that self-observation, judgment and self-reaction influence individual behaviour through cognition. These three components create the self-regulatory effect that determines whether the behaviour will follow the institutionally driven logic of appropriateness or rationally driven logic of consequences (Perry, 2000). A similar process is proposed by the institutional perspective where self-regulation determines the logic driving individual behaviours (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Within the institutional perspective, however, the class of self-regulating theories is considered. It includes social cognitive theory, self-determination theory, predisposition-opportunity theory, and goal-setting theory. As was

discussed earlier, each of these theories fits well with the institutional components and justifies the use of identity as the primary component of self. This is important because such approach offers a more comprehensive and rigorous support for theorising the role of self-regulation in individual behaviour formation.

In summary, comparison of Process Theory and the institutional perspective on PSM produces more similarities than differences. Both view PSM as an outcome of a motivational process that integrates institutional values. Despite some differences in structure of the frameworks that reflect them, the Process Theory and the institutional perspective include the same key components which are institutions, individuals and behaviours. They also describe the same processes that regulate individual behaviours embedded within institutional contexts. The institutional perspective can be considered more flexible for not constraining the theory with specific institutions and more rigorous in its justification of the identity concept and the processes that regulate individual behaviours. This is not surprising, however, considering that the Process Theory likely served as a foundation for formulating the perspective.

2.5 Institutional Influences on PSM: Research and Gaps

As follows from the review of philosophical and theoretical foundations of PSM, the influence of institutions can be hardly denied. In fact, according to Vandenabeele et al. (2006), despite differences in PSM definitions, they are all grounded in institutions. Another important factor to consider is that despite more than two decades of research, there is still much uncertainty about what may cause and influence PSM (Homberg, McCarthy and Tabvuma, 2015; Meyer et al., 2014; Wright and Grant, 2010). Finally, empirical studies of PSM outcomes reviewed above demonstrated the presence of possible contextual mediators and moderators. The application of the institutional perspective in PSM studies is important because it brings the much needed contextual reference to PSM and its outcomes. It also makes it possible to analyse

influences of various institutions in different contexts by not identifying the specific institutions within its framework. In justifying an institutional perspective, Vandenabeele et al. (2006) stated that “different administrative traditions will have an impact on how PSM manifests itself and that it is likely therefore to be case-specific” and, therefore, “whenever studying PSM, these institutions should be taken into account, because ignoring them will probably result in violating concept validity” (p. 27).

2.5.1 Research Gap One: Influences of Macro-Institutions on PSM

The existing research on institutional influences on PSM can be divided into several levels (Vandenabeele et al., 2014). At the micro-level, studies have explored the influence of institutions encompassing mainly personal interactions. Research demonstrated that at this level, PSM can be linked to structural work relationships, family history, volunteering experience and job design (Perry, 1997; Perry et al., 2008; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen, 2013; Vandenabeele, 2014). At meso-level, the influence of larger institutions with a substantial amount of interaction was investigated. These studies represent the bulk of research partially because they include the institutions of family, religion and professionalism – the institutions whose influence was proposed by Perry (2000). Studies found that family socialisation, religious activity, professional identification and education can be influential (Brewer, 2003; Bright, 2005; Camillieri, 2007; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe et al. 2006; Giauque et al., 2013; Houston and Cartwright, 2007; Perry, 1997; Perry et al., 2008; Vandenabeele 2011). Recently, there has been a notable increase in the studies considering organisational environments as separate institutions. This has led to exploration of additional factors within organisational contexts that might be responsible for higher or lower levels of PSM. Among these factors are red tape and administrative constraints, HRM practices, public organisation logic and person job fit (Brewer and Walker, 2010; Bright, 2008; Giauque, Anderfuhren-Biget and Varone,

2015; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Schott and Pronk, 2014; Scott and Pandey, 2005; van Loon, Leisink and Vandenabeele, 2013).

The largest, macro-level of institutions and its influence on PSM have received attention from public administration researchers only recently. Macro-level institutions can be understood as large societal and national institutions that may have direct and indirect relationships with PSM (Vandenabeele et al., 2014). Such institutions can be nationally specific (such as country-citizenship or sense of patriotism) or even supra-national (such as regional culture and societal practices). The influence of such institutions is not readily observable and may often be indirect (Vandenabeele et al., 2014). So far, studies showed that PSM can be influenced by public sector employment, cultural belonging, and country-citizenship (Vandenabeele and Van de Walle 2008; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013). Still, this area of research remains largely unexplored, undeservingly so.

First, there are the apparent differences in PSM in the international context. It was showed earlier that the philosophical foundations for a public service ethos and, ultimately, PSM, have common traits around the globe. And yet, public administration structures vary greatly. Horton (2008) noted that the existing differences in public service ethos can be explained by differences in specific institutional and historical context and culture. Even where the political and constitutional systems emerged from the common core (such as in Europe and North America), divergence in core identities within public service ethos is noticeable. For example, the British and Commonwealth Westminster Model of public service emphasises such values as fairness, impartiality and justice (Plant, 2003). The roots of American public service ethos are believed to be in respect for the rights and freedoms, the equal rule of law and the role of the state in providing social welfare (Volcker, 1989). In continental Europe, the public service

ethos is grounded in impartiality, equity and a welfare orientation (Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006).

The differences in public service ethos become even more evident between the countries with distant cultural orientations and traditions. A case in point is that of the former colonies of the British Empire in Asia and Africa. While there have been attempts to establish public administrations based on the British example, they largely failed because the history and culture of these countries prompted the development of tribal, community and family loyalties to a much greater extent than loyalties to the nation and state (Horton, 2008). Low levels of trust between the public and public servants and rampant corruption in these countries became a strong indication that their public service models were far away from the ideals of public service ethos (Chikulo, 2000).

Second, besides the different perspectives on PSM, studies of the public service values in the international context do not always yield consistent results. For example, two studies of public service values in Europe showed that public servants in France, Germany, The Netherlands and the UK displayed different directions for compassion and ideals in public service (Hondegheem and Vandenabeele, 2005; Vandenabeele et al., 2006). Studies in China (Liu et al., 2008) and South Korea (Lee, 2005) demonstrated that public servants did not display compassion and commitment to the public interest respectively. A study in Belgium by Vandenabeele (2008) raised questions about self-sacrifice of public servants in this country. However, the most comprehensive cross-cultural analysis of PSM was conducted by Vandenabeele and van de Walle (2008) who explored the concept across 38 countries on a sample size of over 52,000 public employees. While the authors found the presence of PSM in all countries regions, notable differences were observed in the degree of PSM and some of its key components (compassion and self-sacrifice). Specifically, the study showed that overall PSM was the highest in American and South European countries and the lowest in Central and Eastern

Europe with Asian countries falling in-between; compassion scores were the highest for the Americas, Western and Southern Europe; and self-sacrifice was the highest for Southern Europe, North America and Australasia. Figure 2.3 shows the distribution of PSM and its different dimensions from the study by Vandenabeele and van de Walle (2008).

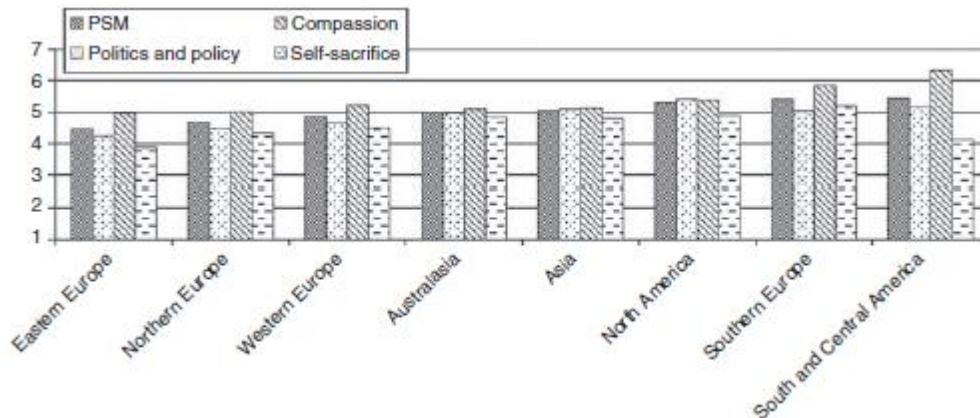


Figure 2.3. Mean Regional Scores on PSM and Its Dimensions as Reported by Vandenabeele and van de Walle (2008)

The apparent empirical differences in levels of PSM as a value-laden concept across the national borders require further investigation. It also offers an important avenue for research that this study followed. One reason for the observed differences in PSM levels could be transformation of public administrations under the New Public Management (NPM) paradigm. NPM proposes that public administration employees are no different from employees in private enterprises and, therefore, it calls for the same HRM approaches in both sectors. In this light, Pratchett and Wingfield (1996) wrote that Western European nations have experienced a stronger tide of NPM reforms which emphasised marketization in contrast to traditional public administration values such as altruism and commitment to do public good. However, a closer examination of country specific scores in Vandenabeele and van de Walle (2008) shows that Australia, Canada and the United States, where NPM reforms have been taking place as well, still rank relatively high on PSM. This further suggests that despite common public

administration heritages and common reforms, there might be specific national administrative values that influence PSM.

Differences in regional and country specific PSM levels suggests that comparing PSM across cultures and regions may require more than the simple translation of PSM core theory and observing the impact of PSM's original dimensions on employee outcomes. Research suggests that from an international perspective, PSM can be contingent upon national administrative cultures, public values and perceptions of public service (Beck, Jorgensen, and Bozeman, 2007; Hajnal, 2003; van de Walle, 2007; Vandenabeele and van de Walle, 2008). These factors, on the other hand, are defined historically and culturally. In this regard, it is reasonable to apply the idea of institutional logic studies of PSM and its outcomes from an international perspective. Institutional analysis may help understand PSM and its outcomes as embedded within a multidimensional institutional environment where PSM is influenced not only by sector of employment but also by institutions.

Recent studies have started recognising the importance of genuinely culturally-specific institutional factors that may influence the effects of PSM (Camilleri, 2007; Perry and Vandenabeele 2008; Vanenabeele, 2007). Empirical investigations in European public administrations also revealed that while PSM is present albeit to a different degree in various cultural contexts, the effects of its dimensions varied (Vandenabeele, 2007; Vandenabeele et al., 2008). Further, researchers of PSM in an international context questioned the universalism of PSM in public administrations within different cultures (Cerase and Farinella, 2009; Coursey and Pandey, 2007; Giaque et al., 2011; Kim, 2009a; Ritz and Waldner, 2011). In other words, the influence of culture specific institutions is likely, although so far there have been no attempts to identify such institutions or empirically test their relationships with PSM. This

paper aims to fill this gap in knowledge by considering a strong institution in Saudi culture called *wasta* and test for its relationship with PSM and the PSM-employee outcomes link.

2.5.2 Research Gap Two: Negative Institutional Influences on PSM

The culture in public sector has been defined as paradoxical because it includes both positive and negative forces (Whorton and Worthley, 1981). These forces can be attributed to influences of both formal (rules, laws, regulations, legal agreements) and informal (norms, traditions, conventions) institutions (Leftwich and Sen, 2011). This is in line with the postulates by prominent institutional theorists who emphasised that the institutional rules and norms can either support or restrict behaviours (March and Olsen, 1989; Scott, 2001). As such, institutions in public sector can be considered as either positive or negative for purposes of achieving organisational goals and motivating public employees.

The growing research on institutions in relation to PSM has focused almost exclusively on the positive effects. For example, researchers have investigated how family, religiosity, professionalism, volunteerism, organisational policies and job design lead to stronger PSM (e.g. Brewer, 2003; Bright, 2005; Camillieri, 2007; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe et al. 2006; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen, 2013; Perry, 1997; Perry et al., 2008). These considerations clearly come out directly from Perry's assumption that institutional forces will have positive effects on PSM. However, these assumptions were based on the perspective of the US public sector and did not give consideration to possible contextual influences on public sector elsewhere. As it follows from practice, however, the assumptions of only positive influences of institutions on motivation in public sector often do not hold in developing countries. In relation to public sectors in developing countries, researchers identified the negative influence of such institutions as corruption, clientelism, and nepotism (Davis, 2004; Lodhia and Burritt, 2004;

Robinson and Verdier, 2013). These entrenched institutions can have a negative effect on both the organisational outcomes and employee motivations.

When public service employees are affected by negative influences of institutions, their course of action may actually be the opposite from what is expected to be most beneficial for organisations or their stakeholders. This is especially true with regards to public organisations. Whereas micro-institutions, such as family history, volunteering experience and job design may positively contribute to positive public service behaviours, meso-level institutions such as a hostile organisational environment and/or red tape and macro-level institutions such as clientelism and corruption may demotivate and, therefore, restrict the expected positive behaviours.

Recent research exploring the impact of micro-level institutions within organizations provides support for this idea. It was observed, for example, that public employees could turn unenthusiastic due to perceived low social impact of their work (Grant & Campbell, 2007; Taylor, 2014). Giauque et al. (2012) noted that employees' PSM level may decline or lead to a state of resigned satisfaction (that is, satisfaction without caring for own work) when the need to serve the society at large is not satisfied. Institutional impacts including red tape, organisational hierarchy, excessive workload, difficult clients and lack of positive feedback were linked to decreased motivation (e.g. Giauque et al., 2012; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). Loon et al. (2015) wrote about the "dark side" of PSM because in certain organisational settings PSM could actually decrease employee wellbeing. Perceived work stress and burnout were also reported as outcomes of negative institutional influences (Giauque et al., 2012; Van Den Broeck et al., 2008).

Research on the negative impact of certain organisational institutions on PSM provides a valuable insight into the institutional perspective in general. It shows that the impact of

institutions on PSM may be both positive and negative. However, available research does not provide insights into possible negative influences of macro-institutions. This is another gap that this research aims to fill. It focuses on the possible negative direct and contextual effects of *wasta* – a cultural macro-institution prevalent in the organisational settings of the Middle East.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the concept of public service motivation and its relationship with employee outcomes and institutions in various public administrations. It was shown that despite being originally conceptualised in the context of the United States', PSM had philosophical foundations in various cultures and regions of the world. PSM received its first classical definition in the seminal study by Perry and Wise (1990). It was founded on the idea that employees in the public service are driven by motives other than rational self-interest. Later studies by Perry (1996, 1997) developed PSM into a multidimensional concept. However, the original definition of PSM as a “predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations” became challenged by public administration researchers over time. More recent views on PSM are that it is both an attitude and a slow changing trait (e.g. Gould-Williams et al., 2014). This allows to distinguish PSM conceptually from attitudinal outcomes such as organisational commitment, job satisfaction and lower intention to quit which theoretically should be influenced by PSM as an attitudinal variable. Such distinction is important because it allows to investigate the relationship between PSM and these variables.

To date, an unequivocal link in empirical literature has been established only between PSM and organisational commitment. The relationship between PSM and job satisfaction as well as intention to quit is not consistent. In cases when there are no links, the presence of mediating

variables was observed. Another important finding was that of possible contextual influences. This, and the reported differences in PSM across nations, suggest the influence of institutions. The influence of institutions on PSM was originally suggested within the Process Theory of PSM (Perry, 2000). The theory proposed the influence of social institutions like religion, family and professionalism. An institutional perspective on PSM (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008), which can be considered an updated version of Process Theory, offered a more comprehensive view on institutional influences via the concept of identity and the mechanisms of institutional logic and self-regulation. An institutional perspective draws from several psychological and social theories. In line with Social Cognitive Theory, it proposed that if identities grounded in public institutions converge with the internal standards of such institutions then behaviour will be directed by public service motives. Further, in line with Self-Determination Theory, this is likely to happen if the public identities on which the motives are based can be considered more or less autonomous. Autonomy relates to positive working environment, that is, the one where contextual institutional influences are positive, and the effect of negative institutions is minimised. Public service motives are also likely to be enhanced by alignment of public identities with corresponding incentives as proposed within Predisposition-Opportunity Theory. Finally, individuals with stronger public identities would exert stronger public service goals and express commitment to them as Goal Setting Theory proposes.

Empirical investigations of institutional influences on PSM span over two decades and cover multiple public administration contexts. In general, all research can be divided into micro-level (structural work relationships, family history, volunteering experience and job design), meso-level (family socialisation, religious activity, professional identification and organisation) and macro-level (culture, national identity, citizenship) institutional influences. The last level has not yet received much attention from public administration researchers, although there are clear theoretical arguments for this. Another research gap is the lack of studies on negative

institutional impacts on PSM and employee outcomes. Whenever present, such research encompasses organisational level institutions. This study aims to fill the aforementioned gaps by investigating the direct and indirect relationships between a macro-level institution *wasta*, an indigenous form of nepotism in the Middle East, PSM and employee outcomes in Saudi Arabian public organisations. The next chapter defines *wasta* as an institution and formulates the relationships it has with PSM and employee outcomes in the public organisations in Saudi Arabia.

CHAPTER 3

THE INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON PSM IN THE SAUDI

PUBLIC SECTOR

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described the theory of public service motivation (PSM) and reviewed theoretical and empirical studies linking PSM to a number of important public organisations' employees' outcomes. As was mentioned, the philosophical foundations for PSM emerged independently in different parts of the world. However, while predispositions for PSM arguably exist universally, its applications and forms differ across national contexts. One potentially important reason for this is the presence of institutions: the socio-cultural systems that influence beliefs and behaviours of individuals (Vandenabeele, 2007). Because this research places investigation of PSM and its outcomes within the strong cultural context of Saudi Arabia, it takes an institutional perspective that considers the role of institutions in this process.

This chapter begins with the introduction of *wasta* – a strong institution deeply embedded in the Saudi culture and its public organisations. *Wasta* is presented as a form of indigenous nepotism alongside the similar concepts existing in other cultural and national contexts. The foundations and pervasive nature of *wasta* are discussed to show its strong role in organisational settings in Saudi Arabia. *Wasta* is then placed within the institutional perspective to explore its possible direct and indirect influences on PSM and employee outcomes.

3.2 *Wasta* as a Form of Arabic Indigenous Nepotism

3.2.1 Nepotism in Western Scholarship

The concept of nepotism was developed in the Western scholarship tradition. According to Ford and McLaughlin (1986), nepotism as a term is originally adopted from the Latin *nepos* (nephew): it referred to the tradition of the Middle Ages where Catholic popes and bishops,

who were not allowed to have children, gave position preferences to their nephews. In certain modern European languages, the term evolved to describe different kinds of relatives: for example, *nipóte* in Italian, *nepot* in Romanian, or *nebot* in Catalan, and *neveu* in French. In line with the changed etymology of nepotism as a term, its general definition encompasses favouritism and preference given to relatives (Abdalla et al., 1998; Arasli et al., 2008; Ford and McLaughlin, 1986).

In organisational settings, nepotism can be defined as “the practice of showing favouritism during the hiring process toward relatives or spouses of current employees in an organisation” (Padgett and Morris, 2005, p.34). The majority of researchers of nepotism link it specifically to the process of hiring relatives (Abdalla et al., 1998; Arasli et al., 2008; Ciulla, 2005; Vinton, 1998). Within the institution of nepotism, it is often irrelevant whether the relative in question is competent to hold the position (Ciulla, 2005). It is also widely believed that nepotism is a factor that should be reckoned with in HRM theory and practice (Abdalla et al., 1998; Arasli et al., 2008; Sidani and Thornberry, 2013; Vanhanen, 1999). This is especially true for public sector employees in developing countries because nepotism and related practices are more likely to be institutionalised there (Hayajneh et al., 1994; Vanhanen, 1999; White, 2000).

In the Western literature, nepotism often has negative connotations. Many scholars linked nepotism to negative business performance and outcomes (Dyer, 2006; Gomez-Mejia, Nuñez-Nickel and Gutierrez, 2001; Salvato and Melin, 2008). Barnett (1960) argued that nepotism limited organisational ability to grow. Other researchers noted weak institutional structures, unbalanced distribution of wealth and status and lack of accountability in organisations where nepotism is common (Arasli and Tumer, 2008; Kuznar and Frederick, 2007; Perez-Gonzalez, 2006). Many researchers also emphasised nepotism as a mechanism to hoard resources and power and a significant obstacle for managers seeking to influence organisational behaviour (Dyer, 2010; Kets de Vries, 1993; Steier, Chrisman, and Chua, 2004). Within the HRM

literature, nepotism is commonly associated with negative employee outcomes, including low job satisfaction and higher intention to quit (Arasli et al., 2006). It is also perceived to be a serious barrier to hiring talented workers, because it proposes preference of kinship over objective measures of skills and experience in recruitment (Yeung, 2000).

3.2.2 Nepotism in the Non-Western World

The non-Western scholarship tradition on nepotism in the workplace is less categorical, especially in terms of negative attitude, towards nepotism. For example, in a cross-cultural context, Abdalla et al. (1998) mentioned that nepotism may have a number of positive features such as providing a positive family-like environment; consideration of all potential applicants and providing efficiencies in identifying dedicated personnel. Similarly, Ford and McLaughlin (1986) argued that in non-Western contexts, nepotism's advantages may be categorised as “the desirability of working in a warm family-type atmosphere, improved communications, consistency of policy, smoothness of executive transition and acceptance of a family-led organisation by customers and the community” (p.80).

The differences in judgments related to nepotisms could be explained by socio-cultural differences. They make, in the words of Robertson-Snape (1999) and Hooker (2009) an unethical act in one culture acceptable in another. A good example in this regard can be found in Donaldson (1996), who described a practice in Indian companies whereby certain employees are given an opportunity to hire a relative after the latter completes the educational requirements for the job. Donaldson defended the practice because India has long suffered from severe unemployment. He concluded that nepotism under such conditions “is not necessarily wrong – at least for members of that country” (Donaldson, 1996, p. 58). Similarly, Berenbeim (1990) argued that in Latin America there is a practice for fostering successors’ roles that would be likely considered a case of nepotism in the West. Lee, Lim and Lim (2003) also argued that

an economic rationale could motivate adoption of nepotism practices in the developing countries, especially within family businesses.

As is seen, nepotism is not necessarily considered as something inherently bad in non-Western scholarship. Rather, it can be often considered as something inevitable that needs to be accepted and worked with. The specifics of nepotism prevalence and acceptance could be linked to socio-cultural contexts, which vary from country to country. These differences lead to another prominent feature of nepotism in non-Western world, which is cultural specificity. This explains the fact that many cultures where nepotism is common use their own terms to define the relationships attributed to nepotism. The differences, however, are far more reaching than simple semantics: they are rooted in the very processes and systems underlying these terms. They also underline what this work defines as indigenous nepotism. The working definition of indigenous nepotism developed within this study is: *A system of culturally specific forms of informal relationships that establish preferences for the people on the basis of kinship rather than merit*¹.

In order to understand the concept of indigenous nepotism better, it is useful to review several common forms of such nepotism around the world and note the existing differences between them and *wasta*.

3.2.2.1 Nepotism in China – Guanxi

Guanxi, a Chinese term literally translated as “connections,” is an essential element of interpersonal relationships in China (Smith et al., 2012). According to Chen and Chen (2004), *guanxi* is “an indigenous Chinese construct” describing an informal connection to bind

¹On a side note, the proposed definition is not the same as “ethnic nepotism” described elsewhere. Ethnic nepotism is a term describing in-group favouritism in multiethnic societies (i.e. Salter and Harpending, 2013). The basis for ethnic nepotism is, therefore, ethnicity. Indigenous nepotism, on the other hand, deals with favouritism based on personal kinship and, therefore, can be applied in both ethnically homogeneous and heterogeneous societies.

individuals by a long term relationship, mutual commitment, loyalty and obligation (p. 306). Chen and Chen (2004) described *guanxi* as a process whereby relationships are formed to resolve issues and ultimately create a situation of mutual long-term equity. *Guanxi* is an inherently cultural concept, which is rooted in the teachings of Confucius (Wang et al., 2005). It, therefore, follows two key Confucian practices of reciprocity and indebtedness, which are much stronger than in Western societies (Guan, 2011).

The distinctive nature of superior-subordinate *guanxi* has been demonstrated by a number of studies. Chen et al. (2009), for example, found that the outcomes of *guanxi*-defined relationships had different consequences than those predicted by Western leadership theories. Similar conclusions were reached earlier by Law et al. (2000). Furthermore, Chua et al. (2009) demonstrated that *guanxi* was different from the Western concept of networking by indicating a much stronger link between affective ties and perceived reliability. In fact, the strength of *guanxi* ties was found to extend beyond the organisational context in which they are applied (Bozionelos and Wang, 2007). Wang and Ye (2014, p. 362) wrote about the unique situation where “rule by man rather than rule by law” prevailed in the Chinese organisations since *guanxi* connections mattered more than anything else and there was no practical grievance system to oppose them.

While empirical investigations of *guanxi* antecedents and the contexts that could enhance its effects provided mixed results (Chen, Chen, and Xin, 2004; Farh, Tsui, Xin and Cheng 1998; Law, Wong, Wang and Wang 2000), recent studies revealed a relatively clear picture of its importance for the formation of superior-subordinate relationships although the outcomes of *guanxi* are controversial. Warren, Dunfee and Li (2004) called *guanxi* a “double edge sword” because of its positive and negative effects on the Chinese organisations. For example, studies demonstrated a positive effect on the formation of trust between employees and their supervisors (Han, Zheng and Zhu, 2012; Wong et al., 2003). Chen, Friedman, Yu, Fang and

Lu (2009), for example, found that *guanxi* influences subordinate's affective attachment, deference and exclusion of their personal life to their superiors. Han and Altman (2009) supported this view by demonstrating a generally positive view on *guanxi* from the perspective of both superiors and subordinates. On the other hand, the costs of *guanxi* are organisational injustice reflected in the subjective treatment and evaluation of employees resulting in unfair promotion and reward practices (Bozionelos and Wang, 2007; Chen, Chen and Xin, 2004; Han et al., 2009).

3.2.2.2 Nepotism in Brazil – *Jeitinho*

Jeitinho is literally translated from Portuguese as “little way out” (Smith et al., 2012). In practice, this term refers to a fast way of resolving problems that otherwise would require a lengthy process because of red tape or become a potentially conflicting situations because of the existing hierarchies (Duarte, 2006). *Jeitinho* is strongly connected to the Brazilian cultural context in a sense that it seeks to achieve fast results but not at the expense of interpersonal harmony (Amado and Brasil, 1991). It, therefore, reflects the notion of adaptability and everyday strategy (Amado and Brasil, 1991, Barbosa, 2006).

Barbosa (2006) distinguished *jeitinho Brasileiro* from *dar um jeitinho*. The former term is considered something that all Brazilians engage in as a part of their everyday lives – it is a creative way of using acquaintances and connections to people to perform many tasks such as receiving permits or getting ahead of the lines (Duarte, 2006). Within the organisational context, *jeitinho Brasileiro* is not accidental, but a matter of magnitude (Smith et al., 2012). In contrast, *dar um jeitinho*, which refers to getting something regardless of anything else, carries a negative connotation (Barbosa, 2006). In this regard, it is closer to the Western understanding of nepotism.

As in the case of *guanxi*, there is no certainty about whether *jeitinho* is positive or negative for employees and organisations in Brazil. Ferreira et al. (2012) conducted two separate studies of *jeitinho* effects in Brazilian organisations and found that while *jeitinho* resulted in a higher degree of employee creativity it was also associated with stronger corruption tendencies and intent to break social and organisational rules to achieve goals. Likewise, Rodriguez et al. (2011) found that *jeitinho* helped employees to be innovative problem solvers and achieve success in reaching the goals, but at the same time, it prompted the breaking of formal rules and having little regard for the others which arguably destroyed the sense of community in an organisation. Such ambivalent effects of *jeitinho* in organisations are akin to the ambiguous effects of Chinese *guanxi*.

3.2.2.3 Nepotism in Russia – Svyazi

Svyazi and can be translated from Cyrillic as “connections,” which is semantically close to *guanxi*. The similarity between these two terms were noted by Batjargal and Liu (2002), although notable differences were mentioned. For example, Batjargal (2002) described *svyazi* as less personal and intense. Also, he described *svyazi* as less reciprocal and ritualistic, with a lower degree of interpersonal trust. *Svyazi* emerged as a result of the Soviet command economy, where personal connections and acquaintances were essential in order to receive deficit goods and services and avoid bureaucratic procedures (Batjargal, 2007). *Svyazi* is a more neutral and wider concept in contrast to *blat*, which was used extensively during the Soviet era and which denoted criminal inferences although not necessarily engaging in illegal activities in practice (Rehn and Taalas, 2004). *Svyazi* term is more commonly used in modern Russia but it still refers to a loose network of informal connections to reach specific goals (Batjargal, 2002).

To the best knowledge of the researcher, no English language studies addressing *svyazi* within organisational context can be located. Therefore, any claims about the effect of *svyazi* on employee outcomes would be speculative. However, given the degree of this phenomenon's presence in the society in general, it is logical to assume that *svyazi* would exert at least some form of influence on the relationships formed within organisations.

3.2.3 Differences That Make Nepotism Indigenous

The review of the common forms of nepotism in different parts of the world reveals fundamental differences from nepotism as it is understood in the West. First, it is apparent that nepotism forms in the reviewed countries are entrenched within the ways that their societies function and, therefore, are not always associated with illegal activities. More than that, they are viewed as a way of everyday life and do not necessarily imply corruption. The relationships based on these forms of nepotism were shaped both historically and socially: whether they persisted through the formal teachings as *guanxi*, emerged as a result of the rigid economic and bureaucratic system as *svyazi*, or became a product of everyday processes as *jeitinho*. Because of that, these forms of nepotism are ever-present (or institutionalised), not occasional.

Second, distinctions become evident even among these nepotism forms. The most obvious differences can be noted in the nature of relationships between the parties, intensity of these relationships and their duration. *Guanxi* in this regard is the strongest in terms of relationships and their intensity as well as involving strict hierarchy. It is also supposed to be beneficial for both parties through a long-term emotional commitment. While *jeitinho* and *svyazi* may involve hierarchy and long term connections, they do not necessarily do so. The nature of the relationships within these forms of nepotism is weaker and often involves those at the same social hierarchical level. *Jeitinho* is more culturally embedded than *svyazi* and implies something that every Brazilian does on a daily basis. However, *svyazi*, in contrast to *jeitinho*, never seems to imply criminal or illegal context.

As is seen, various forms of nepotism can be identified. They are distinct from the Western idea of nepotism, because they indicate that nepotism is culturally acceptable, but they also differ from each other on a range of factors which seem to be culturally defined. Since these practices are strong and culturally defined, they may be considered as indigenously institutionalised. Further, because they are pervasive, they are likely to influence various forms of organisational relationships and processes. Following these propositions, the next section of the chapter reviews the indigenous form of nepotism for Arabic world, which is *wasta*.

3.2.4 *Wasta* – the Indigenous Arabic Nepotism

3.2.4.1 *Definition of Wasta*

Cunningham and Sarayrah (1993) wrote that “understanding *wasta* is key to understanding decisions in the Middle East, for *wasta* pervades the culture of all Arab countries and is a force in every significant decision” (p. 3). To emphasise the significance of *wasta* for the Arab world, Weir (2003) argued that government policies are simply surface phenomenon in comparison to the deeper infrastructures of the relationships encompassed by *wasta*. The rampant nature of *wasta* was underscored by many researchers in various Arab countries and focusing on various aspects of life in the Arab world (Barnett et al., 2013; Cunnigham and Sarayrah, 1993; Kilani and Sakijha, 2002; Mohamed and Mohamad, 2011). Sawalha (2002) wrote that *wasta* renders people better positioned to obtain employment, get accepted to a university or to get lenient treatment under law. Hutchings and Weir (2006a) argued that *wasta* is more important than organisational goals and performance. According to Barnett et al. (2013), *wasta* has a wide range implications, from getting in front of the line to obtaining a lucrative business contract. Even such mundane tasks as obtaining a drivers’ license in many Arab countries often requires *wasta* (Mohamed and Mohamad, 2011).

Because of its pervasive nature and broad implications, the exact definition of *wasta* is not easy to pinpoint. Even the translation of *wasta* from Arabic is loose and can be understood as “who

you know.” Smith et al. (2012) defined *wasta* as “a process whereby one may achieve goals through links with key persons” (p. 3). Similarly, Sidani and Thornberry (2013) described *wasta* as using connections to reach the desired end. A more focused definition was provided by Barnett et al. (2013) who viewed *wasta* as a specific form of implicit contract originating from tribal relationships and “obliging those within the group to provide assistance (favourable treatment) to others within the group” (p. 41). Barnett et al. (2013) further emphasised that having *wasta* means a situation where a person from whom assistance is requested is in a position to grant the request.

According to Cunningham and Sarayah (1993), in the past, *wasta* was understood as a means to organise and maintain tribal and familial relationships through the use of intermediary called the *shaykh*. The *shaykh* would be called to resolve conflicts between the parties, thereby acting as an intermediary (Cunningham and Sarayah, 1993). Therefore, *wasta* would refer to a neutral person and an act of resolving a conflict to reinforce the existing rules and social norms (Tlaiss and Krauser, 2011). In modern days, *wasta* involves a process whereby a person of power intervenes on behalf of another individual to help that individual resolve a personal issue (Hutchings and Weir, 2006a).

3.2.4.2 Features of Wasta

In order to understand the nature of *wasta* as an indigenous form of nepotism, it is worth comparing it to other contextual terms describing the nature of relationships it proposes. This section does so by first comparing *wasta* to the Western understanding of nepotism as well as the related terms of cronyism and favouritism. Next, *wasta* is compared and contrasted to other forms of indigenous nepotism described above.

Western scholarship tradition often assigns familiar terms to describe processes in inherently different socio-cultural contexts. While such an approach highlights the general nature of such

processes, it often ignores the key features that make these processes special. This is true with regards to *wasta*. Much of the discussion of this term in the contemporary literature describes *wasta* as nepotism (Al-Ali, 2008; Loewe et al. 2007; Mohamed and Hamdy, 2008; Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Consequently, *wasta* is assigned the negative connotations that the term nepotism carries in Western literature. Often *wasta*, like nepotism, is linked to corruption (Loewe et al. 2007; Mohamed and Hamdy, 2008). In reality, *wasta*, as Izraeli (1997) noted, is far more reaching and encompassing.

Unlike nepotism in the Western world, which is frowned upon and generally not made public, *wasta* is deeply embedded within the social fabric of many Arabic countries, where it is practiced in an open manner, without remorse, shame or guilt (Barnett et al., 2013). The foundations of *wasta* use are both pragmatic and moral: it is exercised as both an obligation and a moral imperative. *Wasta* is also far more entrenched in Arabic society than in the West due to the absence of trust. According to Fukuyama (1996), trust creates social capital, which is needed in all societies. The general lack of trust to governments that lack transparency and accountability and laws that do not guarantee equal protection leads to strong reliance on family connections in the Arab world (Herrerros and Criado, 2008; Xin and Pearce, 1996). *Wasta*, as a means to maintain and strengthen the family ties, then proliferates in all aspects of life. In other words, *wasta* does not become something that needs to be avoided; rather, something that simply has to be practiced in the absence of viable alternatives.

Another important difference, which is somewhat related to the seeming inevitability of *wasta*, is the absence of the perceived link to corruption. In Saudi Arabia there is the National Strategy for Protecting Honesty and Combating Corruption which was made into law by the Council of Ministers in 2007. However, this strategy is primarily focused on bribery. Consequently, the harsh penalties (up to 1 million riyals and up to 10 years imprisonment) are established for this specific transgression or failure to report it. Because *wasta* does not involve gifts in monetary

of any other form, it does not fall under the definition of bribery for legal purposes. Moreover, *wasta* is rarely synonymous with corruption within Arab society; quite the contrary, it is often a source of pride and prestige. *Wasta*, unlike corruption, does not involve a *quid pro quo* relationship between the parties; rather, it implies one way help which is then translated further through the family and tribal links. Because of tribal extension, *wasta*, unlike nepotism, extends beyond personal kinship and may involve people not directly related. In this regard, Bennett et al. (2013) compared *wasta* to a multi-stage game rather than to an act of corruptive behaviour. *Wasta* is also sometimes viewed from the Western perspective of networking. Hutchings and Weir (2006b), for example, argued that *wasta* is expressed through the exercise of influence and power via social and political networks that are based on family and tribal ties. Cunningham and Sarayah (1993) also noted that those in positions of power and wealth create *wasta* networks to accomplish tasks. Michael and Yukl (1993) explained *wasta* as a combination of both internal and external networks often described in Western literature. However, equating *wasta* to networking is also misleading. While both terms are similar in being tools for getting things done, networking in the Western understanding implies setting an opportunity, nothing more. For example, it is possible for an individual to use networking for getting a job interview; however, the final decision is likely to be based on qualifications and experience. In other words, networking does not necessarily influence the outcome of the interview. With *wasta*, it is the connection itself that would get the job in the aforementioned case. Therefore, *wasta* is more influential but less fair than networking: it allows individuals to seize the opportunity based on relationship itself, which also means that it does not give everyone an equal chance (Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011).

Finally, *wasta* is different from the other forms of indigenous nepotism discussed earlier, including *guanxi*, *jeitinho* and *svyazi*. While all these, including *wasta*, are examples of opportunistic behaviour, certain aspects of *wasta* institution are special to Arab societies alone.

In contrast to *svyazi*, *wasta* represents a much stronger network, which is defined by familial and tribal connections. In contrast to *jeitinho*, *wasta* often involves some kind of relationships between the parties and is rarely linked to illegal activities. Finally, in contrast to *guanxi*, *wasta* is not consistent with core ethical teachings. This is best reflected in human resource practices. While collective ties are emphasised in the work of Confucius, Islam gives importance to qualifications, competence and merit when it comes to employment (Ali, 2005; Hutchings and Weir, 2006a). Therefore, *wasta* is not based on Islamic tradition; rather, it is a product of the peculiarities of the historic development of Arab societies. Over the long course of history, *wasta* was formed on the political, economic, familial, moral and cognitive foundations as will be discussed in details below.

3.3 *Wasta* as an Institution

As was discussed earlier, the concept of an institution is at the core of the institutional perspective on PSM. Giddens (1984) asserted that institutions are “the more enduring features of social life” that solidify social systems (p. 24). Hallet and Ventresca (2006) stated that institutions are inhabited by humans and interactions between them. They establish written and/or unwritten “rules of the game” that shape these interactions and human behaviour (Jepperson, 1991, p. 143). Institutions represent phenomena that emerged historically and contextually within each particular culture. Zukcer (1977), for example, referred to institutions as something that have been in place for many years, transmitted and reproduced across many generations.

When it comes to the formation of institutions within a particular society, researchers often refer to the process of institutionalisation: embedding of something within a social system until it attains a certain state of propriety (Jepperson, 1991, p. 143). This state of propriety is institutionalism, which provides steady support for established institutions by creating belief in the merits of the related customs and merits (Vermuelen and Raab, 2007). Suchman (1995)

linked the institutionalisation process to legitimacy – “a generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (p. 574). The “socially constructed systems” in this definition are institutional frameworks, which give rise to the assumptions and beliefs that guide behaviours. It can be argued then that institutions go through a process of institutionalisation that eventually culminates in dictating individual behaviour by means of institutions– the commonly established forms of behaviour that are typical within a particular group or society. From this standpoint, *wasta* can be described as an institution of the Arabic society by defining the process of its institutionalisation in an historic perspective and describing different forms of legitimacy that it has created.

3.3.1 Institutionalisation of *Wasta*

In their seminal work on the social construction of reality, Berger and Luckman (1967) tied together the concepts of institutionalisation and legitimacy. They wrote that institutionalised activities at first develop as repeated behavioural patterns that reflect shared meanings among the society members. These activities then become related to wider cultural frames and rules. Similarly, Johnson, Dowd and Ridgway (2006) wrote that the legitimacy of new activities comes from their local acceptance which construes them as “a valid social fact” and make them more readily adopted within similar contexts (p. 60). In the end, these actions acquire widespread acceptance and become “a part of society’s shared culture” (Johnson et al., 2006, p. 61). Importantly, within institutional theory legitimacy is considered as a multifaceted concept. Researchers proposed various classifications of legitimacy forms, although the one proposed by Suchman (1995) is more often used by researchers of institutions and *wasta* (i.e. Scott, 2008; Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). According to Suchman (1995), pragmatic legitimacy denotes power dependence relationships and is based primarily on self-interest. Cognitive legitimacy encompasses taken for granted assumptions and perceived

appropriateness of behavioural output. Finally, moral legitimacy is based on what is considered right and morally acceptable. In the Arabic world, the process of *wasta* institutionalisation encompasses all major aspects of social institutions and, therefore, had political, familial, economic, moral and cognitive foundations. These foundations created three major forms of legitimacy: pragmatic, moral and cognitive.

3.3.1.1 Political Foundations

The political foundations of *wasta* come through the historically defined connections to the leaders. According to Barnett et al. (2013), the politics of *wasta* could be traced back to as early as the 14th century, when the prominent Arabic historian and historiographer Ibn Khaldun made a reference to the importance of being connected with the ruler for being profitable. Connections with the authorities became ever important when Arab countries received independence and faced threats of both internal and external character (Mohamed and Mohamad, 2011). As a result, the ruling authorities started creating increasingly centralised administration apparatuses assigning, among other things, close people of trust to key positions (Gibler, 2010). In the absence of balanced power distribution and institutional structures as well as the widespread presence of autocratic authority, powerful elites emerged, and connection to them became the only way to conduct business (Mohamed and Mohamad, 2011; Peng and Luo, 2000).

For centuries, Arabic rulers would extensively use *wasta* to preserve the grip on power (Mohamed and Mohamad, 2011). For example, Al Ramahi (2008) described *wasta* as the means used by King Abdullah I to ensure loyalty of the Jordanian tribes in the 1920s. Specifically, the King promised to place the relatives of those tribal leaders in key positions regardless of their qualifications in exchange for unquestionable loyalty (Al Ramahi, 2008). Since then, the practice of reserving higher administration positions for the ruling families and

the members of tribes loyal to them is a norm in Arab Gulf Countries. This, in turn, perpetuates *wasta* because connections play a more important role in obtaining a highly valued position.

Researchers argued that oil discovery further supported the spread of *wasta* (Mohamed and Mohamad, 2011). Oil resources became an easy source of wealth; therefore, access to them guaranteed a life of luxury. Since oil gains came through windfalls resulting from connections and affiliations, seeking those connections and affiliation became more important than developing individual skills and expertise (Yates, 1996). Seeking *wasta* was an inevitable product of this new mentality. In addition, many Arab countries for a long time refused to develop oil-neutral sectors because of the ease with which profits were received from the extraction and sale of oil. In the absence of work alternatives, the population increasingly strived to get into the positions related to oil industries (Mohamed and Mohamad, 2011). Since these positions were a product of kinship rather than merit, *wasta* persisted even more.

The political foundations of *wasta* can be directly related to the pragmatic form of legitimacy. The system of power that historically evolved in the Arabic states in general and Saudi Arabia in particular has created a situation where access to power and resources has been based on kinship more than on anything else. Consequently, *wasta* became a means of attaining what one needs, acquiring and preserving wealth and gaining protection. These aspects of *wasta* are strongly reflected in Arab cultural folklore, especially, in the proverbs of Arabs. Taymor (1986) presented a collection of such proverbs to make the point of how politics and *wasta* has been interconnected throughout history. Some of these proverbs are provided with explanations in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: *Examples of Arabic Wasta Proverbs with Explanations*

Proverb	Meaning
He who has a back will not be hit on his stomach	Those who are supported by strong others will not be put down or rejected. Only the unconnected or unsupported are punished
Lucky is the person who the governor is his uncle.	People who are related to important others (especially in government) are fortunate as they will have their demands or needs fulfilled. People serve those that are related to important people.
Seek who you know, so that your needs will be fulfilled	People tend to serve those that they know. Without knowing anybody, you will have difficulty getting the service you want
If you have a turban, you will have a safe trip.	The turban symbolizes a senior respected person. If you know a senior person, your demands will be met.
No one can escalate except those who have a ladder.	Rising to high levels requires important connections. Receiving important privileges or benefits is contingent upon using the right connections.

Source: Taymor (1986), as cited in Mohamed and Mohamad (2011, p. 415)

The political foundations of wasta in the Arabic society are strongly supported by the familial foundations, which also gave rise to pragmatic legitimacy of the related behaviours.

3.3.1.2 Familial Foundations

According to Khalaf and Khalaf (2008), the institution of family in which roles and relations are strictly set, is one of the main attributes of Arab societies. In his study on Saudi Arabian society, Niblock (1982) asserted that for a Saudi, the first loyalty is to the family, then to the tribe, and only then to the country (p. 181). At an early age, Arabs are taught to depend on the family and pay dues to it (Joseph, 2008). This belief in family obligation is reflected in the

expected payback when one becomes capable of doing so (Rees and Altharkhri, 2008). Further, this belief trumps self-interest and often the interests of an organisation to which one belongs (Davis, Pitts, and Cormier, 2000; Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002). Escaping family obligations, according to Sidani and Thornberry (2013), is only possible at the expense of shame and social exclusion.

The tradition of attaching so much to the family in Arabic society can be traced back to the notion of *asabiya* (group loyalty) coined by Ibn Khaldun (Ghanemi, 2006). Often, group loyalty results in obligations to provide preferential treatment to family and tribe members, although *asabiya* implies that by hiring and promoting these members, family and/or tribe power in the community is preserved (Rees and Altharkhri, 2008). Therefore, *wasta* and *asabiya* reinforce each other: *asabiya* requires *wasta* to sustain familial and tribal powers, while *wasta* requires *asabiya* in the first place to justify preferential practices.

Another important familial factor is the notion of trust. According to Kafaji (2011), Arab societies belong to low trust category. General absence of trust results in reluctance to trust those outside of familial or tribal bonds in practically any matter. Jabra and Jreisat (2009) noted that the collective nature of Arab societies lead them to seek support within close in-groups, families or tribes in this case. Low trust issues are reflected in business practices more than anywhere else. According to Sidani and Thornberry (2013), businesses in Arab world are considered family rather than individuals' enterprises. They serve as vehicles for preserving family wealth as much as for maximising shareholders' wealth. Therefore, it is a common practice for family businesses to hire individuals from the family to control businesses first, while effective running of business is a less important consideration/priority (Chahine and Tohme, 2009). As Davis et al. (2000) effectively summarised it, Arab managers become more interested in supporting family image and wealth rather than in running highly effective enterprises. *Wasta* by all means serves as an important tool for such practices.

Families serve as a good reflection of how *wasta* underwent changes from the past. In its original form, *wasta* referred to a process whereby a family or a tribe head called *waseet* would mediate internal and external conflicts (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Through the process of mediation, *wasta* aided families and tribes in preserving unity and status within a larger community and society (Al-Ramahi, 2008). With time, however, *wasta* turned its focus from the interests of a family/tribe to focus on their individual members. Bellow (2003) suggested that this shift could be explained by globalisation, which increased competitive pressures. At the same time, this shift, in the opinion of Sidani and Thornberry (2013), did not replace family as the primary reason for *wasta*; rather, the effects became more subtle.

Familial roots of *wasta* reinforce pragmatic legitimacy. On the one hand, one of the reasons for *wasta*'s emergence has been failure of the traditional political and power institutions to provide equal opportunities for all. According to Herreros and Criado (2008), such failures of basic political institutions inevitably give new levels of importance to family connections. Reliance on family connections using *wasta* then has made perfect pragmatic sense: it helped in achieving the opportunities, security and stability that the traditional political institutions seemed to fail in providing for everyone. On the other hand, *wasta* was used to perpetuate the sense of familial unity by strengthening the familial ties and expanding familial influences by attracting new members in the desired positions.

3.3.1.3 Economic Foundations

Even before the authoritarian rule and oil boom in the independent Arab states, *wasta* persisted through a system of economic incentives under the rule of colonial powers. According to Barnett et al. (2013), the ruling colonial powers, such as the Ottoman Empire and European states, would often exploit the tribal nature of the early Arabic societies by giving out land to the influential families in exchange for loyalty. The process was similar to what the ruling elites

of the independent Arab states would do later with the difference that land was offered instead of positions (El-Ghonemy, 1998).

Bellow (2003) wrote that the power of economic incentives in perpetuating *wasta* was significant. Influential tribal families loyal to the colonisers would later receive, apart from land, tax exemptions and the permissions to obtain economic rent from the other inhabitants. Tribe, according to Barnett et al. (2013) would become an even stronger nucleus, and the relationships of kinship became important. As social stratification became wider, the road to wealth and prestige became strongly dependent upon connections. El-Ghonemy (1998) compared the Arabic colonial period relationships within tribes to those of trade unions which vied for the interests of each member for the sake of benefits for the entire group.

Within the modern economic paradigm, *wasta* practices are important for firms by embedding them within larger social networks that provide access to investments, permits, contracts and other important aspects of business (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). In other words, *wasta* is considered a must have competitive mechanism that puts an organisation in the same conditions that other organisations hold. Baumol, Litan and Schramm (2007) coined a term “oligarchic capitalism” to describe this. Oligarchic capitalism would push organisations to employ *wasta* in order to achieve competitive advantage in a situation where the other relevant players are doing the same. In essence, this means that building and maintaining strong relationships with important stakeholders could be valued more than achievements in productivity and operational efficiencies. Such relationships, on the other hand, can be supported through the extended family, while *wasta* would ensure the connections necessary for a firm’s prosperity (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013).

Another important feature from an economic standpoint became the system of *waqf*, a charitable trust used by the wealthy Arabs to allocate a part of their assets. *Waqf* served as an alternative to public services, as the wealthy individuals would allocate land and provide goods

and services for public there in exchange for preserving own wealth (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). While originally efficient, *waqf* trusts with time became vehicles for amassing enormous amounts of wealth, which would be used at owners' discretion and often not in the most socially effective way (Ayres and Macey, 2005; Raissouni, 2001). They also became vehicles for *wasta* since the key positions in *waqf* would be filled by the close relatives of *waqf* owners.

The economic foundations of *wasta* gave additional support for pragmatic legitimacy. This came from obtaining economic opportunities and competitiveness that *wasta* provided. Unlike the Western world, where economic success often came by using innovative methods to increase efficiency and effectiveness, economic success in the Arabic world was based more on the ability to establish and maintain relationships within the economic networks that would give access to markets and contracts. Sidani and Thornberry (2013) called such networks a "dimension of pragmatic legitimacy in the Arab context" (p. 78). *Wasta* then became essential for establishing the required connections through the process of economic patronage that replaced the lack of open and unobstructed competition.

3.3.1.4 Moral Foundations

According to Sidani and Thornberry (2013), *wasta* proliferated in the Arab world not only because it was beneficial, but also because "it is the right thing to do" (p. 78). Because family ties and kin harmony are assigned such an enormous value, *wasta* may have earned legitimacy as a practice supporting this value. In essence, it could be that not responding to kinship obligations would be considered as compromising moral imperatives as much as severing family ties (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). In fact, taking morality from the *wasta* equation in words of Sidani and Thornberry would be counterproductive and detrimental to its cause.

Religion can be considered as a strengthening force in this regard, particularly given the special treatment of family tradition in Islam, which treats cutting family ties as a serious sin (Ezzat,

2009). However, the general understanding of what these ties mean gradually evolved to encompass nearly all aspects of an Arab's life. As a specific example, it also relates to hiring and promoting practices (Kurdi, 2010). While Islam itself does not stress the importance of giving preference to family members when it comes to work relationships, it does stress the importance of family interdependence and this fact could have supported the spread of *wasta* (El-Hadi, 2000; Kuran, 2004; Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Sidani and Thornberry (2013) provided Islamic inheritance as an example. While the descendants generally inherit portions of wealth, there remains a collective cause for fixed assets and company structures. By preserving joint ownership, Islamic inheritance preserves the role of family. This role, in turn, is then reinforced through the process of *wasta* when it comes to hiring and promotion decisions.

Moral foundations of *wasta* have created moral legitimacy for this institution. It has added to the beneficial element of *wasta* by making it the “right thing to do.” This notion has traditionally supported close familial ties in the Arab society. By supporting the value of familial ties and promoting the wellbeing of the family, *wasta* became supplied with an important moral imperative. Importantly, this imperative converged with the religious prescriptions of helping the family members and strengthening the family relationships. Ultimately, the moral foundations of *wasta* have made it both expected and something that one is expected to do in relation to the others.

3.3.1.5 Cognitive Foundations

Cognitive foundations of *wasta* can be said to arise from the combination of the foundations described above and the absence of viable alternatives to *wasta*. Since *wasta* has been part of Arabic social and organisational practices for such a long time, and was supported by local practices, culture, religion and morality, it has acquired a special status of being “taken for

granted” (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Barnett et al. (2013) argued that *wasta* has been generally perceived as a better solution to the existing socio-economic problems and resource allocations in the Arabic society. Consequently, it has persisted in these societies as an inevitable part of life. The ongoing experiences and expectations of individuals at all social levels make it a self-sustaining phenomenon that is hard to eradicate from the beliefs and actions of the society members in the Arabic states.

3.3.2 The Pillars of *Wasta*

Another way to describe *wasta* as an institution in Arabic society is to look into the pillars upon which it stands. These pillars represent “cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour” (Scott, 2008, p. 33). The cognitive pillar, according to Scott (2008), includes the “rules that constitute the nature of reality and the frames through which meaning is made” (p. 40). It mostly reflects what kinds of behaviours are taken for granted considering cultural and social realities. The normative pillar includes “normative rules that place prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory dimensions on social life” (Scott, 2008, p. 30). It reflects social obligations and binding, moral expectations. Finally, the regulative pillar includes applications of laws and rules. Non-compliance with these rules and laws may lead to legal sanctions. According to Scott (2008), for institutions, it is possible to have one or more pillars that eventually determine the strength of the institutions. Strang and Sine (2002) in this regard pointed out that in cases when institutional pillars are not well aligned, they create opportunities for actors to pursue their own interests. For example, institutions that have a strong legal base but are not morally governed are likely to be unstable and not widely accepted within a given society. For example, the institution of segregation existing in the US for quite a long time but was eventually challenged in the 1960s in the Civil Rights era.

3.3.2.1 *The Cognitive Pillar*

The cognitive pillar of institutions encompasses the shared conceptions that create the social reality upon which meanings rest (Scott, 2008). This particular pillar mediates between individuals and the external world. D'Andrade (1984) in this regards asserted that the cognitive paradigm makes behaviour a function of individual's internal representation of the environment. Further, interactions between people give rise to meanings that are maintained and transformed as individuals employ them to make sense of what is going on (Scott, 2008). This is translated into a system of common beliefs and shared logic of actions. This can be applied to *wasta* in the Arabic societies. As was discussed earlier, *wasta* emerged as a viable institutional solution to a specific set of political and social conditions that existed for centuries. In a sense, use of *wasta* was a response to an inability to achieve equal opportunities in various aspects of life. Eventually, it acquired a status of certainty that persisted throughout the entire society. As a result, *wasta* became employed as a shared logic of action because without it one would be simply disadvantaged in comparison to those who have and use *wasta*.

Another important element of the cognitive pillar, according to Scott (2008), is culture. Internal interpretive processes are inevitably shaped by cultural frameworks that make specific actions culturally shaped and recognised. Douglas (1982) proposed that cultural categories are "cognitive containers" that define and classify social interests. Hofstede (1991) further noted that culture establishes patterns of "thinking, feeling and acting" (p. 4). Cunningham and Sarayrah (1993) succinctly linked *wasta* to the Arabic culture by tracing its roots to the tribal systems under the *shaykhs* and emphasising its importance for maintaining strong familial bonds. Eventually, the institution of *wasta* became routinized and taken as something correct and sound by being culturally supported.

Finally, the cognitive pillar rests upon the social roles assigned by an institution (Scott, 2008). Cognitive and cultural theorists recognise the importance of roles because specific actions and

behaviours are often associated with specific actors. Shank and Adelson (1977), for example, wrote that cognitive action is often based on templates that include scripts for particular actors. Similarly, Berger and Luckmann (1967) wrote that roles embody institutions in individual experience. With regards to *wasta*, such roles can be clearly observed for those who give and receive *wasta*. As was discussed earlier, the role of *waseet* (the person giving *wasta*) is associated with the family members who are in positions of power and influence. Because many of them were likely to attain such positions or at least the opportunities to attain them by means of connections, they are obligated to provide such help as well. On the other hand, those who seek *wasta*, are usually family members who look for opportunities and know that someone from their family is in position to provide *wasta*. They do this because other means do not provide good chances for success. This clear and strict distribution of the roles further reinforces the cognitive pillar of *wasta*.

3.3.2.2 *The Normative Pillar*

According to Scott (2008) the normative institutional pillar is based on the rules that introduce a “prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory dimension into social life” (p. 64). Referring to the importance of the normative pillar, March and Olsen (1989) argued that mostly, behaviour observed within specific institutions follows the prescribed routines of what people are supposed to do. By definition, this pillar includes values and norms that institutions create to assign appropriate and widely accepted behavioural patterns. Values encompass what is desirable and/or preferred, while norms specify what is appropriate and what the appropriate means to achieve this are (Blake and Davis, 1964; Scott, 2008). Because of this, it can be said that the normative pillar relies on the logic of appropriateness which prescribes behaviour based on specific situations. This behaviour is often reliant on unwritten rules and it is morally

governed. Heclo (2008) in this regard wrote that the principal-agent perspective is based on moral implications.

With respect to *wasta*, the normative pillar largely reflects the moral foundations described earlier. Social obligation, which is the basis for compliance in the normative pillar, has been strongly implied by the necessity to help the family members by *wasta*. This moral imperative backed by religious views on the importance of assisting family members prescribed *wasta* as a means to carry out such support. Hence the family values converged with the norms of behaviour that assigned *wasta* as an appropriate form of behaviour. Being accepted as morally acceptable and appropriate *wasta*, therefore, persisted in the Arabic world. Because of this, the normative pillar of *wasta* has been extremely strong.

3.3.2.3 The Regulative Pillar

According to Scott (2008), one of the features of institutions is that they not only encourage and moralise certain behaviours, but also regulate and constrain them. Consequently, the regulative pillar of institutions encompasses explicit rule-setting processes that formalise certain behaviours and allow to determine the degree of compliance and conformity to them. Being more formal in nature than the other two pillars described above, the regulative pillar rests upon written rules, laws and sanctions for failure to follow them. Laws and legislation, according to Greenwood et al. (2008), may shift public interest and either introduce new or reinforce new practices. At the same time, Aguilera and Cuervo-Cazura (2004) argued that changes in laws represent a long process. Therefore, the regulative foundations of institutions remain relatively stable over time.

One may argue that the regulative pillar is the weakest when speaking of *wasta* as an institution. Indeed, institution of *wasta* has not been legally defined or formalised in form of strict rules. In fact, *wasta* is argued to emerge as a response to the absence of strong rule of law applied on

an equal basis (Al-Zumai, 2007). Moreover, recent literature demonstrates that many Arabic countries have been trying hard to get rid of *wasta*'s presence (Barnett et al., 2013; Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Therefore, *wasta* has developed and been applied mostly without a strong regulative pillar, and this puts much pressure on the institution especially in view of the introduction of Western business practices and codes of conducts. Nevertheless, it can be argued that in public administrations, where traditionalism prevails, the absence of the regulative pillar may not be felt as strong as in private businesses. Moreover, according to Scott (2008), the sanctioning process within the regulative pillar may be employed as an informal mechanism. This means that for *wasta*, the lack of regulatory tools prompting its use is compensated by possible moral qualms and fear of losing respect within the family.

Table 3.2 summarises the three pillars upon which *wasta* stands based on the discussion above. As follows from the review, *wasta* is primarily founded on cognitive and normative elements of a typical institution. Considering the recent changes in legislation and corporate cultures of the Arabic states, the regulative institution may become misaligned with the other two by providing forces to oppose *wasta* institution. Strang and Sine (2002) wrote that when the three institutional pillars are not aligned, they create a situation when they are used for different means by different actors. This also serves as a source of conflict and confusion that may eventually lead to institutional change (Dacin, Goodstein, and Scott, 2002; Kraatz and Block, 2008). However, while generally lacking explicit regulative support, it has been shown that even in presence of legal pressures for elimination, *wasta* persists in the Arabic societies and will be likely to remain for some time in the future. Having identified *wasta* as an institution, it is useful to determine what type of institution it is.

Table 3.2. Three Pillars of *Wasta*

	The Cognitive Pillar STRONG	The Normative Pillar STRONG	The Regulative Pillar WEAK
Basis for compliance	-taken for granted in the absence of other alternatives	-morality related to familial obligations -religious prescriptions to help family members	-self-interest, but no written laws and rules prescribing <i>wasta</i>
Main indicators	-shared beliefs about <i>wasta</i> as “how things are done” -shared logic of action	-socially bound behaviour: <i>wasta</i> as an obligation to help family members -social expectations to ask for <i>wasta</i> and provide one -well defined roles and actors: those who receive <i>wasta</i> and provide it	-unwritten prescriptions for behaviour
Mechanisms for compliance	-belief that everyone is using <i>wasta</i> -belief that without <i>wasta</i> opportunities will be missed	-family values and expected norms of behaviour	-no official rewards or punishments for using <i>wasta</i> , although anti- <i>wasta</i> legislation is being introduced
Driving logic	-orthodox logic: follows from historical systems of <i>shaykh</i> and <i>waseet</i> .	-logic of appropriateness: <i>wasta</i> is considered as appropriate means to provide and receive support	-no instrumentality behind <i>wasta</i>
Rewards	-certainty of actions and behaviours	-moral satisfaction	-no apparent rewards from the regulative perspective
Sanctions	-belief in missed opportunities	-offending family members	-no apparent sanctions from the regulative perspective

3.3.3 *Wasta* as a Culture-Specific Institution

The review of *wasta* so far has covered its various institutional foundations (economic, political, familial, moral and cognitive) and the major pillars (cognitive and normative and less regulative). Taking into account the historical roots of *wasta* and its prevalence in many Arabic countries, this study proposes that *wasta* is a culture-specific institution which is special for the

Arabic world. Culture can be understood as a collection of values, beliefs and practices that are shared among groups of people and used to formulate acceptable social behaviour (Rugman and Hodgetts, 2003; Van Oudenhoven, 2001). An explicit definition of culture that underlines its complex nature was provided by Schein (2010) who defined it as:

“A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way you perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problem”. (p. 18)

Culture specific institutions can be regarded as the tools that have been historically used to resolve the problems of adaptation and integration within cultural paradigm. Researchers note that some types of institutions are strongly bound to specific cultures. For example, Greif (1994) argued that cultural differences are in the core of emergence of specific financial institutions in different parts of the world. Todd (1990) proposed that culture influences development of different economic ideologies. A number of researchers also emphasised the role of religion as a cultural element in creating specific institutions (i.e. Berkovitch, 2011; Ronen and Shenkar, 1985).

Two features of culture-specific institution are important to consider. First, these institutions are supra-organisational and sometimes even supra-national, that is, they are typical for specific regions. In their seminal study on cultural similarities and differences Ronen and Shenkar (1985) proposed an idea of cultural clustering within nine large groups. Arab culture represented a separate group of countries, primarily in the Arabian Peninsula. Researchers often prefer to talk about Arabic culture even when describing organisational activities and human resource practices in the specific countries of the region (Budhwar and Mellahi, 2007; Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Following the research of some prominent cultural theorists, such as Hofstede (1980, 2001) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997), Arabic culture is often defined by its strong collectivistic orientation, family ties and fatalism.

Second, culture-specific institutions influence HRM in organisations. Sonja and Phillips (2004) argued that every organisation exists and operates within a larger societal and cultural context. Similarly, Dedoussis (2004) wrote that as a social system operating within a particular society, an organisation cannot be immune from its socio-cultural forces. Therefore, while organisations may develop specific internal sets of assumptions and behaviours among their members, individuals inevitably bring with them assumptions and behaviours that have been acquired within this larger context. Consequently, despite the existence of different organisational cultures, common patterns from the wider cultural context (national or regional) may be typical for them all (Hofstede et al., 1990; Nazarian, Irani and Ali, 2013; Soeters and Schreuder, 1988).

When considering *wasta*, it appears to have both features of culture-specific institutions. As was described earlier, *wasta* emerged within a culture of tribalism and extended family relationships in the early Arabic society. This socio-cultural texture that emphasised the power of unity and familial connections gave birth to practices where family members were helping each other. These practices eventually became bundled within *wasta*. *Wasta* helped navigate the culture specific intricacies of the Arabic society that did not allow other means of access to opportunities and wealth. It was used to resolve the issues created within the context of Arabic culture. As Barnett et al. (2013) noted, “*wasta* was efficiency enhancing and therefore life and wealth preserving” (p. 45). The economic and political benefits that *wasta* provided would eventually develop corresponding moral and cognitive values that backed it up and made it a part of the Arabic culture.

As an institution, *wasta* underwent changes throughout time. Today, it often refers to help from family members to achieve what is desired. The modern perspectives of *wasta* are usually applied within organisational context. Tlaiss and Kauser (2011), for example, described *wasta* as “one of the most important factors affecting the recruitment and career success of individuals

[in Arab countries]” (p. 474). Metcalfe (2006) argued that within Arab region family networks represent a significant force in organisational decision making and career advancement. Branine and Analoui (2006) also noted that in most Arab countries, *wasta* may be the only way to get employed. Therefore, while *wasta*’s role has changed, its importance and socio-cultural roots have remained preserved. It is still used as a means to gain opportunities although in the context of organisations. However, this creates a situation where advantages are assigned to individuals not by means of their achievements, but by means of their connections. This particular feature further distinguishes *wasta* as a cultural institution because similar institutions are in contrast with the traditional values of equal opportunities and justice that are prevalent in the Western world (Al-Hasan and James, 2009; Branine and Analoui 2006; Loewe et al, 2007; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011).

3.3.4 *Wasta* as an Informal Institution

In the broadest sense, institutions regulating social interactions across societies can be distinguished by the level of their formalisation. Both formal and informal institutions establish the rules of the game, although to a different degree, and they also may involve different sets of actors. Formal institutions, according to Fukuyama (1996), are universal and predictable. They are often explicitly stated and apply to all in an equal manner. A particular feature of formal institutions is codification, which comes in form of laws, statutes and regulations (Pejovich, 1999). Because of this, they serve as reliable sources for action and, at least in theory, leave no room for opportunism (Aoki, 2001; Fukuyama, 1996). Considering the three pillars of institutions described earlier, formal institutions would have a strong regulative component (Peng, 2011). They involve coercive power of the governing authorities that punishes for non-compliance with the rules established within these institutions.

In contrast to their formal counterparts, informal institutions are based on norms, values and customs (North, 1990). Unlike formal institutions, informal institutions are not codified and,

therefore, they are less visible and less explicit (Mershon, 1994). Because informal institutions are not explicitly identified, they tend to be shaped by a high level of face to face interaction and personalism. According to Etzold, Bohle and Keck (2009), personal communication and cooperation are essential within informal institutions. They often rely on trust and cooperation between a specific set of agents that use these institutions to attain their own goals. This is an important distinction from the universally applied and governed formal institutions. While informal institutions do not have a mechanism of punishment by an independent entity like a state or a government agency, they often include normative coercive forces such as loss of face or reputation within a collective where such institutions are applied (Etzold et al., 2009). Therefore, based on Scott's (2008) Three Pillars institutional framework, informal institutions are strong on cognitive and normative pillars, while being weaker on the regulative pillar (Peng, 2011).

It can be safely concluded that *wasta* belongs to informal institutions. As the review of the three pillars of *wasta* showed, it rests primarily on normative and cognitive pillars, while any explicit regulative mechanisms of *wasta* are absent in Arab world. As an informal institution, *wasta* is not universally applied, either in organisational context or outside of it: it is something used by a limited number of players with well distinguished roles of those who seek *wasta* and provide *wasta*. The former are looking for opportunities that *wasta* is likely to provide and the latter are driven by the purpose of extending a helpful hand to the family members. It is then a culturally and morally supported institution. *Wasta's* informal nature could also explain how it persisted for so many years and why even with the introduction of anti-*wasta* policies in many Arab countries it remains a stable trait of culture. In his discussion of formal and informal institutions, North (1990) argued that informal institutions are closely related to culture. Because cultural changes by nature are incremental, long periods of time are needed to reverse the effects of informal institution. This idea was supported by Knight (1992) who posited that

informal traditions normally lag behind formal traditions when it comes to changes. A similar idea was expressed by Platteau (1994) who wrote that slow changes in culture and history require a long period of “adequate” formal institutional change to bring about sufficient changes in informal institutions (p. 804). With *wasta* being culturally and historically based in Arab society, it has evolved but not gone away. Even with the introduction of formal anti-*wasta* policies, it may take a lot of time to get rid of it completely.

3.4 *Wasta* within an Institutional Perspective on PSM

Having identified *wasta* as an informal, culture-based institution within Arab society, it is now possible to place it within the institutional perspective on PSM. The theoretical framework for such perspective was introduced in Section 2.4.3 of the thesis based on the analysis provided by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008). Within the framework, institutions serve as a means to structure and transmit rule and value-based behaviours, public content being their central element and the social mechanisms being the transmitters of institutional content. Whenever identities bring into play the public content of institutions, individual behaviour becomes governed by the logic of appropriateness. The logic of appropriateness drives individuals to act in specific ways even when such acts are not in their best interests. Such influence is embedded in the institutionalisation of rules, identities and beliefs. Consequently, if identities grounded in public institutions converge with the internal standards of such institutions then behaviour will be directed by public service motives. The following is a discussion of how *wasta* fits within this perspective when applied to public administration in Saudi context.

3.4.1 The Role of *Wasta* in Saudi Public Administration

Within an institutional perspective on PSM, institutions are considered as defining mechanisms for individual behaviour (March and Olsen, 1995). They determine “the routines, procedures, conventions, organisational forms and technologies” from which actions are derived and which encompass codes, beliefs, knowledge and culture (March and Olsen, 1989, p. 22). Perry and

Vandenabeele (2008) also viewed institutions as something that create specific context in which organisational processes and individual interactions are carried out. Therefore, institutions play the role of distinguishing elements of organisational context on the one hand and they guide certain behaviours of organisational members on the other. *Wasta*, as an institution, takes on both roles in the broader context of Arab society and in the more specified context of its public organisations.

Being a culture-specific type of institution, *wasta* can be considered as an important social element that defines the context in which public service organisations in Saudi Arabia operate. In general, three social institutions are believed to form the Saudi social-value system: religion, family ties and traditions (Al-Awaji, 1971; Budhwar and Mellahi, 2007). Using connections for personal gain, therefore, is deeply embedded within Saudi culture. Any processes associated with it have a substantial influence on an individual's life (Hutchings and Weir, 2006b). Application of *wasta* in Saudi public service is reflective of the opportunities it provides. Saudi public sector is a preferred place of employment due to high wages and social guarantees that such employment offers (Hertog, 2010; Ramady, 2010). It is also the sector where labour nationalisation policies had success, thereby giving absolute preference for Saudis to be hired. In other words, employment in Saudi public sector is a desirable outcome for many Saudis regardless whether they might or might not have a high level of PSM. This assertion can be supported by a recent study by Van de Walle, Steijn and Jilke (2015). The study covered public sector employees in 26 countries and found that while PSM was important driver for getting a job in the public sector, so was the desire for a safe career option and good work conditions. Whenever public sector offers such opportunities, it often becomes the sector of employment choice.

While there has been no large scale investigation of *wasta* in the Saudi public sector to date, anecdotal evidence suggests that many Saudis obtain jobs and promotions in the public sector

based on *wasta* (Budhwar and Mellahi, 2007). Budhwar and Mellahi (2007) also argued that since tribal and family connections are stronger than organisational vitality in Saudi Arabia, *wasta* may play an important role in employee motivation in public sector: employees that obtained *wasta* may not be genuinely interested in public service and may not work hard due to the guaranteed employment and social benefits. Therefore, *wasta* may guide individual behaviour of Saudi public organisation employees by promoting unequal opportunities for hiring and promotion and by affecting employee motivation. Individualistic behaviour, in turn, is not compatible with PSM.

3.4.2.1 The Public Institutional Logic of *Wasta*

Within the institutional perspective on PSM provided by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), public institutions transmit influence over employee behaviours by means of a public institutional logic. This type of logic dictates an appropriate form of behaviour given the particular circumstances. In the Saudi public sector, *wasta* is appropriated through the normative and cognitive mechanisms which make it the right thing to do on the one hand and something taken for granted on the other. As was discussed earlier, the normative foundations of *wasta* are closely linked to the principles of morality that are embedded within family networks and religious prescriptions. A person who is asked for a favour from a family member can hardly refuse to help with employment in public sector because such help has traditionally been seen as a means to preserve strong family ties and increase opportunities and well-being. At the same time, the cognitive aspect of *wasta* guarantees that asking for a favour is not considered as something extraordinary, shameful or morally wrong. Unlike the Western societies, where acts of nepotism, cronyism and favouritism are strongly disliked and opposed, in Saudi Arabia *wasta* is considered more a way that things should be done to protect family interests.

According to Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), public institutional logic has to be transmitted to the individual level to influence behaviour. Four transmission mechanisms were identified: socialisation, social identification, culture and social learning. Socialisation is the process that maintains institutions and distributes them among the institutional members. Berger and Luckmann (1967) claimed that socialisation is the most important supporting factor for institutions, and it takes place through identification with significant others and attaining a social identity as an institutional member. Deci and Ryan (2004) proposed that socialisation is a process that eventually leads to desirable outcomes from the point of view of the society in which it takes place.

It can be said that *wasta* is transmitted through the socialisation process by means of observation and interactions. Mellahi and Wood (2003) described Saudis as highly collectivistic within the in-group relations such as family or tribe and highly individualistic in the out-group relations that include everyone else. The in-group relations are strong and all primary interactions take place there. Protection and support in exchange for loyalty are expected. Consequently, a Saudi grows up interacting primarily within the extended family-tribe system and learning that similar connections exist in other family groups. Consequently, family support based on *wasta* is both experienced with in-group relationships and observed in out-group relationships. This leads to acceptance of *wasta* as a normal and acceptable mechanism.

Close to socialisation is the concept of social identification. According to Tajfel and Turner (1985), people form identities based on how they classify themselves in terms of social categories. Because social identification relates to seeing oneself as a member of a particular group, it is used to explain in-group behaviour. In-group relationships in Saudi Arabia are strongly based on extended family and tribal relationships. As a result, Saudis socially identify themselves primarily with this group. As a matter of fact, this identity is often stronger than

identity with an organisation (Mellahi and Wood, 2003). Originating in tribal relationships and kinship, *wasta* is transmitted through social identity as a means to support these relationships. Some researchers (i.e. Brewer and Gaertner, 2001; Stangor and Jost, 1997) directly associate social identification with in-group favouritism, which is a feature of *wasta*. In Saudi public organisations, hiring and promotion then are likely to be based on *wasta* more than on merit.

The third mechanism that helps transmit institutional logics is culture. According to Perry and Vandenberg (2008) culture's importance as a public institutional logic transmission mechanism is in being a source of preferences. In other words, culture defines shared values that legitimise social practice patterns among institutional members. These values shape the individuals' identities and preferences. As was discussed above (Section 3.3.3), *wasta* is a culture-specific institution. It is based on a particular set of values, norms and traditions that formed and persisted within Arab society for quite a long time. In *wasta*, particular Arab social institutional traits such as family relationships and collectivism are reflected. It is also strongly supported by religious texts that encourage help for close ones. Over the course of history, *wasta* acquired legitimacy by developing economic, political, moral and cognitive foundations that encompassed nearly all major aspects of Arab culture. As a result, it became a source of social benefits and developed corresponding moral and cognitive values that backed it up and made it a part of the Arabic culture. The strong cultural basis contributed to the fact that *wasta* is considered extremely influential in human resource practices in the Middle East, including in public administrations (Iles et al., 2012; Metcalfe, 2006; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011).

The final mechanism for the transmission of a public institutional logic within Perry and Vandenberg's (2008) framework is social learning. Based on Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977), this process links together learning and social context. Specific behaviours are developed by observation and direct involvement. Because relevant institutions form the social context within which learning takes place, individual behaviours become related to

norms and rules within these institutions. As an informal institution, *wasta* does not have any explicit or written rules of behaviour. Rather, it is based on normative and cognitive assumptions that individuals carry and apply in specific situations, such as ones related to hiring and selection in the public sector. Therefore, individuals learn about the benefits of *wasta* by either observing others using it or using it themselves.

3.4.2.2 Wasta Logic and Family Logic

Institutional logics are represented by the symbolic elements, material practices and belief systems that are used to create the behaviour context at various levels of society (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). The higher order nature of institutional logics suggests that their manifestations will be seen across different organisations and fields (Fairclough & Micelotta, 2013). Understanding the institutional logic of *wasta* and its application in Saudi organisations can be done through the perspective of the well-established logic of family. In fact, with *wasta* being so closely associated with family ties and having roots in familial traditions it can be difficult to draw a distinctive line between the two logics. However, important differences do exist.

According to Friedland and Alford (1991), the family institutional logic comprises “a set of cultural rules and assumptions associated with notions of community and unconditional loyalty to family members and their reproductive needs” (p. 248). Miller et al. (2011) characterised it as one of “nurturing, generativity, and loyalty to the family” (p. 4). Applied to organisations, a family logic is often associated with the creation of family businesses as both an organisational form and an identity (Thornton, 2004). The values in such organizations are less materialistic and more focused on commitment to job security, reputation and control over firm’s resources (Greenwood et al., 2010; Karra et al., 2006). This influence is traced even in cases where family ties are no longer existent. This was, for example, demonstrated by Bhappu (2000) who showed

that the distinctive corporate practices and networks in Japan famous for their strong employee commitment arose from the legacy of an ancient family form. Similarly, Fairclough and Micelotta (2013) showed that a family logic has contributed much to preservation of traditional Italian law firms that remain small and reluctant to expand or merger with other firms due to the potential loss of ownership and control.

Several major conclusions with regards to a family logic and its influence on organisations can be drawn. First, a family logic creates a strong sense of attachment to one's organisation and this attachment may remain even when familial ties are no longer existent. Second, a family logic contributes to close mutually beneficial networks and control over enterprises. Third, a family logic seems to retain its influence on business practices even when family itself no longer applies to organisations. The *wasta* logic is somewhat different. While *wasta* may create a strong sense of attachment, it is only to the extended family, not at all to a formal organizational entity. Furthermore, giving and taking *wasta* is a matter of obligation rather than mutual interest. In organisational settings, *wasta* is often given upon request, not from personal desire of the giver. While *wasta* does assume the creation and maintenance of networks, the benefits of such networks remain accessible only within the institution itself. For example, a person who receives *wasta* would give *wasta* later in turn. In organisational settings, this creates a closed structure which is not open and inclusive of all organisational members, unlike the family values that run through family-run firms. Likewise, when *wasta* relationships cease to exist within an organization, the *wasta* logic will not persevere because it is entirely dependent upon the favouritism of particular individuals over others on the basis of kinship.

3.4.3 *Wasta*, Self and Identity

According to Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), "any motivational scheme tied to la logic of appropriateness gives self-concept or identity a central role" (p. 63). The importance of self

and identity for motivational research is in defining who an individual is. In this regard, social identity is most relevant for behavioural studies because it gives rise to a sense of belonging to a particular group (Brewer and Gardner, 1996; Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Identity is said to invoke the public content of institutions. As was explained earlier, within an institutional perspective on PSM, identity is based on the attachment of an individual to a public organisation and the mission to uphold public values. This, however, may not coincide with the values underlined by *wasta*. Since *wasta* provides benefits for family members first, its effect on identity can be such that individuals would associate themselves with family first and only then with organisation and society.

To understand how *wasta* could be undermining the socially-oriented PSM identity, it is useful to look into the process of how identity becomes salient (Stryker, 1980). When this happens, an individual is considered to be taken over by identity and behaves according to the schemata with his or her identity (Stryker and Burke, 2000). Saliency of an identity, according to Deci and Ryan (2004), is a function of the salience of the reference groups such as peers or leaders. In the case of *wasta*, the strongest reference group is undoubtedly extended the family. Preserving family ties and the well-being of the family is a priority for Saudis. This obligatory stance is strongly founded on moral obligations, and failure to follow them can damage family ties. Because of this, for a Saudi individual, identity is salient in relation to the extended family. This creates unwritten expectations of what one can and should do. Asking for *wasta*, therefore, is a logical outcome of family identity because it underscores the importance of using help or providing help to individuals within a significant group of people. This, however, may or may not coincide with the identity of a public servant who aims to do well for society. Self-interest and family interest come first. In the end, a person receiving *wasta* to get a position in a public sector organisation may not be driven so much by the desire to help society as by the desire to use family connections for their own gain.

3.4.4 *Wasta* and Self-Regulation

According to Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), every individual is exposed to institutional mechanisms that instil public institutional logic and ultimately internalise public values. Self-regulation is a process through which an individual enacts his or her identity. As was discussed earlier, for a PSM driven individual, self-regulation is described within four theories: Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1977), Self-Determination Theory (Deci and Ryan, 2004), Predisposition-Opportunity Theory (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982) and Goal-Setting Theory (Latham and Locke, 1991). *Wasta*, as is discussed below, influences the outcomes of all these theories in the context of Saudi public organisations.

The Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1977, 1986) describes how self-regulation influences individual cognition and consequently behaviour. The theory posits that individuals do not evaluate actions based on the expected consequences; rather, they evaluate actions in accordance with their consistency with their own internal standards. Consequently, behaviour is more likely to be driven by PSM if the internal standards against which it is judged are in line with public institution grounded identities (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). However, when internal standards are aligned with different identities and values, PSM's influence on behaviour may be less defined. As was explained in the previous section, *wasta* in Saudi Arabia is channelled through the identities closely associated with the extended family, not necessarily society as a whole. The internal standards upon which *wasta* stands lie within norms and values that emphasise the wellbeing and prosperity of family members. Grusec (1992) argued that individuals tend to hold on to their ideology regardless of the changing situations. Therefore, the *wasta*-driven ideology of benefiting family members above everything else may persist even in the organisational environments where public concern is the top priority.

Self-Determination Theory (Deci and Ryan, 2004) is another important self-regulation framework. This theory proposes the existence of a motivation continuum, with the extremes

defined by autonomous (what and individual wants to do) and controlled (what and individual has to do) forms of motivation. According to this theory, if an environment fosters satisfaction of the psychological needs of an individual, the internalisation of values occurs: internal regulation takes the place of external regulation of behaviour (Deci and Ryan, 2004). From a PSM perspective, this theory suggests that individuals would develop a high level of motivation to serve the public after spending some time in the environment of a public organisation (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). However, *wasta* institution may interfere with this. Individuals who are not receivers of *wasta* may develop general dissatisfaction with the entire organisational environment and, therefore, become less prone for enhancing PSM. Similarly, the receivers of *wasta* may not demonstrate sufficient interest in public-oriented work due to the guaranteed employment and social benefits that the Saudi public sector provides.

The Predisposition-Opportunity Theory (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982) posits that motivation is a function of three forms of motives: rational choice, normative conformity and affective bonding. According to Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982), commitment to the organisation and consequent behaviour and contribution are possible only when the incentive systems match individual motives. In relation to PSM, this theory asserts that self-regulated public service motivated behaviour will take place only if organisational incentives for meaningful public service match the personal desires to perform such service. However, *wasta* may not allow these values to converge successfully. It may disrupt an individual's orientation for serving the society by the need to serve the interests of the extended family. In fact, since *wasta* often leads to employment through kinship, it is likely to create public service employment for individuals who do not have a high degree of PSM. Given the fact that public sector employment in Saudi Arabia offers good salaries and benefits not tied to performance, such individuals may lack incentives to develop a genuine interest in public service.

Finally, Goal-Setting Theory (Latham and Locke, 1991) proposes the idea that motivation is purposeful. The key concept within the theory is goals – “applications of values to specific situations” (Locke, 1991, p. 292). For PSM, Goal-Setting Theory leads to the proposition that individuals with stronger public identities will have a stronger regard for public service goals and commitment. This relationship between public identities and public service goals and commitment can be influenced by *wasta* through the negative experiences of those who do not receive it. Individuals with initially strong public identities may become less committed to public service if their justice ideals are infringed. Because *wasta* does not imply justice, if observed, it is likely to weaken the relationship between public identity and commitment to public goals.

3.4.5 Summary of *Wasta*'s fit within an Institutional Perspective on PSM

Figure 3.1 provides visual presentation of how the institution of *wasta* fits within an institutional perspective on PSM described by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008)². In summary, it can be stated that *wasta* fits well within the perspective, although its outcomes for PSM are negative. As an institution, *wasta* is transmitted to individual identities in Saudi Arabia through the logic of appropriateness: it is considered common and taken for granted for both the actors involved and the observers. This does not necessarily mean that *wasta* is entirely accepted; rather, it is considered as something inevitable, although undesirable. Since it is culturally embedded and informal, *wasta* is difficult to eradicate from the context of Saudi organisations. Its cultural roots and informal nature also make *wasta* strongly connected to the concept of self-identity in Saudi society. Individuals in Saudi Arabia tend to associate themselves with family

²Note that in the original framework provided by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), presence and effect of multiple institutions is implied. Since this study focuses on one specific institution (*wasta*), the proposed framework displays only its effects on identity and self-regulation within an institutional perspective on PSM. This does not imply that the effect of other institutions is absent. However, for the purposes of this research, it is not considered.

first and organisations and society after that. Consequently, the interests of family are likely to trump an interest in serving society. This is especially true considering that jobs in the Saudi public sector are desirable for their high salaries and great benefits. *Wasta* serves as a means for many to obtain these positions, and individuals who eventually get employed do not necessarily have high commitment and motivation to serve the public. Moreover, those who do have high PSM but may observe or experience *wasta* in the workplace may lower their degree of public commitment due to a negative perception of justice. The next section examines the exact nature of *wasta* effects on Saudi society in general and on PSM and employees outcomes as applied within Saudi public sector.

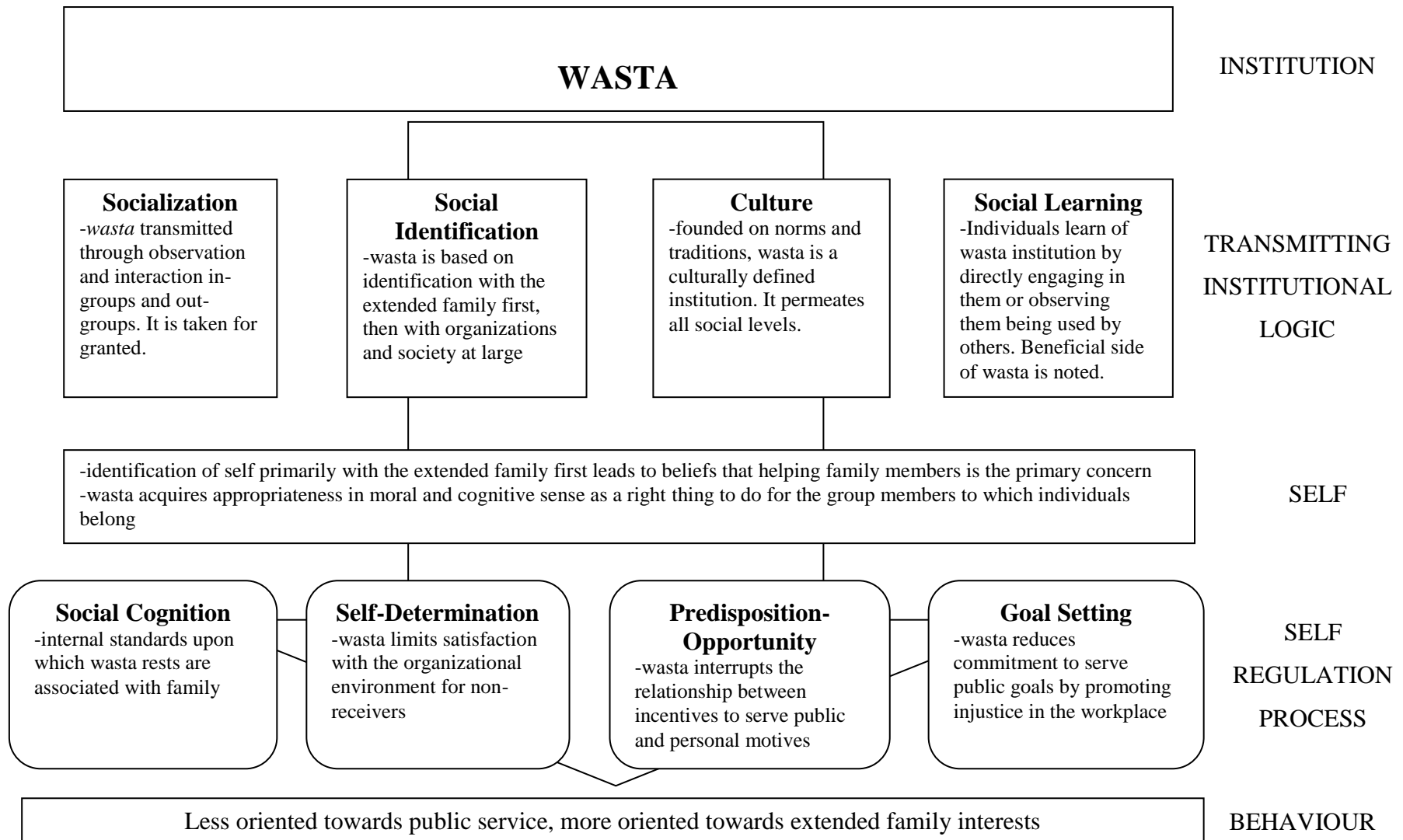


Figure 3.1. Institutional Perspective on PSM with *Wasta* Institution (modified from Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008, p. 57)

3.5 Wasta Effects: Society, Employee Outcomes, PSM

3.5.1. *Wasta* as a Negative Institution

One of the major goals of this thesis is to investigate negative institutional influences on PSM and employee outcomes. Prominent institutional theorists emphasised that institutional rules and norms can either support or restrict behaviours (March and Olsen, 1989; Scott, 2001). As such, institutions in public sector can be considered as either positive or negative for the purposes of achieving organisational goals and motivating public employees. However, what makes an institution positive or negative is a rather nuanced assessment. In fact, there is no clear definition of a “negative institution.” Instead, social science scholars distinguish between exploitative and cooperative institutions. David Schmitz (2008), for example, defines an exploitative institution as one that “makes some worse off as a method of making others better off” (p. 125). Berger and Luckmann (1967) argued that in cooperative institutions all individuals are better off because everyone stands to gain more if working together. Consequently, exploitative institutions arise when cooperative institutions are corrupted.

The working definition of a negative institution used in this study is essentially the same as that for an exploitative institution based on employee effects. The term “exploitative,” however, is not used in this study because it carries stronger negative connotations and is often applied to slavery, tyranny and the Mafia (Mudambi et al., 2001). For the purposes of this study, it is much more important to distinguish the criteria that can help to identify institutions as positive or negative. In his review of institutions as the analytical units of culture, David Dwyer (2011) proposes three elements of analysis: efficiency, power and justice.

A negative institution usually creates social inefficiencies to the point of becoming “a liability to the society as a whole” (Dwyer, 2011, p. 11). This is because it does not distribute benefits fairly and prompts disadvantaged groups to expend unproductive energy and effort to improve their situation. In terms of power, a negative institution imposes rules and norms (not

necessarily written) that prevent disadvantaged groups from achieving their potential. While in extreme cases this leads to violence as a means to preserve power (Galtung, 1969), it can be argued that maintaining the status quo by advantaging and disadvantaging certain groups by means of established rules and norms is also a definitive feature of negative power. Finally, negative institutions are rarely just and, because they lack egalitarian foundations, various rationales are provided to legitimise their existence (Dwyer, 2011). Leman-Langlois (2002) argued that such rationales vary from society to society and can range from theological (established by God) to moral (based on obligations) to practical (the best possible way to operate).

Having defined what a negative institution is and what criteria are used to define it, it is time to explain why there is a general consensus that *wasta* is a negative institution. First, *wasta* creates situations where some groups of individuals receive preferential treatment over others in organisational settings. The basis for this is not an individual's potential or talent but kinship. From a position of power, *wasta* imposes rules and norms that in fact suppress the opportunities of disadvantaged public employees to achieve their potential. Indeed, *Wasta* is often blamed for poor organisational performance and an exodus of talent (Cunnigham and Sarayrah, 1994; Loewe et al., 2008).

Second, *wasta* is said to create social inefficiencies. Kilani and Sakijha (2002) argued that was a burden on all sides: the seeker of *wasta*, the granter and the government. Makhoul and Harrison (2004) linked *wasta* to economic decline in organisations because *wasta* is associated with poor job performance, due to the sense of injustice that it creates in those who do not have *wasta*. Al Ariss (2010) even suggested that *wasta* may stimulate social unrest because of the divisions it creates along ethnic and religious lines. If one ethnic or religious group extensively uses *wasta* to consistently provide advantages to the members of its group at the expense of the

others, tensions are likely to arise with the representatives of the other groups who are denied opportunities because of this.

Finally, *wasta*, while being an unjust institution where some individuals get advantage over the others, is often legitimised through various non-rational means. Despite the presence of negative societal attitudes towards *wasta*, there is substantial evidence that individuals in Arab societies actively seek and use it (Ezzedeen and Sweircz, 2001; Mohamed and Hamdy, 2008; Tlauss and Kauser, 2011). In fact, *wasta* is often associated with strong personal connections and an ability to influence others (Hutchings and Weir, 2006a). Some even consider it a source of cohesion in Arab society (Loewe et al., 2007). From the organisational perspective, there is a belief that successful firms in Arab countries are simply better at using *wasta* and are capable of reaching positive results with it (Tlauss and Kauser, 2011).

Bellow (2003) takes the position that *wasta* is neither bad nor good, because it is simply a cultural construct. As Sidani and Thornberry (2013) noted, *wasta* has acquired the status of a believed myth, and because of its strong perceived usefulness it is also an idea which is extremely hard to erase. Earlier in this chapter, an idea was expressed that *wasta* is often perceived as the only possible path towards achieving goals, whether they are personal or organisational (Hutchings and Weir, 2006a). Therefore, *wasta* flourishes through the experiences and expectations that persist at all levels of the society. It “becomes a self-feeding phenomenon whose existence is satisfying in and of itself” (Sidani and Thornberry, 2013, p. 76).

3.5.2 *Wasta* and Employee Outcomes

In studies conducted in different parts of the world, nepotism, cronyism and favouritism have been found to have a significant negative influence on key employee outcomes such as job satisfaction, organisational commitment, performance and a significant positive influence on intentions to quit. One of the first studies to investigate the effects of nepotism on human

resource management in the Arab countries was conducted by Hayajneh et al. (1994). This research covered human employees and managers in private and public organisations in Jordan and Egypt. They found that nepotism was more prevalent in the public sector organisations. Further, the researchers reported a generally negative impact of nepotism on employee outcomes among other things. Specifically, Hayajneh et al. (1994) noted that the nepotism substantially reduced the study participants' "satisfaction, motivation, morale, loyalty, commitment, cooperation, and productivity" which also were the reasons why many indicated a desire to leave their companies (p. 52). The authors concluded that the combined negative experiences related to nepotism were likely to lead to organisational ineffectiveness.

Similar results were reported by Abdalla et al. (1998) in a study of HR managers in Jordan and the United States. The authors found that the presence of nepotism dissatisfied and demotivated employees. As a result, the survey respondents agreed that nepotism breeds lower levels of loyalty and commitment to organisations. Importantly, while the study noted differences in views on nepotism between Arab (Jordanian) and Western (American) respondents, those differences were not found to be statistically significant. Moreover, both groups of respondents agreed that persistent nepotism practices eventually lead to employee absenteeism and increased turnover.

Laker and Williams (2003) studied the effects of nepotism on employee satisfaction and organisational commitment. The authors found that employee outcomes were driven by perceptions of equity at workplace, which, in turn, was affected by nepotism. In general, employees in larger organisations exhibited stronger negative attitudes towards nepotism. Consequently, their job satisfaction and organisational commitment were low. At the same time, it was reported that in working environments where nepotees were close with their relatives and friends, higher job satisfaction and organisational commitment existed. Naturally, such environments were more likely in smaller private organisations.

A series of works on nepotism and its effects on employees in different industries were conducted in the context of North Cyprus by Arasli and colleagues (Arasli, Bavik, and Ekiz, 2006; Arasli and Tumer, 2009; Daskin, Saydam, and Arasli, 2013). Importantly, in all studies, the researchers presented nepotism as a culturally driven phenomenon. The first study focused on the effects of nepotism on employee outcomes in the hotel industry. The findings supported the assumption that nepotism was negatively related to job satisfaction and positively related to intention to quit and giving negative word of mouth about work. Consequently, nepotism was related to lower employee performance, as the authors noted that nepotism “may drive employees to have a closer relationship with family members in order to strengthen their positions rather than displaying higher performance” (Arasli et al., 2006; p.305). The second study focused on the banking industry and examined the effects of nepotism, cronyism and favouritism on employee outcomes. All three practices were found to be related to work stress which, in turn, led to job dissatisfaction and increased intentions to quit. The most recent study focused on service industry. In line with the previous studies, nepotism was found to be negatively related to job satisfaction. In addition, the authors noted its detrimental impact on organisational citizenship behaviour.

Two recent studies examined the effects of nepotism and favouritism on employee outcomes in the context of Turkish organisations. Bute's (2011) study using a sample of public bank employees in Ankara revealed that nepotism and favouritism were negatively related to job satisfaction and organisational commitment. At the same time, nepotism and favouritism were positively related to intention to quit. The researchers, however, noted that the effects were different for different employee groups. Specifically, they suggested that a much stronger negative impact was felt by more qualified respondents, who also displayed greater enthusiasm about their jobs. As a result, the authors concluded that such negative perceptions of the work environment would inevitably lead to poorer organisational performance, although this

assumption was not tested empirically. Keles et al. (2011) investigated the effects of nepotism on employees in family businesses in Istanbul. The researchers found that nepotism was negatively related to interpersonal trust, and resulted in dissatisfaction, lower organisational loyalty and poorer individual performance.

The only empirical investigation dealing with practices similar to *wasta* in the public sector was conducted by Sadozai et al. (2012). The authors investigated the influence of nepotism, favouritism and cronyism on the job satisfaction and performance of employees in eight different public organisations in Pakistan. The institutions were found to positively influence employee job satisfaction, but the level of performance decreased. Therefore, the authors suggested that public organisations should implement policies to prevent nepotism, favouritism and cronyism in order to ensure better performance results.

Table 3.3 summarises the empirical studies of *wasta*-related practices and their impact on employee outcomes. In general, the evidence suggests that the effects of nepotism, favouritism and cronyism, on employee outcomes are negative. In some cases, employees showed higher levels of job satisfaction, but this did not result in better performance outcomes. Therefore, this study proposes that:

Hypothesis 2a: wasta will have a negative relationship with organisational commitment.

Hypothesis 2b: wasta will have a negative relationship with job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2c: wasta will have a positive relationship with intention to quit.

Table 3.3. Effects of *Wasta*-related Practices on Employee Outcomes

Author(s)	Practices Studied	Effect on Job Satisfaction	Effect on Organisational Commitment	Effect on Intention Quit	Comments
Hayajneh et al. (1994)	Nepotism	Negative	Negative	-*	Negative impact on motivation was reported as well.
Abdallah et al. (1998)	Nepotism	Negative	Negative	Positive	Different views on nepotism expressed by Jordanian and American respondents. However, generally negative attitudes were expressed.

Laker and Williams (2003)	Nepotism	Mixed	Mixed	-	Higher job satisfaction and commitment noted for employees working in close environment with their relatives
Arasli et al. (2006)	Nepotism	Negative	-	Positive	Nepotism led to stronger desire to strengthen one's position rather than improve performance
Arasli and Tumer (2008)	Nepotism Cronyism Favouritism	Negative	-	Positive	Relationship through higher work stress
Daskin et al. (2013)	Nepotism	Negative	-	-	Additional negative impact on organisational citizenship behaviour
Bute (2011)	Nepotism Favouritism	Negative	Negative	-	Stronger negative impact on those who did not use but observed practices
Keles et al. (2011)	Nepotism	Negative	Negative	-	Relationship through lower trust
Sadozai et al. (2012)	Nepotism Cronyism Favouritism	Positive	-	-	Despite positive job satisfaction effects, the practices were not recommended by the researchers.

*Indicates that the relationship was not investigated

3.5.3 *Wasta* and PSM

There is currently little research on the relationship between *wasta* and *wasta*-related practices and motivational aspects of work. Among the studies on nepotism, cronyism and favouritism and employee outcomes, there are a few that investigated the effect of these practices on employee motivation. Hayajneh et al. (1994), Abdalla et al. (1998) reported on the demotivational force of nepotism. Daskin et al. (2013) demonstrated that nepotism is negatively related to organisational citizenship behaviour, which is often linked to public service motivation, although the research was conducted in private companies. Bute (2011) only mentioned that, in theory, nepotism practices will demotivate employees, although he never explored this idea empirically. Therefore, there is insufficient empirical evidence to substantiate claims about the relationship between *wasta* and PSM. However, such claims can be derived from the theoretical literature.

From a purely institutional perspective, *wasta* should have an impact on PSM as is suggested by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008). As the literature review demonstrated, *wasta*, as an informal, culture-specific institution is transmitted by means of a logic of appropriateness to become ingrained in the identities and self-regulating behaviours of Saudi public employees. One can suggest that the effect of *wasta* on PSM in Saudi public administration is two-fold. On the one hand, *wasta* leads to employment through kinship, not merit. The desire to work in the Saudi public sector is prompted by the great benefits that such employment provides, which also makes it desirable for many, regardless of their level of PSM. Consequently, *wasta* is likely to bring employees to the Saudi public sector who may be less motivated to work there for the benefit of the society and more motivated to work for own benefit. On the other hand, *wasta* dictates behaviours that emphasise reliance and devotion to family above dedication to organisation and society. As a result, employment through *wasta* in the Saudi public sector is likely to create in-group obligations and commitments which would be stronger than obligations and commitments to out-groups such as public service clientele or society more widely. In fact, this would be a typical representation of the dominant in-group relationships in the Arab society described by Jabra and Jreisat (2009).

Wasta's effect on PSM could also arise from work relationships. As was already mentioned, recruitment and selection through *wasta* is not competency or competition based. It does not necessarily yield the most qualified employees for an organisation. However, it does not necessarily fill all employment gaps either. As a result, the working personnel in organisations where *wasta* is practiced is likely to consist of those who were hired by merit and those who were hired by *wasta*. This may bring internal tensions whereby non-*wasta* employees' feelings are hurt, because they do not receive the preferential treatment accorded to high-*wasta* colleagues. Such tensions could create a sense of injustice and unfairness that is demotivating. Other damaging effects could be higher stress and lack of trust, which were, in fact, found to

be outcomes of nepotistic practices at work (Arasli and Tumer, 2008; Keles et al., 2011). These factors lead to the general conclusion that *wasta* will have negative effect on PSM in Saudi public organisations. Therefore, this study proposes that:

Hypothesis 3: wasta will have a negative relationship with PSM.

3.5.4 Indirect Influences of *Wasta* on Employee Outcomes via PSM

The mediating effects of PSM on employee outcomes in public organisational settings have been fully or partially investigated and confirmed by several studies. Giauque et al. (2013) showed that PSM mediated the impact of HRM practices on organisational performance in the context of Swiss public organisations. Gould-Williams et al. (2014) showed that civic duty, a component of PSM, mediated the relationship between HRM practices and employee outcomes within the context of public organisations in Wales. Similar results were reported by Mostafa et al. (2015) and Kassim and Mokhber (2015) in the studies of organisations in Egyptian and Malaysian public sector respectively. In sum, the potential for mediating effects of PSM has been successfully demonstrated empirically. Even though the effects were observed for HRM practices, it is expected that they could be presented for other institutions as well.

Institutions may influence employee outcomes directly. These influences may be either positive, as in case with religiosity, professionalism and family, or negative, as was shown, for example, to be the case for nepotism (Abdalla et al., 1998; Arasli and Turner, 2008; Daskin et al., 2013; Keles et al., 2011). Likewise, institutions are likely to influence motivation in public service. The Process Theory of PSM provides that PSM can be influenced by sociocultural context (Perry, 2000). Similarly, within an institutional perspective, institutions will shape individual motivation (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Finally, there is strong evidence that PSM is related to employee outcomes like organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit. Given the presence of these relationships, it is likely that institutions will also have an influence on employee outcomes indirectly through PSM.

Indirect negative institutional influences through PSM may explain such phenomenon as a negative relationship between tenure and employee outcomes. In theory, if PSM consistently influences employee outcomes in a positive way, then public service employees with initially high PSM will remain with organisations for a long. Yet, several studies found that tenure in public service organisations was associated with lower PSM and actually damaging to job satisfaction (Jacobsen and Kjeldsen, 2011; Kamdron, 2005; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999). Such findings can be interpreted in light of declining PSM because of discrepancies between employees' idealistic perceptions of the society and work they do and the realities of their organizational context and practices.

Negative institutional influences on PSM and, further, on employee outcomes have been evidenced to some extent in literature. One example is red tape. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) found that organizational red tape was responsible for a gradual decline in PSM among public service employees and a reason behind lower job satisfaction and higher intention to quit. Similar results were demonstrated by Kjeldsen and Hansen (2016). Being a distinctive characteristic of public sector organizations, red tape could lead to frustration for public service employees because of all formalities and rules in the way to performing good for society (Buchanan, 1975). This, in turn, could cause a decline in PSM, reduce job satisfaction and increase willingness to leave the organization (DeHart-Davis & Pandey, 2006; Jacobsen and Kjeldsen, 2011). In similar vein it can be argued that hierarchical authority may condition the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes in a negative manner because strong hierarchy is associated with "frustrating the ability to achieve goals, and therefore might be expected to have a similarly negative effect on employee outcomes" (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007, p. 44).

As a negative institution, *wasta* can exert similar effects on employee outcomes through PSM. As explained earlier, *wasta* may lead to erosion of PSM by creating a sense of injustice and

unfairness. PSM can be envisioned as a combination of static and dynamic features: the former being the values associated with public service and goals and the latter representing PSM variation due to contextual factors (Andrews, 2016). The first feature is what accounts for PSM's relative stability over time, and the second is what accounts for its change. The change can be initiated through socialisation process and either fostered or undermined by context (Andrews, 2016; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen, 2013). Presence of *wasta* at the workplace, therefore, will steadily lead to PSM decline by negatively influencing its dynamic side. Decline in PSM levels, in turn, is likely to lead to negative outcomes for public service employees. Studies showed, for example, that individuals with lower levels of PSM were likely to exhibit lower job satisfaction and commitment to public service organisations while having higher turnover intentions (i.e., Bright, 2008; Naff and Crum, 1999; Scott and Pandey, 2005).

Therefore, this study proposes that:

Hypothesis 4a: PSM will mediate the relationship between wasta and organisational commitment.

Hypothesis 4b: PSM will mediate the relationship between wasta and job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4c: PSM will mediate the relationship between wasta and intention to quit.

3.5.5 The Moderating Effect of *Wasta*

As was discussed above, there is extensive empirical evidence in the literature that PSM is related to employee outcomes, including organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit (Cerase and Farinella, 2009; Kim, 2012; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Park and Rainey, 2007; Vandenabeele, 2009 etc.). However, according to Wright (2008), there is sufficient reason to believe that the consequences of PSM may be influenced by context variables. Christensen and Wright (2011) in this regard noted that it is important to not only determine whether PSM has an impact but also under what circumstances and conditions this impact takes place. Because of this, it is important to develop models that investigate mediation

and/or moderation effects of certain factors. This will help in better understanding the complexities of PSM's influences on the attitudes and behaviours of individuals in the public service. Furthermore, it may help devise strategies to foster PSM and its positive impact on employee outcomes.

Within the institutional perspective that guides this research, environmental factors are considered essential for explanation of the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. Institutions, as was demonstrated earlier, model individual behavioural preferences through such aspects as a logic of appropriateness, socialisation, culture and social learning (Bandura, 1977; Deci and Ryan, 2004; March and Olsen, 1995; Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008; Tajfel and Turner, 1985). Individuals normally identify themselves with the values of institutions around them and act accordingly (Scott, 1995).

Because a public service identity is part of an individual's self-identity, it can be influenced by institutions as well. The institutional perspective on PSM asserts that PSM behaviour aims at realising the beliefs and values embedded within institutions (Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele et al., 2011). Institutional values are absorbed by individuals either enabling development of PSM or stalling it. Furthermore, as Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) noted, institutions not only influence individual level of PSM but also its effect on public employee behaviour and outcomes. As a result, institutions can influence the effect of PSM on employee outcomes.

Vandenabeele et al. (2011) argued that different environments would have varying effects on the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes and, therefore, argued in favour of testing such a relationship in various cultural contexts. The existence of moderating effects on the PSM – employee outcomes and PSM – organisational performance relationships has been confirmed by a number of recent studies. This effect also seems to be consistent with the notion whether the moderating variable is positive or negative in relation to PSM. Shrestha and Mishra

(2015) found a positive moderating effect of the perception of organisational politics on the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment. Liu and Tang (2011) found that the love of money negatively moderated the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction. Van Loon, Vandenabeele and Leisink (2015) identified a positive moderating effect of the society impact potential (perception of contributing to the social good) on the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction as well as employee burnout. Homberg et al. (2015) found that there is a consistent positive moderating effect of the variable opportunity to serve on the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction.

While the importance of context variables in PSM research is now a well-established fact, this particular research focuses on the moderating effect of the institution of *wasta*. There are several reasons for that. First, the study aims to investigate whether specific element of the environment that is *wasta* institution plays a role in the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. The element under investigation is culture specific rather than universal. In this regard, moderation is useful because it investigates context specific influences on PSM and employee outcomes. Van der Wal (2015) argued that the focus of research on motivation in public service should be on exploring the roles of cultural values, societal disposition and specific motivators of PSM. The role of moderators in this regard was emphasised as a way to distinguish the influence of particular institutional elements on PSM and its outcomes. Second, the usefulness of moderators matches the principles of contextualising in organisational behaviour research (Boxall et al., 2007; Vandenabeele, 2011). Moderators specifically test for contextual influences on the relationships between motivation and behaviour in organisational settings. Finally, certain institutions may not be suitable for investigation as mediators. This is the case with *wasta*, which is the institution under investigation in this research. While it makes sense considering *wasta* as a contextual force that diminishes the effect of PSM on employee outcomes, it is illogical to think of it as a source through which PSM influences these outcomes.

Wasta, as an institution and a contextual variable, is more likely to influence PSM and not vice versa. Based on these assumptions, this study proposes that:

Hypothesis 5a: Wasta will weaken the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment.

Hypothesis 5b: Wasta will weaken the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 5c: Wasta will weaken the relationship between PSM and intention to quit.

3.6 Chapter Summary

Having presented the theoretical foundations for the institutional perspective on PSM in the previous chapter, this chapter focused on making the case for analysis of a particular institution and its influences on PSM and employee outcomes. The institution in question is *wasta* – a form of indigenous nepotism prevalent in Saudi Arabia and in the Middle Eastern cultural context. *Wasta*, which is literally translated as “going in between,” is an institution that today is associated with providing help to extended family members to obtain desirable outcomes. As an institution, *wasta* has been present in Arab societies for centuries. It had strong political, economic and familial roots that were founded on the tribal system and the need to use family connections for preserving wealth. Due to its historical persistence and religious foundations in the form of a prescription to take care of one’s family, *wasta* also acquired a strong moral status and cognitive acceptance in Arab society. It became something that was taken for granted and accepted as a normal part of life. *Wasta*’s informal nature and cultural embeddedness remains preserved even today when many Arab countries are trying to curb it.

Wasta’s fit within an institutional perspective on PSM stems from a logic of appropriateness in society and organisations that transmits *wasta* onto the identity of Saudi individuals. They tend to associate themselves with family first and only then with organisation and society. Consequently, the moral and cognitive pillars that support family values prompt specific forms of self-regulating behaviours for *wasta*-giving and *wasta*-receiving actors. Based on both

theoretical and empirical literature, this study proposes that such behaviours influence PSM, employee outcomes and the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes in Saudi public organisations. Specifically, as an institutional variable, it is proposed that *wasta* has a negative effect on PSM and immediate employee outcomes such as job satisfaction, organisational commitment and a corresponding positive association with intention to quit. Consistent with Process theory, these effects are expected to be mediated by PSM. Finally, as a strong contextual element within an institutional perspective on PSM, *wasta* is expected to moderate the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes in Saudi public organisations, in that higher levels of *wasta* will reduce the positive effects of PSM on employee outcomes. It is expected that *wasta* will reduce the positive effects of PSM on employee outcomes. Specifically, being a negative institution, it will weaken the positive relationship between PSM and organisational commitment and job satisfaction and the negative relationship between PSM and intention to quit.

Figure 3.2 presents the conceptual framework of the study, and Table 3.4 summarises the hypothesised relationships proposed in this study. The next chapter describes the methodology used to test the hypotheses.

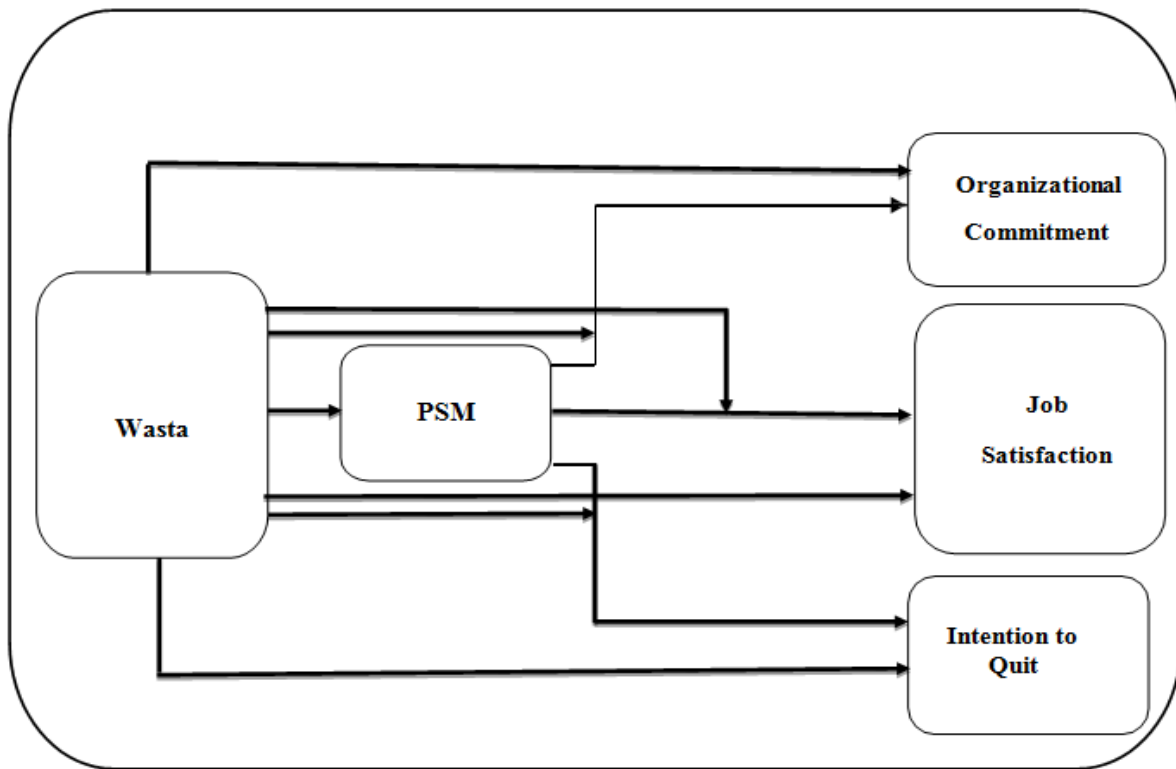


Figure 3.2. Conceptual Model of the Study

Hypothesis	Formulation
1a	PSM will have a positive relationship with organisational commitment
1b	PSM will have a positive relationship with job satisfaction
1c	PSM will have a negative relationship with intention to quit
2a	Wasta will have a negative relationship with organisational commitment
2b	Wasta will have a negative relationship with job satisfaction
2c	Wasta will have a positive relationship with intention to quit
3	Wasta will have a negative relationship with PSM
4a	PSM will mediate the relationships between Wasta and organisational commitment
4b	PSM will mediate the relationships between Wasta and job satisfaction
4c	PSM will mediate the relationships between Wasta and intention to quit
5a	Wasta will weaken the relationship between PSM and organisational commitment
5b	Wasta will weaken the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction
5c	Wasta will weaken the relationship between PSM and intention to quit

Table 3.4. Summary of Study Hypotheses

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology applied in the research. The goal of the chapter is to develop a path for data collection and analysis following the discussion of relevant theories and empirical investigations from the previous chapters. The chapter begins by describing the choice of the research paradigm. After that, the research design is presented with the description of the type of research. Next, the research context is introduced: the public administration organisations in Saudi Arabia. The target population is described next, along with the sampling design. This is followed by the description of the data collection methods. Since the study is prone to method collection biases, methods to control such biases are then presented. After that, a description of the data analysis methods is provided. Finally, tools for assessing the validity and reliability of the collected data are presented.

4.2 Study Paradigm

Research paradigms can be defined as a “collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research” (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998, p.22). The choice of a paradigm precedes any research because it provides a specific view of the world, the research and the way that the research may explore the world. While research differs in ways of defining paradigm elements, it is useful to think of a paradigm consisting of three components: ontology, epistemology and methodology (Grix, 2002). According to Popkewitz, Tabachnik and Zeichner (1979), a consideration of these components is a central factor of any social science research because they give shape and definition to an inquiry.

4.2.1 Ontology

Generally speaking, ontology is “the study of being” (, 1998 Crotty, p.10). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), it “raises basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world (p.183). The basic question addressed by ontology is whether reality is independent from human consciousness and experience or whether it is constructed from human thoughts. Based on this consideration, Bryman and Bell (2007) defined two main ontological approaches: objectivism, which separates reality from human beliefs and constructivism, which claims that reality is a construction of perceptions and acts of social actors. This study takes an objectivist perspective by considering the social phenomena under study to be independent of social actors.

4.2.2 Epistemology

Epistemology refers to “a way of understanding and explaining how [one knows what he knows]” (Crotty, 1998, p.3). Whereas ontology seeks to address the nature of knowledge, epistemology looks into how this knowledge can be obtained. The two major epistemological approaches are positivism and social constructionism, although more approaches such as realism, participatory research and pragmatism have been developed lately.

4.2.2.1 Positivism

Positivism stems from rationalist, empiricist philosophies and is often regarded as the “scientific method” (Mertens, 2005, p.8). It envisions the world as a set of natural objects that can be accordingly observed and measured. Here, the aim of the research is often to determine cause and effect. Positivism, therefore, is related to the objectivist ontology. As a result, a positivist researcher does not consider the self as an essential variable in the research; although he or she can still apply tools and methods to explore the reality to make it knowable (Cohen

et al., 2000). Application of positivism to the social world comes from the assumption that it can be studied in the same manner as the natural world with the provision of causal explanation (Mertens, 2005). Therefore, the goal of a positivist researcher is to determine and assess the causes that influence outcomes. The emphasis is on identifying and operationalising variables that measure key social phenomena and testing the relationships between them. Positivism assumes that these relationships are causal, deterministic and can be specified and verified by appropriate numeric methods of analysis (Creswell, 2003).

Positivism is reductionist because it seeks to reduce general ideas into smaller, testable subjects to develop research questions and hypotheses (Mertens, 2005). A positivist approach also emphasises the importance of theories, which describe the world and therefore, can be tested and then either verified or refined to help understand the world better. In this sense, positivism relies strongly on deductive reasoning whereby theories are developed, tested and refined to establish generalisations (Saunders et al., 2007). Researchers working within positivist epistemology focus on theory consequences by testing the hypotheses deduced from it (Bryman, 2007). Deductive reasoning methods work within scientific principles that require the clear identification of variables and relationships between them and the independence of the research subjects from the researchers (Ghauri and Gronhaug, 2002). Quantitative data is privileged status, and large samples are important for generalising study conclusions onto large populations (Bryman, 2006).

4.2.2.2 Social Constructionism

Social Constructionism is an epistemological approach that considers the world as constructed, interpreted and experienced by individuals as they interact with wider social systems and other individuals (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Maxwell, 2006). As a result, social constructionist approaches seek to understand “the world of human experience” (Cohen and Manion, 1994,

p.36). Such understanding is given priority over positivist-style generalization of the inquiry results onto larger populations (Farzanfar, 2005). Understanding of the phenomena in question is inevitably tied to “participants’ views of the situation being studied” (Creswell, 2003, p.8). Therefore, social constructionism calls for not merely observing study participants, but also engaging with them to reach deeper insights into the issues. Because of this, theory is less relevant for social constructionism; rather, it often seeks to develop theories from concrete experiences. Social constructionism places more emphasis on first-hand experience and interpretation as tools for understanding the world rather than on testing the laws of human behaviours (Bryman, 2001; Farzanfar, 2005).

In contrast to positivism, social constructionism relies strongly on inductive reasoning. This type of reasoning “involves the inference that an instance or repeated combination of events may be universally generalized” (Malhorta and Birks, 2007, p. 161). It emphasises investigation of the relationship between actions and meanings of human subjects (Bryman, 2001). This requires deep understanding of the context in which research is conducted and recognition of the researcher as a part of the research process (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Accordingly, researchers that apply inductive reasoning place value on qualitative data and apply more flexible research structures so that changes can be applied as the research progresses (Saunders et al., 2007).

4.2.2.3 Other Epistemologies

Lately, several new epistemological orientations have been developed to suit some specific forms of research. Participatory (transformative) epistemology emerged in the beginning of the 1990s as a result of realisation that most of the psychological and sociological theory was “developed from the white, able-bodied male perspective and was based on the study of male subjects” (Mertens, 2005, p.17). To adequately address issues of social justice, participatory

researchers believe that inquiries into marginalised groups have to be carried out within a specific political agenda and directed at changing the lives of researcher participants (Creswell, 2003).

Pragmatist epistemology arose from some researchers' frustration due to the philosophical dichotomy of the positivist-constructivist worldviews (Murphy, 1990; Patton, 1990). The focus of pragmatism is on seeking solutions to the problems and using any methods that work to understand the issues at hand (Rossman and Wilson, 1985; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009). Therefore, a pragmatic rejects any particular philosophy of system of reality in developing the research methods (Mertens, 2005). Truth within pragmatism is what works at this particular time and under these particular circumstances thereby allowing researchers to focus on answering questions of *what* and *how* (Creswell, 2003).

Finally, critical realism arose from an attempt to find a "middle ground" between positivism and constructivism (Krauss, 2005, p.767). Drawing from both these perspectives, critical realism proposes that reality exists independent from a researcher; however, it cannot be made meaningful without individuals' interpretations (Bisman, 2002; Thomas, 2003). A critical realist researcher would seek to explain the observable world by considering what an object is like and what it can do, but knowledge about what it can do in particular situations is considered derivative (Sayer, 1992).

4.2.2.4 The Choice of Epistemology

This study is grounded in positivism epistemology. Positivism was deemed appropriate for the current research because it attempts to test particular relationships between the variables as defined within the theory of a descriptive model. The positivist assumption that organisational and social events can follow universal laws fits well with the researcher's intent to investigate

and, possibly generalise a particular phenomenon, which is the effect of negative institutions (such as *wasta*) on PSM and employee outcomes. Using appropriate theoretical bases, such as Process theory and an institutional approach, this study presents an attempt to determine causal relationships between a set of conceptualised variables, in this case PSM, *wasta*, and employee outcomes. This fits well with the deterministic and reductionist principles within positivism. At the same time, a positivist approach allows the researcher to identify possible inconsistencies between the existent theories and hypotheses they propose thereby allowing the researcher to discuss the limitations of their study and to make recommendations for further theoretical refinement. In addition, the study aims to produce findings that are generalizable onto larger populations, which is in line with the proposition of positivism that social science can identify relationships that are valid and applicable in wider contexts. Finally, in order to examine the particular phenomenon in question, the researcher believes in the need of being abstracted from direct involvement as far as possible in order to reduce the possibility of introducing individual researcher biases to the study especially given the focus on *wasta*. This is in line with the objectivist ontology that guides a positivist research.

Positivism and a deductive approach are considered consistent with a research inquiry that seeks to investigate culture-specific phenomena (e.g. *wasta*). This study adopts a parsimonious view of culture and utilizes just one particular variable (*wasta*) of an objective kind. The study does not seek to explain *wasta* in-depth from a subjective point of view. Instead, it operationalises it and presents it as a concrete institutional indicator that can be measured and related to other variables. In this study, the relationships between *wasta* and universally accepted variables of PSM and employee outcomes are tested. Therefore, the focus is on only a limited number of ways in which *wasta* applies in concrete organisational environments. The impetus of the research is not understanding and explaining the nature of *wasta* empirically,

but rather making certain predictions about its relationships with other variables. This makes positivism and deductive reasoning especially applicable for the purposes of the research.

By adopting the positivist epistemology, this research deviates from the major alternative epistemologies described above. The rejected epistemological perspectives would provide a different view on the relationship between *wasta*, PSM and employee outcomes. If the research took a perspective of social constructionism, then it would consider the phenomenon in question as a product solely of a particular social and cultural setting and context, and in no way generalizable to other settings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). Consequently, this approach would require reflection of the researcher's own perceptions and conceptions about the phenomenon in question. These two features, however, do not fit well with the goals of research which seeks to extend the results to the wider populations and do it in an unbiased manner. Social constructionism epistemology suits better a type of research that seeks to explore in-depth a particular phenomenon within a particular context; however, it does not allow reliable extensions onto larger populations and replication of the study. Further, this research does not seek to establish new theories; rather, it seeks to test the existing theory and its predicted relationships within a particular context. From this standpoint, it is extremely important to reduce any possible personal biases that could confound the research process and findings. Positivism, unlike social constructionism, allows to achieve this by distancing the researcher from the subjects and reducing subjectivity.

This research also rejects a perspective of critical realism epistemology. Within the perspective of critical realism, social structures are considered independent and external to the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). However, this epistemology assumes that these structures themselves and the knowledge derived are products of special social relationships and conditioning (Saunders et al., 2007). To the researcher applying a critical realist perspective on HRM in organisations, the goal is to analyse mechanisms and structures that underline HR

practices, how these mechanisms and structures change over time and how they empower employees as organisational actors (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006). This direction is different from the proposed research because it implies an inductive approach to theory building.

4.2.3 Methodology

Methodology can be understood as a research strategy that uses ontological and epistemological principles and explains how research will be performed (Sarantakos, 2005). It describes the main practices, principles and procedures that govern the conduct of a research project (Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005). The two major strands of research methodology are quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative studies are those that seek to investigate phenomena by collecting numerical data and using numerical (statistical and mathematical) methods to analyse the data (Aliaga and Gunderson, 2000). Quantitative methods are derived from scientific studies, and quantitative research is often associated with objectivism as ontology and positivist epistemology (Bryman and Bell, 2007; Marvasti, 2004; Sarantakos, 2005). The most common types of quantitative studies are experiments, quasi-experiments and other inferential statistical tests. In social science research, quantitative methods are also associated with surveys.

In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative studies are not specifically focused on numerical data. Instead, the researchers collect those data that allow them to become familiarised with a real-life context or situation and gain deeper understanding of the interrelationships between different factors (Jankowicz, 2005; Neuman, 2006). Similarly, for a researcher conducting a qualitative study, analysis is orientated towards context-specific meanings and social practices (Bryman and Bell, 2007; Marvasti, 2004; Sarantakos, 2005). Qualitative methodology is often associated with constructivist ontology and social constructionism as an epistemology (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Contemporary studies define up to nineteen qualitative methodologies

(Wolcott, 2001), although the most common are ethnography, grounded theory, case studies, phenomenology and narrative research (Creswell, 2003). Quantitative and qualitative methodologies have their own strengths and weaknesses. These are listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methodologies

Methodology	Advantages	Disadvantages
Quantitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Clarity of data: numerical data are easy to understand -Objectivity of data: collected by objective techniques -Known validity and reliability of data: available measurements for both -Relatively fast data collection and analysis -Possibility of generalisation -Providing anonymity to participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of focus: numerical data cannot always give a good presentation of what is intended to be measured; -Lack of interpretation: numerical methods cannot provide richness of descriptions;
Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Data richness: data provide deep insights and understanding -Data quality: data often reflect what it is meant to reflect -Flexibility in interpretation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Difficult to generalize the results -Subjectivity is usually not suitable for -Smaller sample size due to longer data collection -Unknown validity and reliability

Source: Creswell, 2013; Trumbull, 2005

To capitalise on the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of these different methods, mixed methods methodology that combine elements of both approaches are often advocated.

4.2.3.1 Mixed Methods Methodology: Definition and Rationale for Use

The origins of mixed methods methodology go back to an article by Campbell and Fiske (1959), who formalised this approach by introducing the idea of using more than one

methodology for the analysis of a phenomenon. This idea was expanded by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest (1966) who proposed that the use of different methodological approaches in combination can help reduce the uncertainty in interpreting the study results. They coined the term triangulation to denote application of different methodologies. This term was later conceptualised and expanded by Denzin (1978) who described four different approaches of triangulation, or the combined use of quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

Mixed methods approaches to research have been gaining popularity in the past few decades as a new methodological movement that complemented the quantitative and qualitative research traditions (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009). Those who embraced the idea of combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies argue that the convergence of methodologies “enhances our beliefs that the results are valid and not a methodological artefact” (Bouchard, 1976, p. 268). Therefore, mixed methods methodology has been seen as an attempt to bring together the two distinct methodologies in order to validate research results and expand researchers’ understanding beyond the levels possible within a single quantitative or qualitative methodology approach.

The existing definitions of mixed methods methodology underscore convergence of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to understanding of a phenomenon under investigation. Green, Caracelli and Graham (1989) defined a mixed methods methodology as the use of at least one quantitative and one qualitative method of data collection and analysis. Similarly, Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) define it as the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches in the methodology of a study. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) expanded this definition by stating that in mixed methods methodology, quantitative and qualitative methods are used for data collection and analysis in order to expand understandings of the research problems from either approach if used alone. Perhaps, the most cited definition

is that applied by Johnson et al. (2007). After examining the main points of the nineteen definitions of mixed methods methodology, they proposed that:

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. (p. 123)

From this definition, it can be deduced that a researcher working with mixed methods methodology collects and analyses both quantitative and qualitative types of data, uses perspectives from both approaches to arrive at conclusions and attains a deeper understanding of the research problems as a result.

Researchers in study methodologies provided several rationales for using mixed methods methodology in research. The most commonly mentioned benefit is the one embedded within the definition of the mixed methods methodology: it enhances understanding of research problems under investigation over understandings possible under either quantitative or qualitative approaches (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Better understandings can be achieved by means of triangulation whereby a researcher can raise the validity of findings by comparing the outcomes of quantitative and qualitative analyses (Jick, 1979; Niglas, 2004; Sieber, 1973; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

Other reasons for applying mixed methods methodology can be identified. Greene et al. (1989), for example, noted that by using mixed methods methodology a researcher may: 1) seek complementarity by elaborating, illustrating and clarifying the results by different methods; 2) development by using results from one method to develop ideas and results presented by the other method; 3) initiation by discovering contradictions that help reframe research questions; and 4) expansion by extending the inquiry's range and depth. Collins, Onwuegbuzie and Sutton

(2006) proposed that conducting a mixed methods study is guided by four main rationales: enrichment of the participants (ensuring that each participant is appropriate for inclusion), enhancement of instrument validity, integrity of data treatment and increasing the significance of the results. Finally, Bryman and Bell (2007) justified mixed methods methodology because quantitative and qualitative methods may facilitate each other, because both static and processual features can be analysed, and because different aspects of a phenomenon in question can be addressed.

In the studies of PSM, mixed methods methodology represents a relatively new but vibrant direction of research. Scholars have been arguing that because of the complex and nuanced nature of PSM, qualitative analysis is important to supplement the quantitative research in this area (Kjeldsen, 2012; Pandey and Stazyk, 2008; Wright, 2008). A mixed method design, for example, was used to arrive at better understanding of the dynamics of PSM; the formation and stability of public servants' civic identity and corresponding behaviours; and to get a more nuanced understanding of the PSM antecedents (Kjeldsen, 2012; Perry et al., 2008).

This study applies a mixed methods methodology to investigate the role of *wasta* in the PSM-employee outcomes relationship in the context of public sector in Saudi Arabia. By doing this, it seeks to capitalise on the benefits of this methodology as described above. The study tests the application of well-defined PSM Theory and Institutional Theory in a new context. A quantitative approach is useful for this because it allows to test the theories, refine them and generalise the attained results. At the same time, a qualitative approach is useful for a deeper understanding of how a new concept of *wasta* may fit within these theories. Qualitative research may help uncover specific mechanisms behind this fit (or lack thereof) and gain deeper insight into the importance of contextual influences on PSM. Therefore, complementarity of methodologies is used: quantitative analysis will help determine the general patterns of theory

application while qualitative analysis will help gain deeper insight into the obtained results with their possible clarification. Further, the mixed methods approach will help discover possible contradictions in the results and expand the inquiry's range and depth.

4.2.3.2 Mixed Methods Mythology within Positivism

As was discussed above, quantitative and qualitative methodologies are associated with different ontological and epistemological philosophies. Quantitative analysis is primarily grounded in objectivism and positivism, while qualitative analysis takes roots in constructivism and social constructionism. Therefore, combining the two methodologies presents a seemingly impossible task of combining two different paradigms. Reichhardt and Rallis (1994) explained that the paradigm problem of mixed method methodology emerged from the so-called "paradigm war"- and academic debate of the 1970s and 1980s that split the research community into supporters of either quantitative or qualitative approach. This ideological battle, however, seems to fade away as many contemporary writers on research methods support the idea of combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies. (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009; Thomas, 2003). MacKenzie and Knipe (2006) argued that no paradigm proposes a use of a specific methodology and that for effective research in almost any paradigm, both quantitative and qualitative approaches should be combined. This study follows this perspective by taking an assumption that quantitative and qualitative methods can be applied in a study without infringing the integrity of research paradigms.

To resolve the issues of paradigms for the mixed methods methodology, three major approaches have been developed. A paradigmatic stance is an approach that completely ignores paradigmatic issues by separating methodology from paradigms, a multiple paradigms approach does not consider paradigms incompatible, and a single paradigm approach claims that a single paradigm can successfully accommodate quantitative and qualitative

methodologies (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Hall, 2008; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009). The first two approaches, according to Hall (2008), are difficult to justify because they do not explain what paradigms can be mixed and how it could be done. This study supports this position and proceeds to claim that quantitative and qualitative methodologies can be applied under a single paradigm, which is positivism.

As was discussed earlier, positivism epistemology approaches the world as objective and makes use of scientific methods to test the reality. Therefore, within positivistic research, quantitative methodology is dominant. However, positivism does not exclude qualitative research. The most commonly used approach to embedding qualitative methodology in positivist epistemology is to use the illustrative power of narrative to clarify the results (Creswell, Shop, Plano Clark, and Green, 2006; Morse, 2003). Therefore, qualitative methodology can have a supportive role in research guided by positivism. Giddens (2006) went even further to note that most mixed methods studies are conducted under “the guise” of positivism thereby implying that qualitative methodology are often added to strengthen positivism-driven research (p.200).

This study is grounded in positivism; therefore, it applies quantitative methodology as the primary approach. The use of quantitative methodology will help test the relationships between the variables identified within the considered theories (PSM and Institutional Theory) on a large population sample with the possibility of generalizing the study results. Qualitative methodology will be used as a complementary approach to clarify the relationships identified with the help of quantitative methods.

4.3 Research Design

Research design can be envisioned as a general plan to address the research problem. It represents a general framework for data collection and analysis that allows to answer the research questions in the best possible way (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2002; Ghauri and Grønhaug, 2002). The choice of research design in mixed studies is usually guided by the choices of purpose, priority and implementation of quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Bainbridge and Lee, 2014). In terms of purpose, a researcher decides whether the two methodologies are combined for development, complementarity, expansion or triangulation (Greene et al., 1989). In development studies, results obtained by using one methodology are used to inform the direction of the later research conducted within the other methodology (Bainbridge and Lee, 2014). In complementarity studies, one methodology is used to enhance, clarify and illustrate the results obtained with the help of the other methodology. In such studies, the strengths of the second methodology are applied to compensate for the weaknesses of the initial methodology (Johnson and Turner, 2003). In expansion studies, researchers used different methodologies to gain a more rounded understanding of the research problem (Bainbridge and Lee, 2014). Finally, in triangulation studies, a researcher uses two methodologies to examine the same things and consequently determine the degree of convergence of the results. This study uses a complementarity design by first testing the theories with quantitative analysis and then using qualitative analysis to clarify and enhance the results.

The priority and implementation of methodologies are other key considerations for a mixed methods research design. According to Molina-Azorin (2012), in mixed methods research, a choice has to be made whether quantitative and qualitative methodologies have equal status or whether one methodology has a stronger weight. Consequently, mixed methods research can

be quantitatively dominant, qualitatively dominant or pure mixed (Johnson et al., 2007). Likewise, a researcher has to decide on the manner in which the methodologies will be implemented. Bainbridge and Lee (2014) argued that in terms of implementation, mixed research can be sequential or simultaneous. In sequential design, methodologies are applied one after the other, while in simultaneous design they are used at the same time.

The key considerations described above form the basis for mixed methods research typology. While many typologies of mixed methods research exist, many of them use Morse's (1991) notations to denote the dominant methodology and implementation method. The dominant methodology in Morse's (1991) system is given in capital letters (QUAN or QUAL) while the supporting methodology is given in small letters (quan or qual). Further, "+" symbol is used to denote simultaneous application of the quantitative and qualitative methodologies while "->" symbol is used to denote their sequential application. Based on these notations, Creswell and Clark (2011) proposed four distinct types of mixed method designs: convergent parallel, explanatory sequential, exploratory sequential and embedded.

In the convergent parallel design, quantitative and qualitative methodologies are applied simultaneously and given the same amount of priority. Independent and concurrent data collection takes place and the results are merged at some point for interpretation. This design is commonly used to get a more thorough understanding of the topic and/or validate quantitative scales (Creswell and Clark, 2011). The explanatory sequential design is applied whenever a researcher seeks to gain a deeper understanding of research results. This design assumes superiority of quantitative methods and applies qualitative methodology for interpretation and meta-references (Creswell and Clark, 2011). The exploratory sequential design is used to develop an initial perspective on the issues and then test the findings to confirm or disconfirm them. Under this design, qualitative data is given a priority: it is collected

and analysed first, while quantitative data leads to testing and generalisation of the findings (Creswell and Clark, 2011). Finally, the embedded design involves application of one methodology within the other one: a researcher embeds a small strand of secondary methodology to enhance the results within a dominant methodology (Creswell and Clark, 2011). Table 4.2 presents a comparative view on the mixed methods research designs.

Table 4.2. Mixed Methods Research Designs

Design Type	Notation	Short Description	Best Used For
Convergent Parallel	QUAN+QUAL	Quantitative and qualitative methodologies are given equal consideration. Data is collected simultaneously.	Developing a complete understanding of a particular phenomenon.
Explanatory Sequential	QUAN->qual	Quantitative methodology is given a priority. Qualitative analysis is conducted after the quantitative results.	Understanding and interpreting the initial quantitative results
Exploratory Sequential	QUAL->quan	Qualitative methodology is given a priority. Quantitative analysis is conducted after the qualitative results.	Testing and generalising initially developed insights or theories
Embedded	QUAN(qual) or QUAL(quan)	A small strand of one methodology is applied within the other one	Enhancement of the overall design

Sources: Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011; Morse, 1991

This study applies an explanatory sequential research design which assumes the use of quantitative analysis first, before carrying out qualitative analysis. The main goal of the study was to test a well-known theory in a new context. The relationships predicted by the theory would be initially tested; however, given the distinctiveness of the context it was expected that

some unpredictable results would emerge. The study, therefore, gives a priority to quantitative methodology to test the relationships predicted by the PSM theory with qualitative methodology being deployed in a supporting role to understand and interpret these findings in a specific context. In this sense, the study primarily applied a deductive reasoning which was concerned primarily with theory consequences and presents conclusions as true if the premises are true (Ghuri and Grønhaug, 2002; Malhorta and Birks, 2007). It aimed to test the hypothesised relationships and present deeper interpretations of the results rather than attempting to develop a new theory which would require the collection of qualitative data first. The explanatory nature of this research is appropriate given the structured nature of the research problem and the cause and effect relationships under investigation. Figure 4.1 presents the sequential flow of the study.

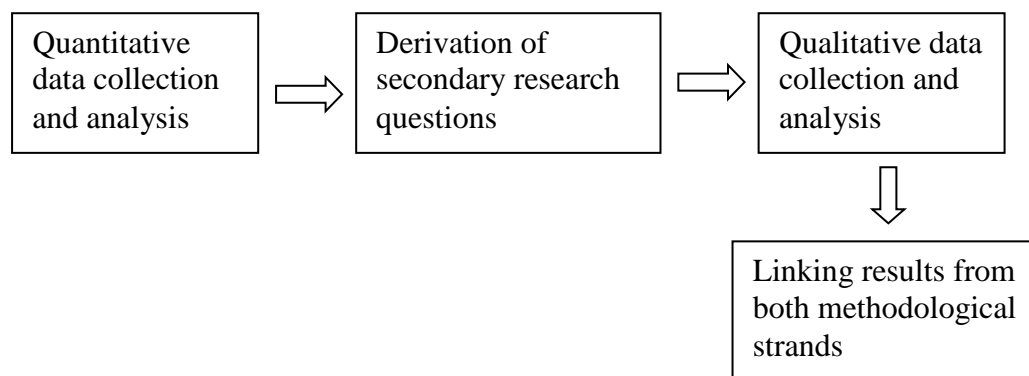


Figure 4.1. Sequential Flow of the Study Research Design

In terms of time orientation, this study has a cross-sectional design because it is oriented at collecting data at a particular point of time to describe the conditions of specific variables at a given point of time (Malhorta and Birks, 2007). This distinguishes the study from retrospective and longitudinal research designs whereby past properties of variables or a forward direction of data collection are applied respectively (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2002). A cross-sectional study design has several advantages over other research strategies. It is widely recognised as

one of the fastest and least expensive approaches in terms of data collection (Babbie, 2010). Second, cross-sectional studies are convenient in application to the already theorised relationships between variables that can be tested on groups and populations. Specifically, they are useful in identifying the initial associations that can be later studied in depth using more rigorous approaches. Cross-sectional studies have also been the major research practice in studies related to public organisations in particular (Gould-Williams and Mohamed, 2010; Guest, 2011). This renders the chosen strategy in the context of the current study as well. Fourth, cross-sectional strategy allows to collect data from large samples of participants and on many variables, which is driven by the survey method of data collection.

4.4 Research Context

4.4.1 Public Education Sector in Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia's public education sector is one of the largest in the Middle East. According to 2013 statistics, the Kingdom had 25 public universities, over 500 colleges and several thousand schools and special training schools which combined serve the needs of over 8.5 million students at various educational levels (Ministry of Education, 2013). Public education in the country was made a priority since the very formation of the modern Kingdom. One of the first acts of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the Kingdom's founder, was to establish and promote educational opportunities throughout the country (Smith and Abouammoh, 2013).

With the tremendous wealth acquired after the oil discovery, Saudi Arabia implemented serious efforts to spearhead and modernise its public education system. Today, it is considered one of the top public education spenders in the world with nearly 7.6% of GDP and 25% of total fiscal spending attributed to the educational sector (Alpen Capital, 2014). According to the Saudi Arabia General Investment Authority (SAGIA), \$57.9 billion was dedicated to public

education in 2014 including a \$640 million fund to complete a network of vocational and technical colleges and three new large universities (SAGIA, 2015). The importance of public education is underlined by the fact that only 11% of the total student population attend private schools which are not numerous but extremely expensive (SAGIA, 2015).

The booming public education industry in Saudi Arabia requires a vast administration network. The public education sector in Saudi Arabia is governed by the Ministry of Education (MoE) with the assistance of the General Organisation for Technical Education and Vocational Training. The complex structure of the MoE is presented in Appendix A which shows numerous educational and administrative positions within the Ministry. At present, the MoE is in the process of implementing a ten year plan with some important goals including better accommodation for students at various levels and stages of education, development of MoE personnel's educational and administrative skills, improvement of quality and sufficiency of the education system and further development of the nationwide infrastructure and education technologies (Ministry of Education, 2015).

Despite the large amounts of funds being invested in Saudi public education, some critics view the development of modern education problematic because of the traditionalist orientation of the education system (Alyami, 2014). The MoE has a tendency to closely control the schools' curricula and rejects schools' autonomy. This leads to lower level of job satisfaction among the head teachers who, according to a series of recent studies, feel that they are rejected opportunities for leadership and innovativeness (Alyami, 2014). *Tatweer* school reform has been launched in an attempt to resolve this issue by empowering the independent decision making of the schools, although they are still closely monitored by the government.

4.4.2 Organisation in Focus

This study focused on the public education branch in Al Qassim region of Saudi Arabia. This is the central region with a population of over 1.2 million. Al Qassim's regional public education branch oversees over 2,500 educational establishments at all levels (primary, intermediate, secondary), over 33,000 instructors and a total student population of over 260,000 (General Directorate, 2012). The General Directorate of Education in Al Qassim is the primary governing body with administrative staff exceeding 900 individuals. The Directorate's mission is *“to make the learner the central point of the educational process, to apply the systems of quality, motivation and development of human abilities, promotion of technical equipment, and to guarantee a distinct level of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation,”* and its vision is to make use the educational and administrative resources to lead to *“effective knowledge-based society”* (General Directorate, 2012). To underline its focus on public service, The Directorate lists among its values *“loyalty, justice, honesty, citizenship, transparency, appreciation of responsibility, perfectionism, quality and creativity”* (General Directorate, 2012).

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

Being a mixed methods research, this study employs both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. The purpose, description and justification for each method are described below.

4.5.1 Quantitative Data Collection Methods

4.5.1.1 Survey

As was mentioned above, quantitative methodology works with numeric data. The most common methods to collect this kind of data are experiments, surveys and secondary data

sources (Bamberger, 2000). Considering the purpose and goals of this research, which is conducted within a social context, survey is the most appropriate technique for quantitative data collection. Surveys refer to methods of data collection where questionnaires are used to obtain information from a population sample (Creswell, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). Surveys represent one of the most commonly used approaches to quantitative data collection (Creswell, 2003).

Surveys carry a number of advantages for researchers. One advantage of this approach is that it is highly structured and easily replicable, which makes it possible to compare the results of previously conducted surveys (Saunders et al., 2007). Surveys also allow to cover a relatively large number of respondents and carry much lower financial burden on the researcher than, for example, experiments (Palmquist, 2011). Surveys are also advantageous for the detachment of the researcher from the participants, which reduces the risk of biases and preserves participants' anonymity. The data collected with surveys can be coded and analysed with quantitative methods, providing both descriptive and inferential references (Saunders et al., 2007). Finally, applied within social and organisational contexts, surveys allow to provide quantifiable data regarding individuals' attitudes and perceptions (Baruch and Holtom, 2008).

The primary research instrument in surveys is questionnaire. The next subsection describes the process of developing the questionnaire that was used in this study.

4.5.1.2. Questionnaire Development

Churchill and Iacobucci (2002) presented a detailed nine-step sequential process for questionnaire development (Figure 4.2). This process was applied in this study.

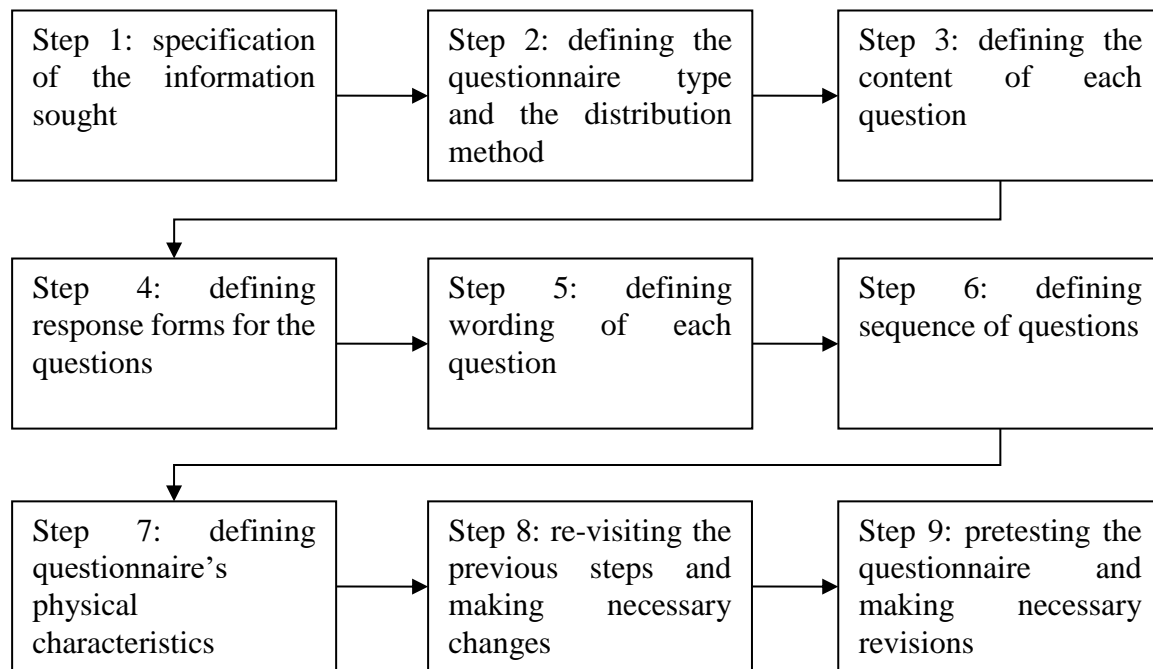


Figure 4.2. Questionnaire Development Process (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2002)

Step 1: Specification of Information Sought

The first step in the questionnaire development process involved identification of the required information. For this study, the conceptual framework served as a basis for such information. Specifically, the questionnaire information was linked to the constructs presented in the conceptual framework of the study. Additionally, the questionnaire included demographic questions which were linked to the need for relevant control variables.

Step 2: Type of Questionnaire and Its Distribution

The second step in the questionnaire development process involved the definition of the questionnaire type and defining the appropriate method of questionnaire administration. This study used a structured questionnaire that included closed end items with predefined items (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2002). In terms of administration, the questionnaires were self-

administered, that is, the respondents filled them in the absence of the researcher (Mitchell and Jolley, 2010). The choice of this type of questionnaire administration was driven by the idea of preserving the respondents' anonymity. Specifically, the questionnaires were distributed by hand among employees. Also, it was posted online and the respondents were provided with a link to it. The links were distributed via working email by the organisation's management. In total, 496 invitational emails were sent according to the management. Each email contained a brief cover letter describing the study and the rights of the participants.

The choice of an online survey approach was driven by a number of benefits that it provides. Evans and Mathur (2005) describe up to sixteen advantages of using online questionnaires. Among these advantages, relevant to this study were the low cost of development and distribution, speed of data collection and a possibility of acquiring a relatively large number of respondents. Online surveys are also advantageous for a researcher due to their convenience and accuracy, because all data become coded and summarised automatically. This reduces the possibility of human error to a minimum.

Online surveys have a number of weaknesses as well; however, they should not affect the survey strongly. For example, one weakness reported by Evans and Mather (2005) is the possibility of insufficient technological expertise among the respondents. However, since the invitations to participate in the survey were sent via email, it was expected that there would be sufficient number of individuals with the required minimum technical expertise. Another possible drawback reported by Evans and Mather (2005) is the inability to monitor the survey takers. However, invitations for the study were sent through credible channels (working email from the organisation's management), which greatly reduced the possibility of outside individuals taking the survey. Further, since the study did not promise any material rewards for participation, there was little motivation for the outsiders to take the survey.

Steps 3, 4 and 5: Development of the Questionnaire Items and Scales

The third step in the questionnaire development process involved development of the questionnaire items; the fourth step involved determining the scales for the answers; and the fifth step involved determining the wording of each item. As was explained in the description of the earlier steps, the questionnaire linked items to variables that were investigated or controlled for. Specifically, four sets of items were used corresponding to the research variables: PSM items, employee outcomes items, *wasta* items and control items. All major items representing the key variables in the research were taken from previously validated questionnaires, and the wording of the items was preserved. Except for the items representing the control variables, all other items were based on a seven-point Likert scale to preserve continuity and integrity. The choice for a seven-point scale was determined by several factors. Sierles (2003) recommended use of a seven-point Likert scale since it yields data that are amenable to advanced parametric tests and statistical analyses. Nunnally (1978) found that a 7-point scale provided the best balance between reliability on the one hand and a number of discriminant points on the other. Diefanbach, Weinstein and O'Reilly (1993) found a 7-point Likert scale to be the best predictor in subjective evaluations such as beliefs and attitudes. Russell and Bobko (1992) also noted that a 5-point scale provided measures of mediating and moderating effects too rough to facilitate identification. Based on these findings, a 7-point scale was chosen as representative closed-end answers for the majority of items in this study's questionnaire.

PSM in this study was conceptualised as “the belief, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organisational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate” (Vandenabeele, 2007, p. 547). As was discussed earlier, the original PSM instrument developed by Perry (1996) did not

demonstrate consistent results in different cultural contexts (Cerese and Farinella, 2009; Giauque et al., 2011; Kim, 2011; Leisink and Steijn, 2009). As a result, for international studies, researchers have suggested supplementing the original PSM measures with culturally specific dimensions (Cerese and Farinella, 2009; Vandenabeele, 2008), omitting certain dimensions (Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Liu et al., 2008), combining the dimensions (Ritz and Waldner, 2011; Vandenabeele, 2008) or developing new dimensions (Kim, 2011).

In order to preserve the integrity of the underlying theory, this research rejected the approaches to PSM measures that alter the original four dimension structure proposed by Perry (1996). At the same time, the need for contextualisation was realised. Therefore, as a basis for PSM measurement, Kim's (2009a) measurement was selected. The itemisation of PSM proposed by Kim preserved the original PSM dimensions but revised some doubtful items and replaced them with others that seemed more reliable and meaningful in the international context. This measure was tested and found to be both valid and reliable for two independent sets of non-American public service employees (Kim, 2009a). Another advantage of Kim's conceptualisation of PSM is that it is a shortened version of the original instrument with only 12 items present. This helps reduce respondents' workload considering the length of the final questionnaire. All items were measured on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (coded as 1) to "strongly agree" (coded as 7). The following items were included in the questionnaire as PSM measures:

PSM1: I am interested in making public programmes that are beneficial for my country or the community I belong to.

PSM2: Sharing my views on public policies with others is attractive to me.

PSM3: Seeing people get benefits from the public programme I have been deeply involved in brings me a great deal of satisfaction.

PSM4: I consider public service my civic duty.

PSM5: Meaningful public service is very important to me.

PSM6: I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community even if it harmed my interests.

PSM7: It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress.

PSM8: I am often reminded by daily events how dependent we are on one another.

PSM9: I feel sympathetic to the plight of the underprivileged.

PSM10: Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.

PSM11: I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society.

PSM 12: I believe in putting duty before self.

Wasta is broadly defined as “a process whereby one may achieve goals through links with key persons” (Smith et al., 2012, p. 335). Despite its prevalence in Arab culture in general and Saudi Arabia specifically, empirical investigations that employed workable, validated questionnaire instruments for *wasta* are scarce (Arasli and Tumer, 2008; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011). Several studies like Abdallah et al. (1998) did not use the term *wasta* directly although they were carried out in the context of Middle Eastern organisations and measured instances of nepotism, favouritism and cronyism. This study employed adapted *wasta* measures from Tlaiss and Kauser (2011). The items used a seven point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” (coded as 1) to “strongly agree” (coded as 7). The *wasta* items used in the questionnaire are presented below:

WAS1: Wasta is important for recruitment and promotion in my organisation.

WAS2: To get a good position in my organisation, wasta is more important than what you know.

WAS3: Wasta is more important in my organisation than qualifications and work experience.

WAS4: Wasta is commonly used at my workplace.

Employee outcome items in the questionnaire corresponded to the three outcomes under investigation: organisational commitment, job satisfaction, and intention to quit. Organisational commitment in this study is conceptualised as the degree to which an individual is psychologically attached to an organisation. Meyer, Allen and Smith (1993) developed a

popular measure of organisational commitment based on three factors: affective, continuance and normative. The affective component of the scales was later found to have the best associations with organisational outcomes and to be closely related to other measures of employee outcomes such as performance and lower levels of stress (Meyer et al., 2002). Further, in PSM research affective commitment has received stronger support and perceived importance than the other forms of commitment (Kim, 2012). All items were measured on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” (coded as 1) to “strongly agree” (coded as 7). Therefore, for this study three affective commitment items from Meyer et al. (1993) were used:

OC1: I feel emotionally attached to this organisation

OC2: I really feel as if this organisation’s problems are my own

OC3: I feel a strong sense of belonging to my organisation.

Job satisfaction in this study is conceptualised as an individual’s attitude towards his or her job. Wanous, Reichers and Hudy (1997) introduced and tested a one face valid item conceptualisation of job satisfaction finding it to be highly correlated to its multi-item assessment. This study applied similar approach and measured job satisfaction with one item:

JS1: Overall, I am satisfied with my job.

Intention to quit in the study is conceptualized as the degree to an employee wishes to discontinue membership in his or her organisation. O’Reilley, Chatman and Caldwell (1991) developed a measure for intention to quit that successfully predicted actual turnover among organisational employees. This study applies O’Reilley et al’s. (1991) measurement of intention to quit. All items were measured on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” (coded as 1) to “strongly agree” (coded as 7). The following items, therefore, were included in the questionnaire:

IQ1: I would prefer another more ideal job to the one I have now

IQ2: If I have my way, I won't be working for this company a year from now

IQ3: I have seriously thought about leaving this organisation.

IQ4: I don't intend to remain with this organisation for long

A set of individual controlling factors was included in the study framework in order to exclude personal influences on the hypothesised relationships. Specifically, the study controlled for participants' age, gender, education, employee supervision and service years. The itemisation of these factors followed Perry (1997). Age was measured as an ordinal variable based on four age groups: "from 18 to 30," "from 31 to 40," "from 41 to 50," and "over 50." Gender was represented by a dichotomous nominal variable with the answers "male" and "female." Education was represented by an ordinal variable based on four levels of education: high school certificate, bachelor degree, master degree and doctorate degree. Supervision of employees was represented by a dichotomous item "Do you supervise employees?" with "yes" and "no" available as responses. Number of years in service was represented by an interval item with based on four positions: "from 1 to 5 years," "from 6 to 10 years," from "11 to 20 years" and "over 20 years."

The study also considered family socialisation and religious activity as control variables. Family socialisation, in line with Perry et al. (2008), "taps respondents' family influences and attitudes as they were growing up" (p. 447). Such influences may include parents' participation in volunteer organisations, their encouragement of volunteering activities and transmission of values, both moral and ethical, related to helping other people. Religious activity refers to active involvement in religious organisations and practices which, according to Perry et al. (2008) enhances altruistic behaviours and increases the desire to help others. The itemisation of family socialisation and religious activity variables followed Perry et al. (2008). Family

socialization items were based on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” (coded as 1) to “strongly agree” (coded as 7). The following items were used for family socialisation:

Fam1: My parents actively participated in volunteer organisations

Fam2: In my family, we always helped one another

Fam3: Concerning strangers experiencing distress, my parents generally thought that it was more important to not get involved (A reversed scale item)

Fam4: My parents frequently discussed moral values with me

Fam5: When I was growing up, my parents told me I should be willing to “lend a helping hand”

Fam6: when I was younger, my parents very often urged me to get involved with volunteer projects for children.

Religious activity items were based on a five-point frequency scale measured as 1 for never, 2 for rarely, 3 for sometimes, 4 for often and 5 for very often. The following items were used:

Rel1: I attend religious services

Rel2: I pray or read religious texts

Rel3: I practice traditional religious rituals at home

Rel4: I take part in any of the activities or groups of a mosque

Step 6: Determining the Items' Sequence

The sixth step in the process of questionnaire development involved determining the sequence of questions. According to Churchill and Iacobucci (2002), the way that items are presented in a questionnaire plays a crucial role in the questionnaire's effectiveness. Rea and Parker (2005) also noted that inappropriate item sequencing may lead to respondents' confusion, bias and a poor response rate. In order to establish an appropriate flow of items, this study followed the guidelines by Churchill and Iacobucci (2002) and Synodinos (2003). The guidelines suggest that a questionnaire starts with easy to comprehend and answer items in order to build respondents' confidence and increase their involvement. The first items in the questionnaire for this study therefore queried background information with the items to which the participants

would answer easily. The items that represented research variables (PSM, *wasta*, employee outcomes) were grouped topically to increase consistency of the responses (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2002). Finally, sensitive questions regarding family and religion were placed in the end of the questionnaire (Synodinos, 2003).

Steps 7 and 8: Instrument Layout and Revisions

The seventh step in the questionnaire development process involved determining the layout and physical characteristics of the instrument. The eighth step included revisions and editing as necessary. A professional appearance, according to Churchill and Iacobucci (2002), is an important characteristic of a questionnaire. For this study, the questionnaire was designed with clearly distinguished sections and easily identifiable, numerated items. Another consideration was the questionnaire length. According to Churchill and Iacobucci (2002), a good questionnaire does not cause serious mental workload. To make the questionnaire shorter, this study applied shortened but still validated versions of several key items, such as PSM and employee outcomes. Finally, the questionnaire included a background page with the study purpose and assurances of the respondents' confidentiality and anonymity. The background page also included the researcher's contact details in case the respondents had any additional questions regarding the questionnaire. Appendix B presents the final English language questionnaire version.

Step 9: Questionnaire Pre-Testing

The final step in questionnaire development involved questionnaire pretesting. Pretesting is a necessary step prior to general questionnaire distribution because it makes sure that the questionnaire is visually appealing and not confusing, that it addresses the research problems well, that it is clear in terms of layout and instructions and that it can provide valid and reliable

results (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2002; Nelson, 1985; Synodinos, 2003). Questionnaire pilot testing is a common procedure to address these issues. However, this study was conducted in a non-English speaking context. Therefore, the original questionnaire items had to be translated first from English into Arabic. The translation procedures and the pilot testing of the questionnaire are described below.

4.5.1.3 Questionnaire Translation

Since this research is carried out in Saudi Arabia, it is logical to assume that the majority of potential respondents do not speak or read in English. Therefore, translation into Arabic was required to ensure that the questionnaire was well comprehended by the respondents. Crystal (2011) described the process of translation as transferring the meaning and expression from one language to another. The key aspect in the process is to attain maximum meaning equivalency. There are several approaches to translating questionnaires (Brislin, 1970; Harkness, Van de Vijver, and Mohler, 2003; Su and Parham, 2002). Brislin's (1970) back translation technique is the most popular and widely used in studies covering Arab-speaking individuals (Khalaila, 2013). This technique involves several steps. The first step involves blind translation by a bilingual translator from the original (source) language to the target language. Another translator then translates the final text back into the source language. The two questionnaire versions are then compared for equivalency. The closer is the match, the more accurate is the target translation.

This study followed Brislin's (1970) back translation technique for translating the study questionnaire from English to Arabic. Two professional bilingual (English and Arabic) translators were recruited for the procedure. After the translations from the source language into target language and back were completed, the two versions were compared and where

discrepancies were noted, a consensus between the translators regarding the final wording of the items was reached.

4.5.1.4 Questionnaire Pilot Test

A pilot test represents a procedure where a small group of individuals representative of the target population fill out the original questionnaire (Bolton, 1993). According to Brace (2013), pilot tests are necessary to establish the validity and reliability of questionnaires. Pilot testing of the questionnaire used in this study was conducted with a group of 12 professionals employed in the Saudi public sector. The respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire. They were also asked about the clarity and adequacy of measures, and their suggestions for minor changes in the questionnaire were taken into account. The respondents did not notice any issues in operationalisation of variables such as possible overlapping of the items or closeness of the meaning of the items used for different constructs. Finally, the respondents were asked about the questionnaire's visual appeal and length. While some respondents stated that the questionnaire took more time to complete than they had initially anticipated, none believed that the questionnaire was too long.

4.6.1 Qualitative Methods of Data Collection

Surveys as methods of data collection have several limitations. The main limitation is, perhaps, the depth of answers that can be obtained by means of surveys. Further, because the researcher is not involved in the process, he or she cannot clarify certain questions and ideas or probe for meanings and interpretations of some unexpected answers (Hussey and Hussey, 2003). In consideration of these issues, this study combined surveys with semi-structured interviews to gather a stronger perspective on the phenomenon under investigation. In line with the sequential research design that the study employed, qualitative data were collected after the

collection and analyses of the quantitative data. The purpose of qualitative data collection and analysis was to clarify and interpret the results of quantitative analyses.

4.6.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

According to Creswell (2003), semi-structured interviews are used to gain the respondents' perspective regarding a topic. Because of this, they are not rigorously confined within a fixed set of questions. Rather, they rely on open-ended questions that are either suggested by the researcher or naturally flow out of the conversation during the interview (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Therefore, semi-structured interviews offer a more flexible approach to data gathering than structured interviews, which use a rigorous, confined set of questions that rarely allow deviation (Creswell, 2003). Because open-ended questions are used, a semi-structured interview protocol normally includes a set of themes, within which the interview questions are developed. Consequently, the questions may be asked differently to different respondents.

As with any method of data collection, semi-structured interviews have their own strengths and weaknesses. Semi-structured interviews offer a high degree of validity due to detailed, in-depth data uncovered in the process (Creswell, 2003). They allow to unveil the meaning behind particular actions and behaviours because the participants have the ability to speak for themselves with little direction and/or interruption from the interviewer. Semi-structured interviews also help clarify complex issues where no apparent links and solutions can be established (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Finally, the respondents could be more relaxed and open in semi-structured interviews because they do not feel constrained by the interviewer. At the same time, semi-structured interviews are considered relatively unreliable tools, because it becomes difficult to replicate the exact set of questions asked (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Further, subjective factor can become an issue. One the one hand, the interviewer decides on the set of themes to be used, thus deciding in advance what is important; on the other hand, the

interviewer also decides what is relevant from the data collected. Finally, semi-structured interview outcomes are often difficult to generalise because the same questions can be asked in different ways.

The rationale for using semi-structured interviews in this particular research comes from several factors. First, interviews in general are considered a very useful tool to obtain the participants' perspectives on particular subjects (Punch, 2005). Semi-structured interviews are particularly effective in this sense because they help develop in-depth insights and perspectives due to their open-ended nature. Second, semi-structured interviews, as noted by Hackley (2003), are likely to provide useful practical insights to the problem being investigated. From this perspective, the conducted research may help promote the practical application of PSM theory in Saudi public organisations.

With regards to the weaknesses of semi-structured interviews noted above, they mostly apply if they are used as the primary method for data collection and analysis. In this study, semi-structured interviews were used to provide deeper insights into the results obtained with the quantitative data analysis. Therefore, reliability was not really an issue. Further, subjectivity was not an issue because the themes for semi-structured interviews were not developed based on the researcher's wishes; rather, they were uncovered from the results of data analysis. Finally, generalisation of the study results rests primarily on the quantitative data analysis which allows such generalisations to be made. All these aspects make semi-structured interviews an appropriate method of data collection in a supportive role.

4.6.2.2 Data Collection Procedures

Twenty in-depth interviews were conducted with public service administration employees from the Saudi Ministry of Education. A convenience sampling method was used: all the interviewees were recruited from the pool of respondents to the survey based on their answer

in the end of the survey about willingness to participate in an interview. The interviewees were selected in a way to represent the survey sample. Therefore, the participants were recruited on the basis of gender, age group, education, position and length of service. The participants also had different job roles, with the majority holding positions that involve direct interaction with the public. The list of job titles included school administrators, instructors, education clerks and counsellors among others.

The interviews were conducted face to face and took on average 35 minutes each. Prior to the interviews, the participants were instructed about the purpose of the research, the contribution of this study and their rights as interviewees. According with the regular procedures for semi-structured interviews as described by Bryman and Bell (2011), the interview themes were developed in advance and placed within the interview protocol (Appendix C).

In line with the sequential explanatory research design, the questions for the protocol were developed on the basis of the study's quantitative findings. In particular, the interview questions sought to clarify the weakly or unconfirmed relationships between the variables. Specifically, in view of relatively weak influence of *wasta* on PSM and employee outcomes, the interviewees were asked about additional factors they thought were important for positive employee outcomes in public service. Likewise, in the absence of clear relationships between individual characteristics and PSM, the interviewees were asked to elaborate about personal characteristics they considered important for making a difference in public service.

All interviews were conducted in Arabic thereby eliminating the necessity for translation. The transcribed interviews were sent to the participants so that they could check them and ensure that all their thoughts and ideas were expressed clearly. The revised interview transcripts served as the data for analysis.

4.7 Sampling Design

In social research, a population under investigation is usually too large to be covered by a survey given the limitations in time and cost of the research. As a result, sampling is a common approach used by social researchers (McDonnell, Lavelle, Gunnigle, and Collings, 2007). Sampling is defined as a process of selecting a number of individuals to represent a target population for the study purposes (Malhorta and Birks, 2007). In developing the sample for this study, a six-step approach proposed by Malhorta and Birks (2007) was used. The sequential flow of these steps is presented in Figure 4.3. Each step, as applied to this study, is discussed in detail below.

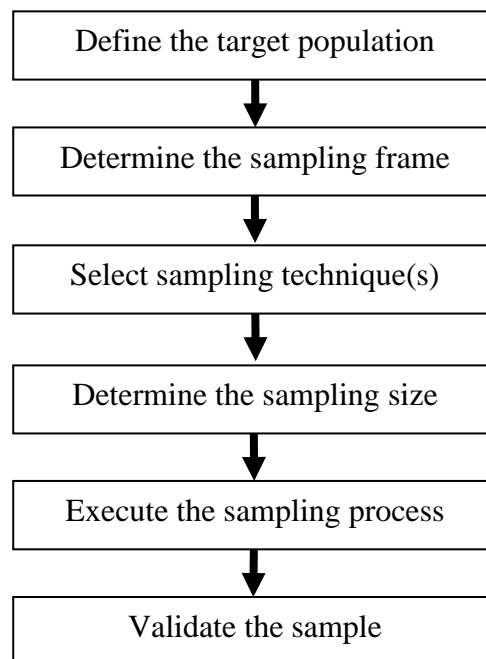


Figure 4.3. The Sampling Design Process (Malhorta and Birks, 2007)

4.7.1 Target Population

The target population is defined as the collection of elements that have information of interest to the researcher. Malhorta and Birks (2007) wrote that the study target population can be defined in terms of elements, sampling units, extent and time. A target population element is the basic unit of analysis about which information is collected. The target population element

in this study is an employee of a public sector organisation in Saudi Arabia. The total number of employees in these organisations, therefore, defined the target population size. According to the 48th annual report published by Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (2013), as of 2011, the total number of employees in the public sector was nearly one million. A sampling unit can be understood as a unit that includes target population elements. The sampling unit in this study is represented by a public organisation in Saudi Arabia. The target population is also delimited by the geographical boundaries which are national borders of Saudi Arabia. Finally, the target population consists of contemporary employees of Saudi public organisations.

4.7.2 Sampling Frame

A sampling frame is generally understood as a list of the target population elements from which the sample is drawn (Malhorta and Birks, 2007). In this study, the sampling frame was based on public service professionals employed in the General Directorate of Education in Al Qassim, a branch of Saudi Ministry of Education. Service providing employees were included in the sampling frame because interaction with the public was considered a key aspect of the driving forces behind PSM. Employees of both supervisor and subordinate positions were included. While this study recognises possible differences in the responses between supervisors and non-supervisors, both types of respondents were included in the sampling frame.

4.7.3 Sampling Technique

In general, sampling techniques are grouped into probability and non-probability categories (Bryman and Bell, 2007; Creswell, 2003). Probability sampling techniques are those where each target population unit has an equal chance of being selected into the sample. While these methods provide better-quality, non-biased samples, they are not always available for researchers in view of specific circumstances such as limited access to all participants, lack of time and/or resources (Creswell, 2003). This was the case in this study. Data collection in Saudi public organisations remains a serious challenge for social science researchers due to restricted

access and red tape related to permissions to conduct research. Therefore, a convenience sampling approach was applied. According to Ross (2005), convenience sampling is an approach where subjects are selected because they are accessible to the researcher. Bryman (2007) wrote that use of convenience samples is common in social science research because they allow to save time, effort and resources. With regards to this particular study, convenience sampling also allowed to conduct research based on access to a limited selection of public service employees. Personal connections of the researcher granted access to individuals employed in Al Qassim General Directorate of Education.

4.7.4 Sample Size

Determining of a sample size for multiple regression and correlation analyses is usually based on the guidelines of Cohen, Cohen, West and Aiken (2013). The guidelines propose that a sample size is a function of four factors: the anticipated population effect size, the desired statistical power level, the number of predictors in the model and the chosen probability level (significance alpha) for the analysis. The anticipated effect size refers to the anticipated strength of the phenomenon. Generally, three effect sizes are used: small, medium and large. Given the effects of PSM and *wasta* on employee outcomes reported in literature, a medium effect is anticipated in this study.

Cohen's rule of thumb for the medium effect are: $r = 0.3$ in terms of correlation coefficient and $d = 0.5$ for the difference between means. With regards to statistical power, Cohen et al. (2013) recommend a value of at least 0.8, which is also a default value used. The number of predictors corresponds to the number of factors considered within a regression model. The largest number of predictors used in this study is 3, which corresponds to PSM, *wasta* and the moderator variable in a regression model of the employee outcomes. Finally, the significance level for the statistical model in this study is 0.1. Based on the selected parameters, Cohen et al's. (2013) power tables suggest a sample size of at least 96 individuals.

In a comprehensive analysis of the procedures to determine sample size for regression analysis, Green (1991) suggested that a minimum sample size should be $N > 104 + m$ where m is the number of independent variables. This would bring the minimum required sample size in this study to 106. Another rule of thumb was suggested by Harris (1985). Harris suggested that a minimum sample size for an analysis with five and fewer predictors should exceed the total number of predictors by at least 50. Following this guidelines, the minimum sample for this study should be 52 individuals.

Considering the suggestions in the statistical literature, the minimum number of participants for this study should be between 52 and 106 individuals. Given the fact that the invitations to take participation in the survey were emailed to 496 individuals, there was high likelihood that this minimum would be met.

For qualitative studies, there is no direct way to measure an appropriate sample size (Baker and Edwards, 2012). Morse (1991) suggested that qualitative sampling should be based on “the quality of data, the scope of the study, the nature of the topic, the amount of useful information obtained from each participant, the number of interviews per participant, the use of shadowed data, and the qualitative method and study design used” (p. 3). This study seeks to use qualitative data in a supporting role to clarify the results obtained with the quantitative analysis. Therefore, with high quality of information provided from the participants, there is a high likelihood that a relatively small sample could yield good insights into the issue at hand. This study conducted 20 semi-structured interviews after the collection and analysis of the quantitative data.

4.8 Common Method Bias Management

Common method bias arises when the statistical variance is caused not by the constructs that comprise the measure, but by the measurement method (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, and Podsakoff, 2003; Spector, 2006). According to Podsakoff et al. (2003), common method bias

is one of the main threats to validity because it affects both the measures and the relationships between them. There are two general ways to deal with common method bias: with the appropriate study design procedures and with statistical controls.

Procedural remedies are based on identification of the common features of the predictor and criterion variables and minimising the commonalities through the study design. One way of doing this is by getting the responses from different sources (Podsakoff et al., 2003). However, in this study, this approach is not feasible because the study focuses on a specific type of individuals, their attitudes and beliefs. Therefore, other methods such as separation of measurements, protecting respondents' anonymity, reducing evaluation apprehension and improving scale items were used. Psychological separation of measures, as suggested by Podsakoff et al. (2003) was applied in this study. The items corresponding to different variables (PSM, religion socialisation, family socialisation, *wasta*, employee outcomes) were placed in different questionnaire sections with different instructions in order to reduce evidence of possible connections between the variables. Another measure to reduce respondents' apprehension was assurances that there were no right or wrong answers to the questionnaire items. Improvement of the scale items for the questionnaire was directed at reducing ambiguity, since this is one of the major issues with comprehension in surveys (Tourangeau et al., 2000). While all items were taken from previously validated questionnaires, all of them were checked for comprehensiveness and ambiguity during the pilot testing stage.

Statistical controls represent the second way to deal with common method bias. While there are several statistical approaches, two most common controls are Harman's one-factor test and the unmeasured latent method factor technique (Podsakoff et al., 2003; Podsakoff et al., 2012). Both methods were applied in this study to reduce common method bias. Harman's one-factor analysis involved loading all study variables into an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to identify the number of factors necessary for the variable variances (Aulakh and Gencturk,

2000). The unmeasured latent method factor technique was applied to supplement the results of Harman's test. The process involved loading the study items on their theoretical constructs with the subsequent analysis of the structural parameters' significance with and without the latent common methods factor in the model.

4.9 Methods of Data Analysis

4.9.1 Methods of Quantitative Data Analysis

This study considered the relationships between one or more independent and dependent variables. Because the variables were represented by scale data, multiple regression analysis was employed to determine how the variables related to one another. Some analyses required introduction of moderator variables. A traditional approach to perform such analyses is Moderated Multiple Regression (MMR) using product terms of the moderator and independent variables (Jaccard et al., 1990). However, Vandenberg et al. (2011) argue that while being useful in experimental analyses, MMR often underachieves for moderation based on survey data. The joint distribution of data is one reason for lower reliability of the estimates of the regression parameters (O'Connor, 2006). There is also the risk of multicollinearity due to the high correlation of cross-products, and the mean-centring procedure is not fully capable of resolving this issue (Jaccard et al., 1990). As a result, MMR by itself is not always able to provide good direction of the interaction between the variables. Therefore, Vandenberg et al. (2011) suggested addition of supplemental procedures to MMR for a more definitive detection of interactions.

All statistical tests were performed at the 0.1 level of significance. While a typical level of alpha 0.05 is most commonly used, there is no statistical science theory or criteria behind it, and in practice, alpha levels of 0.1 are also used (Noymer, 2008). It is generally accepted that only significant values over 0.1 provide weak evidence against H_0 (Ross, 2005). Choosing a

more flexible significance level allows for more certainty in detecting the relationships predicted within the model of the study. Statistical analyses were performed in SPSS 20 and STATA.

4.9.2 Methods of Qualitative Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data. According to Guest et al (2011), thematic analysis is the most commonly used method for qualitative data analysis. The main idea behind thematic analysis is the identification and examination of data patterns, regarded as themes. This procedure involves the processes of data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Data reduction in this study included selection, simplification and abstraction. The data from the transcribed interviews were organised by means of reduction and development of the themes based on similar patterns expressed within the transcripts. These patterns were then linked to the research questions formulated in the beginning of the study. The responses were categorised semantically and logically into distinctive themes. The second step in the analysis was data display which involved codification of data so that content analysis could be performed. The final step was conclusion drawing and verification by defining the key meanings, and patterns in the data and developing possible explanations for these.

4.10 Validity and Reliability of Measures

Reliability and validity are two major measures of research quality. Reliability represents the degree of consistency of a research measure, while validity indicates the extent to which the method captures all facets of the phenomenon in question (content validity) and the extent to which the selected measures represent the construct under investigation (construct validity) (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Ensuring appropriate levels of validity and reliability requires different approaches for quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection.

The major source of quantitative data for the research was a self-administered questionnaire. The instrument's reliability was measured with the Cronbach's alpha. Construct validity was ensured by using questionnaire items validated in previously conducted studies of PSM and its influence on employee outcomes. The instrument's content validity was achieved during the pilot study by using assistance from focus group experts, who reviewed the items and suggested the addition/deletion of items.

Semi-structured interviews, by their nature, have a high degree of validity due to the in-depth discussion of the specific topics, which allows to cover their various aspects in full. However, such interviews are not always considered reliable due to an inability to exactly replicate the questions and the usually small sample size of the interviewees (Saunders et al., 2007). A detailed research protocol outlining topics and themes of the interviews was provided with the study to deal with this issue and increase the degree of reliability.

4.11 Ethical Considerations

This study followed the ethical guidelines of CARBS to ensure research integrity. For the survey, each respondent was provided in advance with the information regarding the topic of the research, the role of the survey data and his/her rights as a research participant. Anonymity was preserved for all respondents: no personal data were collected without their consent (the general information section of the survey was optional). Similarly, for the interviews, the participants were notified about the purpose of the interview and their rights as the participants. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, with the transcriptions provided to the participants in order to ensure that their thoughts and ideas were properly understood. Anonymity of the interviewees was preserved in the same manner as for the participants of the survey.

4.12 Research Limitations

There are a number of limitations of this research that need to be recognised. Time and budget were the most important constraints. The study was funded solely by the researcher, which means that certain financial constraints were present. A cross-sectional study design based on a survey was chosen on the basis of its low cost. Further, the time of the research was limited to conduct a thorough, detailed analysis that could be attained with more rigorous investigation methods such as a longitudinal study or an experiment. Cross-sectional studies are cheaper and easier to conduct; however, they are also less rigorous and show associations instead of cause and effect. Another serious limitation was the convenience sampling technique. The researcher used personal connections to draw the sample from a particular branch of the public sector in Saudi Arabia, which is the Ministry of Education. Other forms of sampling would be difficult taking into account the general lack of access to data covering the Saudi public sector as well to employees and managers.

4.13 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a detailed review of the methodology applied in this study. The study was grounded in an objectivist ontology and positivist epistemology. To provide both analytical breadth and depth, a mixed methods methodology was used. Consequently, both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analyses were performed. The quantitative strand of this research aimed to test the relationships within the well-developed theories of PSM and Institutional Theory. Inferential statistical analyses were used to test the hypothesised relationships between the variables within the developed conceptual framework. Qualitative data collection and analysis were undertaken to clarify the results of the quantitative research. These approaches defined the quantitative dominant, sequential design of the study. Such a research design fits well within the positivist research philosophy.

The research was carried out in the context of Saudi public organisations. The selected unit of analysis was a public organisation employee. The target population consisted of over 900,000 individuals; therefore, a sampling design was used to represent the target population. Public organisations from Saudi Ministry of Education represented the sampling frame, and convenience sampling design was applied in view of the difficulties related to data collection in Saudi public organisations. The quantitative data collection was organised by means of an online and a hard copy survey. Quantitative data analysis involved descriptive and inferential statistical methods, such as Moderated Multiple Regression and Subgroup Correlation Comparison. Qualitative data collection was performed after the quantitative data analysis and involved 20 focused, semi-structured interviews. Qualitative data analysis followed Miles and Huberman (1994) and included data reduction, data display and the drawing of conclusions and verification. The study upheld rigorous standards for ensuring data validity and reliability and followed CARBS ethical guidelines. The next chapter presents the descriptive results of the data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER 5

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the descriptive analysis of the collected quantitative data. Specifically, the chapter summarises the survey responses in terms of respondents' characteristics and the major constructs developed for the hypothesis testing. The data were analysed with SPSS 20 statistical package.

The chapter contains three major sections. The first section discusses the survey response rate and non-response bias. The second section presents an overview of the sample characteristics based on the respondents' demographic profiles and descriptive analysis of the measurement scales. The final section presents validity and reliability analyses of the quantitative data. Specifically, it includes analysis of outliers, normality tests, exploratory factor analysis (EFA), reliability analysis and common method bias analysis.

5.2 Survey Response and Non-Response Bias

5.2.1 Survey Response and Straight-Lining Issues

The researcher used mixed methods for the survey collection with 496 emailed invitations to participate in the survey available online and 200 hard copies distributed among employees with the help of key persons in the organization. The total number of responses returned was 282. After discarding incomplete questionnaires, the final number of responses was 276, giving a response rate of 39.4%.

In the course of questionnaires' review it was noticed that a group of them had response patterns concentrated exclusively on the extreme answers (such as "strongly agree"). The practice of selecting the same options in surveys is known as straight-lining (Kaminska et al., 2006; Kaminska et al., 2010). Straight-lining has been linked to *satisficing* phenomenon which is

defined as “conserving time and energy and yet producing an answer that seems good enough for the purposes at hand” (Schaeffer and Presser, 2003, p. 68). Satisficing leads to biased responses which can conform to social desirability and/or the intent to complete the survey quickly (Holbrook et al., 2003). The quality of survey data decreases the more straight-lining responses are obtained (Kaminska et al., 2010).

The straight-lined questionnaires (that is, questionnaires where all responses gravitated toward the extreme positive answers) were removed from the questionnaire to preserve the overall data quality. The final number of questionnaires was, therefore, 206. The number of responses was satisfactory as it surpassed the acceptable number based on Cohen et al. (2008) recommended samples for the parameters selected in the study.

5.2.2 Non-Response Bias

Respondents and non-respondents may differ significantly in terms of their interpretation of major constructs of a study, which decreases validity of the conclusions drawn from the analyses of their relationships (Coderre, Mathieu and St-Laurent, 2004; Dooley and Lindner, 2003). Based on recommendations provided by Armstrong and Overton (1977), non-response bias was analysed by comparing the responses of early and late respondents with the latter used as a proxy for non-respondents. The first 30 respondents were compared against the last 30 respondents, and independent t-tests were used to determine whether significant differences existed between the groups in terms of answers to the major constructs. The results of t-tests indicate that no significant differences existed between the early and late respondent groups. These results, therefore, confirmed that non-response bias was not an issue in this study.

5.3 Descriptive Analysis of Survey Data

5.3.1 Demographic Description of the Sample

Table 5.1 presents the demographic profile of the survey respondents including frequencies and percentages for each category within a given characteristic. Of the respondents, 68.0% were males and 32.0% females. The majority were 31 to 40 years old (53.4%), following by the age group between 41 and 50 years old (34.0%), then from 18 to 30 years old (8.7%), with the least number of respondents being 51 and older (3.9%). The majority of the respondents held a Bachelor degree (70.4%), with 1.5% of respondents having a Doctorate degree, 16.0% having Master's and 12.1% having only a high school certificate. About 54.9% of respondents did not supervise employees. The majority of respondents' length of service was between 11 to 20 years (50.5%), following by individuals with 6 to 10 years of service (20.9%), over 20 years of service (17.0%) with 11.7% of the respondents having less than 5 years of service.

Table 5.1
Demographic Characteristics of the Quantitative Sample

Characteristic	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	140	68.0%
	Female	66	32.0%
Age Group	18 to 30	18	8.7%
	31 to 40	110	53.4%
	41 to 50	70	34.0%
	over 50	8	3.9%
Education	High School	25	12.1%
	Bachelor's	145	70.4%
	Master's	33	16.0%
	Doctorate	3	1.5%
Supervision	Yes	93	45.1%
	No	113	54.9%
Length of service	1 to 5 years	24	11.7%
	6 to 10 years	43	20.9%

11 to 20 years	104	50.5%
over 20 years	35	17.0%

Additionally, Table 5.2 presents descriptive statistics of the control variables of family and religion socialisation as individual items and Table 5.3 presents them as indexed items. These factors were taken from the original PSM study by Perry et al. (2008). Moderately positive mean scores were recorded for family items with the range between 3.79 and 5.92 (out of 7). Variability was present across all items with standard deviation scores exceeding 1. For religion socialisation, general responses to the items varied with more respondents attending religious services and reading religious texts and fewer taking active participations in activities of religious groups.

Table 5.2
Descriptive statistics for Family and Religion socialisation variables (individual items)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Fam1: My parents actively participated in volunteer organisations	206	1	7	4.94	1.691
Fam2: In my family, we always helped one another	206	1	7	5.89	1.018
Fam3: Concerning strangers experiencing distress, my parents generally thought that it was more important to not get involved (A reversed scale item)	206	1	7	3.79	1.770
Fam4: My parents frequently discussed moral values with me	206	2	7	5.79	1.078
Fam5: When I was growing up, my parents told me I should be willing to “lend a helping hand”	206	2	7	5.92	1.081
Fam6: when I was younger, my parents very often urged me to get involved with volunteer projects for children	206	1	7	5.08	1.569
Rel1: I attend religious services	206	2	5	4.43	.686
Rel2: I pray or read religious texts	206	2	5	3.69	.837
Rel3: I practice traditional religious rituals at home	206	2	5	3.71	.923
Rel4: I take part in any of the activities or groups of a mosque	206	1	5	2.67	1.077
Valid N (listwise)	206				

Table 5.3

Descriptive Statistics for Family and Religion socialisation variables (indexed)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Family	206	13.00	42.00	31.3981	5.07185
Religion	206	7.00	20.00	14.4854	2.32217
Valid N (listwise)	206				

5.3.2 Descriptive Analysis of the Measurement Scales

The results presented in Table 5.4 indicate that the respondents had relatively high levels of PSM based on the mean scores of the corresponding items. Out of 12 items, 11 showed mean scores over 6.00 (out of 7) with and PSM2apm2 showing a score of 5.94 (out of 7). Accordingly, average composite scores for attraction to policy making, commitment to public interest, compassion and self-sacrifice were relatively high. The results point to importance of all these PSM dimensions for the study participants. However, some variation was present in responses, which is evident from several items' SD scores exceeding 1.

With regards to *wasta*, the respondents were less certain as the mean scores for all four items fell within 3.49 – 4.30(out of 7) range which potentially indicates moderate levels of *wasta* - though it may also point to the effects of social desirability when respondents report on negative institutions. There was also relatively large variation of scores as indicated by SD scores exceeding 1.9.

With regards to employee outcomes, the respondents provided moderately high responses for organisational commitment and job satisfaction and moderate responses for intention to quit. Organisational commitment mean scores ranged between 5.29 and 5.55 with SD scores between 1.381 and 1.502. This also was a sign of variations present. Job satisfaction mean scores were 5.10 with some variation present as indicated by SD score of 1.288. Finally,

intention to quit scores ranged between 3.29 and 4.27 and had higher degree of variation with SD scores between 1.869 and 1.977. Overall, the results suggested that the respondents were more or less satisfied with their jobs and exhibited organisational commitment, although they were less certain with regards to remaining with their organizations.

Table 5.4

Descriptive Statistics for Scale Items of the Main Variables

Construct	Item Coding	Item Description	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
PSM						
<i>Attraction to policymaking</i>	PSM1apm1	I am interested in making public programmes that are beneficial for my country or the community I belong.	1	7	6.29	.879
	PSM2apm2	Sharing my views on public policies with others is attractive to me	1	7	5.94	1.129
	PSM3apm3	Seeing people get benefits from the public programme I have been deeply involved in brings me a great deal of satisfaction	3	7	6.55	.688
<i>Commitment to public interest</i>	PSM4cpi1	I consider public service my civic duty	1	7	6.55	.793
	PSM5cpi2	Meaningful public service is very important to me	3	7	6.60	.690
	PSM6cpi3	I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community even if it harmed my interests	1	7	6.42	.938
<i>Compassion</i>	PSM7com1	It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress	1	7	6.46	.842
	PSM8com2	I am often reminded by daily events how dependent we are on one another	3	7	6.48	.750
	PSM9com3	I feel sympathetic to the plight of the underprivileged	4	7	6.53	.652
<i>Self-sacrifice</i>	PSM10ss1	Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements	2	7	6.15	1.068
	PSM11ss2	I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society	1	7	6.05	1.085
	PSM12ss3	I believe in putting duty before self	2	7	6.26	.962
Wasta	WAS1	<i>Wasta</i> is important for recruitment and promotion in my organization	1	7	4.30	1.825
	WAS2	To get a good position in my organisation, <i>wasta</i> is more important than what you know	1	7	3.70	2.014

	WAS3	<i>Wasta</i> is more important in my organisation than qualifications and work experience	1	7	3.49	1.965
	WAS4	<i>Wasta</i> is commonly used at my workplace	1	7	3.71	1.848
Employee Outcomes						
		<i>Organizational Commitment</i>				
	OC1	I feel emotionally attached to this organization	1	7	5.29	1.502
	OC2	I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own	1	7	5.26	1.458
	OC3	I feel a strong sense of belonging to my organization	1	7	5.55	1.381
		<i>Job Satisfaction</i>				
	JS	Overall, I am satisfied with my job	1	7	5.10	1.288
		<i>Intention to Quit</i>				
	IQ1	I would prefer another more ideal job to the one I have now	1	7	4.27	1.973
	IQ2	If I have my way, I won't be working for this company a year from now	1	7	3.49	1.977
	IQ3	I have seriously thought about leaving this organization	1	7	3.29	1.869
	IQ4	I don't intend to remain with this organization for long	1	7	3.56	1.959

5.4 Validity and Reliability Analysis

Validity and reliability analysis of quantitative data included analysis of data outliers, data normality tests, exploratory factor analysis to determine underlying constructs for the selected measurement variables, reliability analysis to determine internal consistency of the data and, finally, Harman's one factor analysis supplemented with the unmeasured latent method factor technique to test for common method bias.

5.4.1 Outliers

Outliers represent a possible issue for survey data analysis. These are data points that fall far outside the majority of data points as a result of respondents' intentional or unintentional data misrepresentation (Osborne and Overbay, 2004). Two types of outliers are identified: univariate, which are extreme with regards to single variables; and multivariate which are extreme with regards to multiple variables.

A search for univariate outliers in this study was performed with a z-score technique. Normally, univariate outliers are those items whose standardized z-scores fall outside ± 3.29 range (Martin and Bridgmon, 2012; Tabachnik and Fidell, 2007). Data in Appendix D show univariate statistics for the construct items in this study. It can be observed that no outliers were present for *wasta* and intention to quit items. For the other items, the number of outliers ranged from 1 to 6. Therefore, the total number of outliers for any single item never exceeded 2.9% of the responses. Tabachnik and Fidell (2007) recommended deleting outliers in case they were not likely part of the sampled population. However, since the items in this study were measured on a limited 7-point Likert scale, it was expected that some responses would fall into either "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree" category even when the majority of responses are opposite. Considering the small number of outliers for each item, such responses were likely to reflect the opinion of small part of the population. Therefore, in view of the small number

of outliers and absence of evident extreme influence on the results, all items were preserved for further analysis.

A search for multivariate outliers in this study was performed with the Mahalanobis D^2 measure which estimates each observation's distance from the mean centre of observations in a given set of variables (Hair et al., 2010). Those observations are considered outliers whose Mahalanobis D^2 measure is associated with a probability of 0.001 and less (Hair et al., 2010; Tabachnik and Fidell, 2007). Multivariate outliers were assessed for each of the independent constructs in the study: the four PSM dimensions and *wasta*. Appendix E summarises the results of the analyses. Despite the presence of multivariate outliers (17 cases in total), they were still preserved for the analysis because of the assumption that they were still representative of the population and, therefore, were essential for the generalisability of the data (Hair et al., 2010; Kline, 2005).

In order to reduce the effect of outliers on the outcomes of the analyses, it was decided to apply robust regression rather than Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression. While OLS is the most commonly used approach in multiple regression analyses, its efficiency degrades quickly in outlier-prone distributions (Andersen, 2008; Hamilton, 2009). OLS tracks outliers and fits them at the expense of the entire sample because outliers are situated far away from the regression line, and their position is accentuated by using square distance, which leads to excessive variation. In contrast, robust regression uses an absolute value distance measure instead of squared distance measure which reduces the influence of outliers dramatically (Andersen, 2008). Because outliers were identified in the data set and preserved for the analysis, robust regression technique was considered more useful.

5.4.2 Analysis of Data Normality

Normality is the extent to which the sample data distribution matches the normal distribution pattern (Hair et al., 2010). Accordingly, normality tests check how well a dataset is modelled by a normal distribution. The most common measures for normality are skewness and kurtosis (Hair et al., 2010; Martin and Bridgmon, 2012). Skewness is the degree of distribution symmetry around the mean while kurtosis is the measure of distribution flatness (Hair et al., 2010). According to Curran, West, and Finch (1996), absolute skewness values of less than 2 and absolute kurtosis values of less than 7 suggest that there are no serious violations of the normality assumption for univariate item analysis. Further, with a sample size exceeding 200 respondents, departures of some items from these values may not have a strong influence on the study results (De Vaus, 2002; Hair et al., 2010). This is explained by references to the Central Limit Theorem which states that in sufficiently large samples the distribution is normal regardless of the data shape (Elliott and Woodward, 2007; Field, 2009). Accordingly, Kleinbaum et al (1998) wrote that data normality is not an issue for a regression model; rather, it is necessary for post hoc inferences.

Appendix F shows the results of univariate normality tests for the questionnaire items used in this study. Four items in total had normality parameters outside of the values recommended by Curran et al. (1996). Based on the sufficiently large sample size and few deviations from acceptable values, the data was assumed to be normal for the purposes of the current research. Table 5.5 presents the data normality analyses based on skewness and kurtosis for the indexed variables showing that all of them were in line with the values recommended by Curran et al. (1996).

Table 5.5
Data Normality Analysis for the Indexed Items

	N	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
Attraction to Policy Making	206	-1.606	.169	4.706	.337
Commitment to Public Interest	206	-1.185	.169	.847	.337
Compassion	206	-1.602	.169	4.490	.337
Self-Sacrifice	206	-.809	.169	.430	.337
Wasta	206	.226	.169	-.872	.337
Organisational Commitment	206	-1.347	.169	2.163	.337
Job Satisfaction	206	-1.123	.169	1.483	.337
Intention to Quit	206	.465	.169	-.491	.337
Valid N (listwise)	206				

5.4.3 Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

EFA is generally applied to determine the underlying structure of large variable sets with the ultimate goal of developing and grouping items to measure specific constructs (Fabrigar and Wegener, 2012; Field, 2009). An alternative technique to this would be confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Unlike Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), with EFA the researcher does not formulate in advance what factors should emerge and which items will comprise them. In this regard, EFA is less restrictive in exploratory research (Browne, 2001). The goal of EFA was to determine whether the test measures were measuring what they were supposed to. In other words, EFA was used to test for construct validity. It was also important to identify how the PSM construct items would group given that dimensional differences have previously been demonstrated across cultural contexts (e.g. REFERENCES??). With CFA, it would be necessary to hypothesise in advance which dimensions would be identified.

The first step in the analysis was identification of collinear survey items and determination of how they affect the overall consistency of the data. Overall, 23 items were included in the analysis, as they corresponded to the considered independent and dependent constructs (except for job satisfaction which was measured using a single item). The initial run and analysis of

the R-matrix produced a determinant of 0.0000145 that exceeded the recommended minimum of 0.00001 (Field, 2009).

A Principal Component Analysis (CPA) with Varimax rotation was performed next. The results are presented in Appendix G. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity were employed to analyse sampling adequacy. The obtained KMO value of 0.802 is considered excellent in terms of sampling adequacy and indicates that factor analysis should produce reliable and distinct constructs (Hutcheson and Sofroniu, 1999; Kaiser, 1974). Bartlett’s significant test for sphericity ($p < .001$) also suggested that factor analysis was appropriate for the data. The average communality value was 0.637 which is in line with the suggested measure level (Kaiser, 1974). Based on the analysis, 5 dimensions were determined. The rotated component matrix in Table 5.6 shows the derived constructs. Notably, *wasta*, organisational commitment and intention to quit factors were formed from the items initially assigned to them. PSM, however, was rotated not into four but two components (loadings under 0.45 were suppressed). Based on the EFA, the independent factors in the research were a parcelled PSM measure based on 2 factors and *wasta* in its original form. The dependent variables organisational commitment and intention to quit were preserved in terms of items.

Table 5.6
Rotated Component Matrix

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
PSM1apm1				.757	
PSM2apm2				.559	
PSM3apm3				.729	
PSM4cpi1				.668	
PSM5cpi2				.681	
PSM6cpi3				.478	
PSM7com1	.728				
PSM8com2	.664				
PSM9com3	.703				
PSM10ss1	.692				
PSM11ss2	.523				
PSM12ss3	.550				

WAS1	.741	
WAS2	.862	
WAS3	.821	
WAS4	.608	
OC1		.694
OC2		.862
OC3		.830
IQ1	.677	
IQ2	.891	
IQ3	.924	
IQ4	.830	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Suppressed values less than .450

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

A special note should be provided with regard to parcelling PSM into two dimensions. While the majority of researchers still apply Perry's four dimensional scale framework, models with a reduced number of dimensions have also been identified, especially in international research (i.e., Castaing, 2006; Kim, 2011; Vandenabeele, 2008; Wright and Pandey, 2008). Vandenabeele (2008), for example, combined the self-sacrifice and public interest/civic duty dimensions thereby presenting PSM as a three dimensional variable. Ritz and Waldner (2011) grouped PSM into two factors: attraction to policy making and community orientation. Castaing (2006) examined the effects of PSM based on a single dimension, commitment to public interest. Coursey and Pandey (2007) and Moynihan and Pandey (2007) conceptualized three dimensions of PSM – attraction to policymaking, commitment to public interest and compassion. Leisink and Steijn (2009) examined the effect of PSM on two dimensions – attraction to policymaking and commitment to public interest.

Overall, it can be said that the different models of PSM reflect socio-cultural and institutional differences across nations where corresponding research is carried out. Therefore, reduction of the PSM measurement into two dimensions is justified so far as the developed dimensions have good model fit and reliability. The two dimensions developed as a result of EFA analysis in this study preserved the three dimensional psychological model of PSM with the only

difference that rational (attraction to policy making) and norm-based (commitment to public interest) aspects became combined while affective (compassion and self-sacrifice) aspect remained intact. For the remainder of the thesis, two independent PSM variables are reported: PSM1 corresponding to rational, norm based dimension of PSM and PSM2 - corresponding to affective dimension of PSM.

5.4.4 Convergent and Discriminant Validity of Constructs

Convergent and discriminant types of validity are used to evaluate the degree of construct validity in a study – the extent to which inferences can be made from the study operationalisations of the theoretical and conceptual constructs (Wainer and Braun, 2013). Convergent validity is the degree to which the items aimed to measure the same construct correlate while discriminant validity refers to the degree to which unrelated items are not related (Malhorta and Birks, 2007). The averaged variance extracted (AVE) of the items for each construct provides a basis for convergent validity while comparison between AVEs and the inter-correlation between each construct does the same for discriminant validity (Hair et al., 2010). Indicators of convergent validity are AVEs of 0.5 and higher while indicators of discriminant validity are AVEs higher than the corresponding squared inter-construct correlations (Dillion, Goldstein and Bagozzi, 1991; Hair et al., 2010).

Table 5.7 presents the original AVEs for each construct and inter-correlations squared as measures of convergent and discriminant validity respectively. All AVEs exceeded the minimum threshold of 0.5 which indicted convergent validity. Further, all AVEs were higher than the corresponding inter-construct correlations which is indicative of the discriminant validity. Therefore, there were no issues related to either convergent or divergent validity.

Table 5.7

Convergent and Discriminant Validity Measures: AVEs and Squared Inter-Construct Correlations

	PSM1	PSM2	WAS	OC	IQ
PSM1*	0.645				
PSM2**	0.240	0.643			
WAS	0.119	0.052	0.758		
OC	0.058	0.036	0.187	0.795	
IQ	0.001	0.000	0.147	0.166	0.831

*rational, norm based PSM dimension

** affective PSM dimension

NOTE: in bold are AVEs; other numbers are squared inter-correlations between the constructs

5.4.5 Reliability Analysis

Reliability analysis of the identified independent and dependent factors was conducted on the basis of Cronbach's alpha value. The data is considered internally consistent with alpha values above 0.7, although some sources mention 0.6 as acceptable as well (Hair et al., 2010; Kline, 2005). Table 5.8 shows the reliability analyses for the factors developed through the EFA: PSM1 factor (rational, norm based dimension) was created by combining attraction to policy making and commitment to public interest, and PSM2 factor (affective dimension) was created by combining compassion and self-sacrifice items. The only variable missing from the table was job satisfaction which was a construct represented by a single item. As is seen from the table, all factors had strong internal consistency values. Accordingly, all of them were included in the model for the final analysis. For a detailed, per item reliability analysis, refer to Appendix H.

Table 5.8

Results of Reliability Analysis of the Study Items and Constructs

Constructs and Items	Cronbach's Alpha
PSM1*	0.759
PSM1apm1	.683
PSM2apm2	.760
PSM3apm3	.720
PSM4cpi1	.723
PSM5cpi2	.699
PSM6cpi3	.754

PSM2**	0.761
PSM7com1	.716
PSM8com2	.732
PSM9com3	.722
PSM10ss1	.726
PSM11ss2	.738
PSM12ss3	.739
WAS	0.835
WAS1	.829
WAS2	.730
WAS3	.742
WAS4	.843
OC	0.829
OC1	.838
OC2	.744
OC3	.706
IQ	0.879
IQ1	.912
IQ2	.808
IQ3	.801
IQ4	.851

*rational, norm based PSM dimension

** affective PSM dimension

5.4.6 Common Method Bias Management

Statistical tests are an important means for establishing whether controls are needed to deal with common method bias. The two most common tests for identifying common method bias are Harman's one-factor test and the unmeasured latent method factor technique (Podsakoff et al., 2003; Podsakoff et al., 2012). Both methods were applied in this study to evaluate common method bias. Harman's one-factor analysis involved loading all study variables into an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to identify the number of factors necessary for the variable variances (Aulakh and Gencturk, 2000). Table 5.9 shows the results of Harman's test for the items in the independent variable list. Usually, a 50% cutoff point is selected for to avoid common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2012). The value for the strongest component in the table was 24.016%, which indicates that the data were free from common method bias.

Table 5.9

Harman's Test for Common Method Bias

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.524	24.016	24.016	5.524	24.016	24.016
2	3.848	16.730	40.747			
3	1.719	7.474	48.221			
4	1.592	6.922	55.143			
5	1.333	5.795	60.938			
6	.994	4.322	65.261			
7	.920	3.999	69.260			
8	.830	3.610	72.870			
9	.722	3.140	76.010			
10	.705	3.063	79.074			
11	.640	2.782	81.855			
12	.596	2.591	84.446			
13	.524	2.278	86.725			
14	.516	2.242	88.967			
15	.445	1.936	90.903			
16	.433	1.883	92.786			
17	.372	1.617	94.403			
18	.318	1.382	95.785			
19	.296	1.287	97.072			
20	.222	.964	98.037			
21	.201	.872	98.909			
22	.137	.595	99.503			
23	.114	.497	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

5.5 Summary

This chapter presented the preliminary analysis of the quantitative data. Altogether 282 questionnaires were completed. After removing incomplete and straight-lined questionnaires, the total number of respondents was 206 which were still sufficiently large based on the minimum requirements for sampling based on Cohen's d value.

The descriptive analysis of the collected data showed that the sample was male dominated, with more than half of the respondents being 31 to 40 years old. The vast majority of the respondents had higher education with only slightly over 12% having only a high school certificate. More than half of respondents had over 10 years of working experience. Overall, the sample could be characterised as well educated and mature both in terms of age and service. The collected data was screened for outliers. Both univariate and multivariate outliers were detected; however, all data points were preserved for further analysis. Robust regression technique was selected as a way to reduce the influence of outliers while still preserving data integrity. The normality tests showed that both skewness and kurtosis of the items were within acceptable values (Curran et al, 1996), which indicated no serious violations of the data normality assumption. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was used to derive the constructs. Wasta and employee outcomes showed matching item loadings while PSM was split into two items PSM1 and PSM2 that reflected norm-based, rational and affective sides of PSM respectively.

The average variance extracted method was used to determine the degree of convergent and discriminant validity of the study constructs. All major construct AVEs exceeded the minimum recommended 0.5 threshold and all AVEs exceeded squared inter-construct correlations for latent variables. Therefore, the convergent and divergent validity of the constructs were established. Reliability analysis was based on Cronbach's alpha which showed values exceeding the recommended 0.7 threshold for all study constructs. Thus, the criteria for both validity and reliability were satisfied. Common method bias was estimated with the results suggesting that it was not a concern in the study either. The next chapter presents the results of quantitative data analyses.

CHAPTER 6

QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the inferential analyses of the survey data collected. As was shown in the previous chapter, the EFA of the collected data suggested that the PSM construct was best represented by two variables: PSM1 (a rational, norm based dimension); and PSM2 (an affective dimension) which could be attributed to rational and emotional dimensions respectively. It was decided that examination of the relationships between these variables, *wasta* and employee outcomes would provide a more informative view of the theoretical and practical applications of PSM in the Saudi public sector. Accordingly, the analyses presented below are organised in a manner that examines the direct and indirect effects of PSM1 and PSM2 on the employee outcomes and the relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes and then the moderation effects of *wasta* on the relationship between each of these two variables and employee outcomes. The effects of the control variables are also examined. All analyses in this chapter were performed with STATA.

The full examination of the hypothesised relationships was carried out with regression analyses that allowed to investigate the impact of each set of individual variables and their combined effects on employee outcomes.

6.2 Choice of the Regression Method

As explained in Section 5.4.1, the study opted for a robust regression analysis rather than OLS regression. This was justified by the presence of data outliers which threaten to contaminate the results of OLS regression while having much lower effect in robust regression analyses (Andersen, 2008; Hamilton, 2009). Appendix I presents the graphs for data points' normal residuals squared against leverage for the relationships between PSM variables and employee

outcome variables. All six graphs demonstrate the presence of multiple points with high leverage and small residuals and high residuals and small leverage. These graphs indicate the presence of data points that would affect the least squares fit. For this reason, robust regression analyses were performed for hypotheses tests.

6.3 Analyses for Rational, Norm Based (PSM1) Dimension Variable

Table 6.1 present the results of the regression analyses for PSM1 variable which corresponded to rational, norm based dimension of PSM. The independent variables (PSM1, *wasta* and controls) are presented in the rows and the dependent variables (employee outcomes and PSM1) – in the columns. Individual and combined effects of the independent variables are presented with ten models in total being reported. For each dependent variable (organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit) the effects are reported three times: first with PSM1 and controls; second, with *wasta* and controls; and third, with PSM1, *wasta* and controls. The final model presents the relationship between *wasta* and PSM1 with the control variables included.

Table 6.1. The Regression Coefficients of PSM1, *Wasta* and Employee Outcomes

Predictor	OC	OC	OC	JS	JS	JS	IQ	IQ	IQ	PSM1
PSM1	.253**		.151**	.090***		.048*	.123		.318**	
Wasta		-.194***	-.167***		-.074***	-.065***		.376***	.416***	-.122***
Male	0.14	.118	.205	.013	.043	.072	3.828***	3.181***	3.396***	-.192
Age31-40	1.060	1.853**	1.927**	.271	.567*	.582*	.056	-2.161	-2.112	-.647
Age41-50	1.126	1.688*	1.728*	.362	.573*	.577*	-2.332	-3.634*	-3.685**	-.724
Above50	.0513	1.273	1.244	.252	.554	.538	-1.593	-3.132	-3.181	-.585
Bachelor	-.464	-1.314**	-1.064*	.227	-.539**	-.460**	.608	1.930	2.331*	-.767
Master	-.359	-1.250	-.917	.236	-.567**	-.467	1.361	2.174	2.424	-.863
Doctorate	-4.353**	-5.298***	-5.139***	-1.523**	-1.752***	-1.74***	2.520	4.559	4.978	-.254
Supervise	1.174**	1.034**	.853**	.409**	.365**	.313**	-1.100	.064	-.065	.426
Service6-10	-.854	-1.385*	-1.386*	-.262	-.456	-.454	-1.021	.410	.399	-.427
Service11-20	-.106	-.502	-.512	-.032	-.183	-.175	.005	1.226	1.192	-.381
Serviceabove20	.276	.012	-.181	.006	-.093	-.141	1.732	3.913**	3.506*	1.229*
Family socialisation	.053	.032	.024	.011	.001	-.000	-.150	-.031	-.061	.031
Religion socialisation	.003	-.008	-.026	.011	.004	-.002	-.038	.013	-.031	.188**
N=206										
R square	.131	.268	.272	.082	.158	.163	.133	.236	.250	.251
Adjusted R square	.063	.211	.211	.010	.092	.093	.064	.176	.186	.191
F statistic	3.46***	4.86***	4.69***	2.99***	4.67***	4.53***	1.88**	3.89***	4.17***	5.21***

NOTE: *** p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1

6.3.1 Direct Effects of Rational, Norm Based Dimension (PSM1)

Consistent with the existing literature on PSM, positive significant relationships were found between PSM1 and OC ($\beta=0.253$, $p < 0.001$) and between PSM1 and JS ($\beta = 0.090$, $p = 0.001$). These findings provided support for Hypotheses 1a and 1b. No direct relationship was found between PSM1 and IQ ($\beta=0.123$, $p = 0.442$) thereby disconfirming Hypothesis 1c. This, however, is supported by the inconsistent results between these variables in the empirical literature on PSM and its outcomes. Note, however, how the model became significant after the introduction of the *wasta* variable and PSM1 became associated with intention to quit ($\beta=0.318$, $p < .05$). This may further confirm the negative effect of *wasta* on employee motivation and employee outcomes. It is likely that *wasta* contributed to dissatisfaction with work for people with high rational, norm based dimension of PSM thereby increasing their desire to quit.

Also, in line with the study predictions, significant negative relationships were found between *wasta* and OC ($\beta=-0.194$, $p < 0.001$) and between *wasta* and JS ($\beta=-0.074$, $p < 0.001$) while a positive significant relationship was found between *wasta* and IQ ($\beta=0.376$, $p < 0.001$). These findings provided support for hypotheses 2a, 2b and 2c.

6.3.2 Indirect (Mediating) Effects of PSM1

Next, the study looked into the indirect effects of PSM1 on the relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes. Indirect effects can be described within a standard mediation model shown in Figure 6.1. where path a corresponds to the direct effect of the independent variable on a mediator; path b corresponds to the direct effect of a mediator on the dependent variable with the independent variable present in the model, and path c' corresponds to the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable after the mediator is introduced.

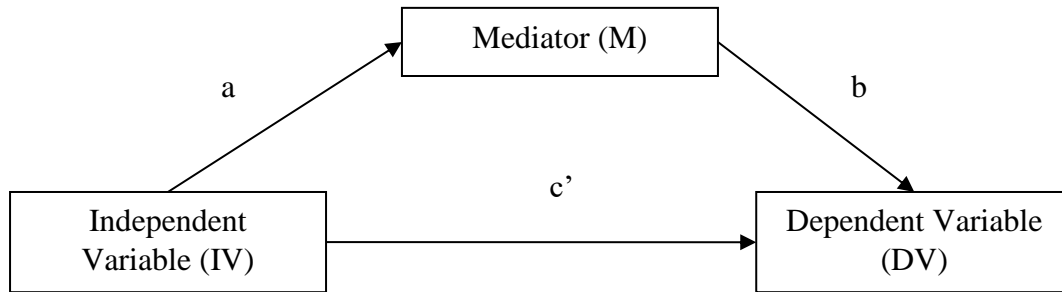


Figure 6.1. *A Standard Mediation Model*

The presence of mediation was assessed using the Sobel Test with boot-strapped standard errors based on 1000 re-samplings along with the standard errors and the mediation proportion. Following MacKinnon and Dwyer (1993) and MacKinnon et al. (1995), the Sobel Test was calculated as:

$$z = \frac{a * b}{\sqrt{b^2 * S_a^2 + a^2 * S_b^2}}$$

Where

a is the relationship between the independent variable and the mediator;

b is the relationship between the mediator and the dependent variable with the independent variable present in the model;

Sa is the standard error in the direct relationship between the independent variable and the mediator;

Sb is the standard error in the relationship between the mediator and the dependent variable when the independent variable present in the model.

Taking the above model as a basis, a series of mediation tests were run with *wasta* as the independent variable, PSM1 as the mediator and each of the employee outcomes as dependent variables. In line with the study predictions, negative significant relationships were found between *wasta* and PSM1 ($\beta=-0.122$, $p < 0.001$) thereby confirming Hypothesis 3.

After introducing PSM1 variable into the regression models of *wasta* on employee outcomes, the following effects were observed:

Predictor	OC	JS	IQ
Wasta	$\beta=-0.167^{***}$, SE=0.037	$\beta=-0.066^{***}$, SE=0.013	$\beta=0.417^{***}$, SE=0.076
PSM1	$\beta=0.152^{**}$, SE=0.075	$\beta=0.049^*$, SE=0.027	$\beta=0.318^{**}$, SE=0.154

NOTE: *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

Table 6.2. Combined Effects of *Wasta* and PSM1 on Employee Outcomes

The significant effects of rational, norm based dimension (PSM1) on organisational outcomes suggested the presence of mediation effects on the relationship between *wasta*, organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit. A general rule is that if the direct relationship between the independent and dependent variable was significant but became insignificant after introduction of the mediator, full mediation exists while if it remained significant, then partial mediation exists (Preacher and Kelley, 2011). Because *wasta* remained a significant predictor of every employee outcome, the mediation effect of PSM1, if present, had to be partial.

The mediating effect of PSM1 on the *wasta*-employee outcomes relationships is presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3.

PSM1 Mediation of Wasta-Employee Outcomes Relationships

	Hypothesis	Sobel Test	p-value	Confirmed?	Mediation Effect
4a	WAS-PSM1(med)-OC	-1.847	0.064	Yes	Partial
5a	WAS-PSM1(med)-JS	-1.646	0.099	Yes	Partial
6a	WAS-PSM1(med)-IQ	-1.865	0.062	Yes	Partial

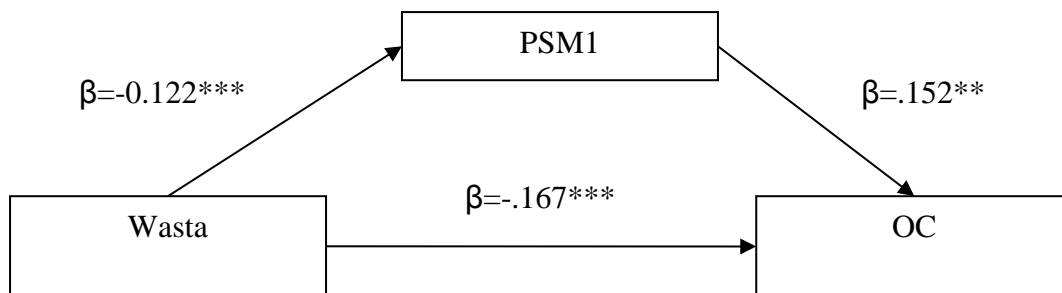
From Table 6.3., PSM1 showed partial mediating effects on organisational commitment (Sobel = -1.847, $p = 0.064$), job satisfaction (Sobel = -1.646, $p = 0.095$) and intention to quit (Sobel = -1.1865, $p = 0.062$). Notably, the value of the Sobel test in each case was negative which is explained by the different directions of a and b paths in the Sobel Test formula reflecting the

negative relationship between *wasta* and PSM1 and the different directions of their relationships with the employee outcomes.

If partial mediation is present, its proportion to the direct effect can be measured as (Iacobucci et al., 2007):

$$M = \frac{a * b}{a * b + c'}$$

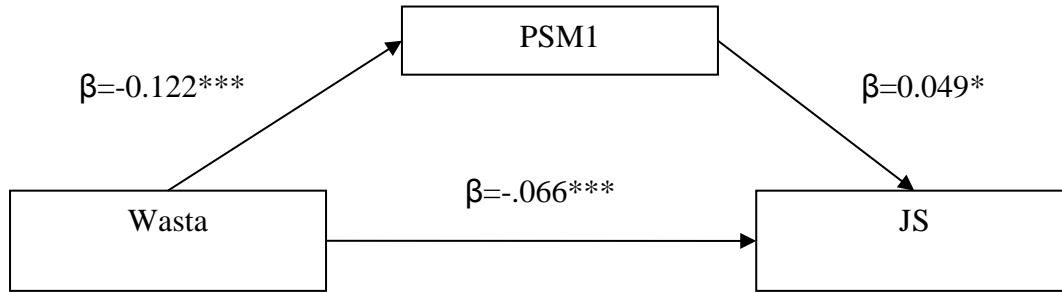
Figures 6.2-6.4 present path analyses for the mediating relationships identified above. The results of the mediation analysis confirmed the mediating effect of PSM1 on the relationship between *wasta* and organisational commitment at the 0.1 level of significance. The proportion of indirect to direct mediation effects of PSM1 for WAS-OC relationship was 0.100. The proportion of indirect to direct mediation effects of PSM1 for WAS-JS relationship was 0.083. The proportion of indirect to direct mediation effects of PSM1 for WAS-IQ relationship was 0.102. Therefore, although present, indirect paths contributed to relatively small proportions of the effects on employee outcomes: 10.0% variance in organisational commitment, 8.3% variance in job satisfaction and 10.2% variance in intention to quit. Such results indicate that *wasta* dominates the direct path effects. As an institution then, *wasta* exerts its strong negative influence on employee outcomes directly rather than indirectly.



M=0.100, Sobel =-1.847, p=0.064

NOTE: ***p < 0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1

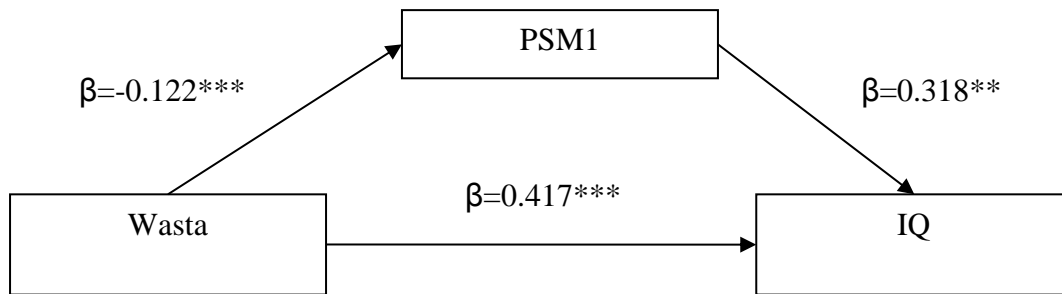
Figure 6.2. Mediation Path Analysis: WAS-PSM1 (med)-OC



M=0.083, Sobel =-1.646, p=0.099

NOTE: ***p < 0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1

Figure 6.3. *Mediation Path Analysis: WAS-PSM1 (med)-JS*



M=0.103, Sobel =-1.865, p=0.062

NOTE: ***p < 0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1

Figure 6.4. *Mediation Path Analysis: WAS-PSM1 (med)-IQ*

6.3.3 Effect of Control Variables

Some controlling factors significantly contributed to the relationships between the independent and dependent variables (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4.

Effect of Control Variables on the Relationships between Wasta, Rational, Norm Based Dimension of PSM (PSM1) and Employee Outcomes

Hypothesis	Effect of controls
PSM1->OC	Doctorate (β=-4.353**) Supervise (β=1.174**)
PSM1->JS	Doctorate (β=-1.523**) Supervise (β=0.409**)

PSM1->IQ	Male ($\beta=3.828^{***}$)
WAS->OC	Age 31to40 ($\beta=1.853^{**}$) Age 41 to 50 ($\beta=1.688^*$) Bachelor ($\beta=-1.314^{**}$) Doctorate ($\beta=-5.298^{**}$) Supervise ($\beta=1.034^{**}$) Service 6 to 10 ($\beta=-1.385^*$)
WAS->JS	Age 31to40 ($\beta=0.567^*$) Age41to50 ($\beta=0.573^*$) Bachelor ($\beta=-0.539^{**}$) Master ($\beta=-0.567^{**}$) Doctorate ($\beta=-1.752^{***}$) Supervise ($\beta=0.365^{**}$)
WAS->IQ	Male ($\beta=3.181^{***}$) Age 41 to 50 ($\beta=-3.634^*$) Serviceabove20 ($\beta=3.913^{**}$)
WAS+PSM1->OC	Age 31to40 ($\beta=1.928^{**}$) Age 41 to 50 ($\beta=1.729^*$) Bachelor ($\beta=-1.065^*$) Doctorate ($\beta=-5.140^{***}$) Supervise ($\beta=0.853^{**}$) Service 6 to 10 ($\beta=-1.386^*$)
WAS+PSM1->JS	Age 31to40 ($\beta=0.583^*$) Age 41 to 50 ($\beta=0.578^*$) Bachelor ($\beta=-0.460^{**}$) Doctorate ($\beta=-1.740^{***}$) Supervise ($\beta=0.314^{**}$)
WAS+PSM1->IQ	Male ($\beta=3.396^{***}$) Age 41 to50 ($\beta=-3.686^{**}$) Bachelor ($\beta=2.331, p=0.080^*$) Service above 20 ($\beta=3.506^*$)
WAS->PSM1	Service above 20 ($\beta=1.230^*$) Religion socialisation ($\beta=-0.188^{**}$)

NOTE: *** $p<0.01$; ** $p<0.05$; * $p<0.1$

Of the considered controls, Gender, Age, Education, Service Length and Religion socialisation showed additional influences on the relationships between wasta, PSM1 and employee outcomes.

6.3.3.1 Gender

The effect of gender was mostly on intention to quit. Male respondents have a higher intention to quit ($\beta=3.181$, $p=0.001$) when *wasta* effects were tested and positive relationship with intention to quit ($\beta=3.828$, $p<0.001$) when PSM1 effects were tested. Strong positive effect on intention to quit ($\beta=3.396$, $p<0.001$) remained in the model with both *wasta* and rational, norm based PSM dimension (PSM1). These results indicated that male respondents were more likely desiring to quit their jobs. In general, research of the effect of gender on employee outcomes has showed mixed results. There has been no consistency of gender influences either on job satisfaction or organisational commitment (Haar and O'Driscoll, 2005 Moncrief et al., 2000; Singh et al., 2004). Specifically, for intention to quit, Moncrief et al. (2000) found higher degree of turnover intentions among women in public organizations while Ucho et al. (2012) found no differences between males and females.

6.3.3.2 Age

Age effects were observed for the relationships between *wasta* and employee outcomes as well as in the models including both *wasta* and PSM1 as independent variables. Employees aged 31 to 40 ($\beta=1.853$, $p=0.034$) and employees aged 41 to 50 ($\beta=1.688$, $p=0.077$) showed positive relationships with organisational commitment. Employees aged 31 to 40 also showed a positive relationship with job satisfaction ($\beta=0.567$, $p=0.073$) while employees aged 41 to 50 showed a negative relationship with intention to quit ($\beta=-3.634$, $p=0.063$). Similar effects were retained in the models including both *wasta* and PSM1. In the model with the effects on organisational commitment, positive relationships were revealed for employees aged 31 to 40 ($\beta=1.927$, $p=0.026$) and for employees aged 41 to 50 ($\beta=1.728$, $p=0.067$). In the model with the effects on job satisfaction, positive relationships were again observed for employees aged 31 to 40 ($\beta=0.583$,

p=0.062) and for employees aged 41 to 50 ($\beta=0.577$, $p=0.091$). Employees aged 41 to 50 also showed negative relationship with the intention to quit ($\beta=-3.685$, $p=0.058$).

The observed effects show that employees of middle age were more likely to be committed, had higher job satisfaction and were less likely to quit. Previous studies also established age as an important factor for employee outcomes. Some studies identified a significant negative relationship between age and turnover intentions (Kabungaidze et al., 2013; Samad, 2006). A significant positive relationship between age and job satisfaction was also found (Nestor and Leary, 2000). However, these studies identified linear relationships between age and employee outcomes: older employees had been stronger associated with positive outcomes. This study showed a bell curve relationship as the positive effect declined after the middle age. Therefore, while confirming the previous findings of a relationship between age and employee outcomes, this study did not show the same dynamics of the relationship.

6.3.3.3 Education

Education showed significant relationships in nearly all of the models. The effects were negative for the models of organisational commitment and job satisfaction and positive on intention to quit. In the WAS-organisational commitment model, negative relationships were observed for the holders of a Bachelor degree ($\beta=-1.314$, $p=0.043$) and a Doctorate degree ($\beta=-5.298$, $p=0.003$). In the WAS-job satisfaction model, negative effects were observed for the holders of a Bachelor Degree ($\beta=-0.539$, $p=0.022$), Master degree ($\beta=-0.567$, $p=0.050$) and Doctorate degree ($\beta=-1.752$, $p=0.007$). Holders of a Doctorate degree also showed a negative relationship in the PSM1-organisational commitment model ($\beta=-4.353$, $p=0.018$) and in the PSM1-job satisfaction model ($\beta=-1.523$, $p=0.023$). Negative relationships with organisational commitment were observed in the model including both wasta and PSM1 for holders of a Bachelor degree ($\beta=-1.064$, $p=0.098$) and

for holders of Doctorate degrees ($\beta=-5.140$, $p=0.004$). Similar results were demonstrated in the model on job satisfaction for holders of Bachelor degrees ($\beta=-0.460$, $p=0.049$) and Doctorate degrees ($\beta=-1.740$, $p=0.007$). Finally, holders of Bachelor degrees demonstrated positive relationship with intention to quit ($\beta=2.331$, $p=0.080$) in the model that included *wasta* and PSM1 as independent variables.

Overall, the results showed that the higher education was the stronger negative effects it had on organisational commitment and job satisfaction. This is in line with some previous findings that demonstrated similar negative effects (i.e., Bakan et al., 2011; Igarria and Greenhans, 1992). However, positive relationships between education level and organizational commitment and job satisfaction were also found in previous studies (i.e. Chen and Francesco, 2000; Gurbuz, 2007).

6.3.3.4 Supervision

Supervision of employees was a statistically significant controlling factor in the models for organisational commitment and job satisfaction. A positive effect was observed in the WAS-organisational commitment model ($\beta=1.034$, $p=0.020$) and in the WAS-job satisfaction model ($\beta=0.365$, $p=0.023$). A positive effect was also observed in the PSM1-organisational commitment model ($\beta=1.174$, $p=0.010$) and in the PSM1-job satisfaction model ($\beta=0.409$, $p=0.014$). The positive effects were retained in the WAS+PSM1 on organisational commitment model ($\beta=0.853$, $p=0.053$) and in the WAS+PSM1 on job satisfaction model ($\beta=0.314$, $p=0.050$). These results indicated that the respondents in supervisory positions were more likely to have higher organisational commitment and job satisfaction. While studies directly comparing supervisors' and employees' organisational commitment and job satisfaction could not be located, evidence from literature suggests that such factors as job position, pay satisfaction and job opportunities are related to these outcomes (e.g. Ma et al., 2003; O'Reilley and Roberts, 1975; Ting, 1997)

6.3.3.5 Service Length

Service length was a statistically significant controlling factor in the models on organisational commitment and intention to quit and in the WAS-PSM1 model. Employees with service of 6 to 10 years showed a negative relationship with organisational commitment ($\beta=-1.386$, $p=0.088$) in the WAS-organisational commitment model and in the WAS+PSM1 on organisational commitment model ($\beta=-1.385$, $p=0.084$). Employees with service length above 20 years showed a positive relationship with intention to quit in the WAS-intention to quit model ($\beta=3.913$, $p=0.037$) and in the WAS+PSM1 on intention to quit model ($\beta=3.506$, $p=0.061$). In addition, employees with service length above 20 years showed a positive relationship with PSM1 in the WAS-PSM1 model ($\beta=1.230$, $p=0.092$).

These results indicated that employees with less tenure had lower degree of organisational commitment and job satisfaction while employees with over 20 years of service had a higher level of PSM1 and a higher degree of intention to quit. This is generally in line with the previous findings of positive effects of tenure on job satisfaction and organisational commitment and negative relationship with turnover intentions (Igbaria and Greenhans, 1992; Kabungaidze et al., 2013; Oshagbemi, 2000; Samad, 2006).

6.3.3.6 Religion socialisation

Religion socialisation variable had a single significant effect in the WAS-PSM1 model. The direction of the relationship with PSM1 was positive ($\beta=-0.188$, $p=0.015$) indicating that more religious respondents were likely to have a higher degree of rational, norm based PSM. Religion socialisation has been originally proposed by Perry (1997) as an important factor influencing PSM; however, empirical findings have been limited and mixed with regard to influence of religious activity on PSM (Maesschalck et al., 2008).

6.4 Analyses for Affective Dimension (PSM2) Variable

Table 6.5 presents the results of the regression analyses for employee outcomes with PSM2 and *wasta* as independent variables. The independent variables (PSM2, *wasta* and controls) are presented in the rows and the dependent variables (employee outcomes and PSM2) – in the columns. Altogether, 10 models are reported. For each dependent variable (organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit) the effects are reported three times: first with PSM2 and controls; second, with *wasta* and controls; and third, with PSM2, *wasta* and controls. The final model presents the relationship between *wasta* and PSM2 with the control variables included.

Table 6.5. The Regression Coefficients of PSM2, Wasta and Employee Outcomes

Predictor	OC	OC	OC	JS	JS	JS	IQ	IQ	IQ	PSM2
PSM2	.173***		.116**	.073***		.053**	.168		.227*	
Wasta		-.194***	-.176***		-.074***	-.065***		.376***	.392***	-.076*
Male	-.135	.118	.126	-.038	.043	.044	3.696***	3.181***	3.104***	.279
Age31-40	.776	1.853**	1.727**	.108	.567*	.497	-.032	-2.161	-2.257	1.311
Age41-50	.931	1.688*	1.569*	.235	.573*	.504	-2.362	-3.634*	-3.658*	1.337
Above50	.324	1.273	1.110	.136	.554	.479	-1.799	-3.132	-3.405	.597
Bachelor	-.568	-1.314**	-1.173*	-.276	-.539**	-.465**	.472	1.930	1.963	-.204
Master	-.553	-1.250	-1.073	-.345	-.567**	-.488*	1.237	2.174	2.118	-.173
Doctorate	-3.692**	-5.298**	-4.967***	-1.397**	-1.752***	-1.573**	2.305	4.559	4.379	.612
Supervise	1.210***	1.034**	.886**	.447***	.365**	.298**	-1.148	.064	-.113	.719
Service6-10	-.362	-1.385*	-1.107	-.069	-.456	-.315	-.696	.410	.854	-2.066**
Service11-20	-.056	-.502	-.389	.059	-.183	-.117	.090	1.226	1.320	-1.056
Serviceabove20	.747	.012	.086	.191	-.093	-.037	1.841	3.913**	3.874*	.204
Family socialisation	.074*	.032	.034	.018	.001	-.003	-.143	-.031	-.041	.028
Religion socialisation	-.009	-.008	-.039	.001	.004	-.010	-.055	.013	-.055	.173
N=206										
R square	.122	.268	.272	.086	.158	.159	.136	.236	.251	.146
Adjusted R square	.052	.211	.211	.014	.092	.087	.067	.176	.187	.078
F statistic	2.91***	4.86***	4.96***	2.89***	4.67***	4.68***	1.91**	3.89***	3.77***	5.21***

NOTE: ***p < 0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1

6.4.1 Direct Effects of Affective Dimension (PSM2)

Consistent with the existing literature on PSM, positive significant relationships were found between PSM2 and OC ($\beta=0.173$, $p = 0.004$), between PSM2 and JS ($\beta = 0.073$, $p =0.001$). These findings provide support for Hypotheses 1a and 1b. No direct relationship was found between PSM2 and IQ ($\beta=0.168$, $p = 0.183$) thereby disconfirming Hypothesis 1c. This, however, is supported by the inconsistent results between these variables in the empirical literature on PSM and its outcomes. However, just as was the case with PSM1, the relationship between PSM2 and intention to quit became positive after introduction of *wasta* variable ($\beta=0.227$, $p < .1$). Again, this may suggest the negative effect of *wasta* on employee motivation and employee outcomes. It is likely that *wasta* contributed to dissatisfaction with work for people with high affective dimension of PSM thereby increasing their desire to quit. Although the effect was somewhat weaker than for norm-based, rational dimension, it was still present.

6.4.2 Indirect Effects of Affective Dimension (PSM2)

Next, the study looked into the indirect effects of PSM2 on the relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes. Following the same procedures for testing the mediation effects as for PSM1, PSM2 was now considered the mediator variable. In line with the study predictions, a negative significant relationship was found between *wasta* and PSM2 ($\beta=-0.076$, $p < 0.001$) thereby confirming Hypothesis 3. After introducing the PSM2 variable into the regression models of *wasta* on employee outcomes, the following effects were observed:

Predictor	OC	JS	IQ
Wasta	$\beta=-0.176^{***}$, SE=0.036	$\beta=-0.065^{***}$, SE=0.013	$\beta=0.393^{***}$, SE=0.075
PSM2	$\beta=0.117^{**}$, SE=0.058	$\beta=0.053^{***}$, SE=0.020	$\beta=0.227^*$, SE=0.120

NOTE: *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

Table 6.6. Combined Effects of Wasta and PSM2 on Employee Outcomes

Significant effects of PSM2 on organisational outcomes suggested the presence of mediation effects on the relationship between *wasta*, organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit. Because *wasta* remained a significant predictor of every employee outcome, the mediation effect of PSM2, if present, had to be partial.

The mediating effects of the PSM2 variable on *wasta*-employee outcomes relationships are presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7

PSM2 Mediation of Wasta-Employee Outcomes Relationships

	Hypothesis	Sobel Test	p-value	Confirmed?	Mediation Effect
6a	WAS-PSM2(med)-OC	-1.307	0.191	No	None
6b	WAS-PSM2(med)-JS	-1.447	0.147	No	None
6c	WAS-PSM2(med)-IQ	-1.275	0.202	No	None

NOTE: *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

From Table 6.7, PSM2 showed no mediating effects on organisational commitment (Sobel = -1.307, $p = 0.191$), job satisfaction (Sobel = -1.447, $p = 0.147$) or intention to quit (Sobel = -1.275, $p = 0.202$). The mediation hypotheses for PSM2 were not confirmed by the results of the study.

6.4.3 Effect of Control Variables

Some controlling factors significantly contributed to the relationships between the independent and dependent variables (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8

Effect of Control Variables on the Relationships between Wasta, PSM2 and Employee Outcomes

Hypothesis	Effect of controls
PSM2->OC	Doctorate ($\beta = -3.692^{**}$)
	Supervise ($\beta = 1.210^{***}$)
	Family ($\beta = 0.074^*$)
PSM2->JS	Doctorate ($\beta = -1.397^{**}$)
	Supervise ($\beta = 0.447^{***}$)
PSM2->IQ	Male ($\beta = 3.696^{***}$)
WAS->PSM2	Service 6 to 10 years ($\beta = -2.066^{***}$)

WAS+PSM2->OC	Age 31 to 40 ($\beta=1.728^{**}$)
	Age 41 to 50 ($\beta=1.570^*$)
	Bachelor ($\beta=-1.173^*$)
	Doctorate ($\beta=-4.969^{***}$)
	Supervise ($\beta=0.887^{**}$)
WAS+PSM2->JS	Bachelor ($\beta=-0.465^{**}$)
	Master ($\beta=-0.489^*$)
	Doctorate ($\beta=-1.573^{**}$)
	Supervise ($\beta=0.299^*$)
WAS+PSM2->IQ	Male ($\beta=3.105^{***}$)
	Age 41 to 50 ($\beta=-3.658^*$)
	Service above 20 years ($\beta=3.875^{**}$)

NOTE: *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

Of the considered control variables, significant statistical effects were observed for Gender, Education, Service Length and Family.

6.4.3.1 Gender

As was the case with PSM1 models, the effect of gender was mostly on intention to quit. Male respondents demonstrated a positive relationship with IQ ($\beta=3.696$, $p < 0.001$) in the PSM2-OC model and positive relationship with IQ in the WAS+PSM2 model ($\beta=3.104$, $p = 0.001$). These results indicated that male respondents were more likely desiring to quit their jobs.

6.4.3.2 Age

Age effects were observed only in the models including both wasta and PSM2 as independent variables. In the WAS+PSM2 on OC model, employees aged 31 to 40 had positive relationship with OC ($\beta=1.728$, $p = 0.045$) and employees aged 41 to 50 also had a positive relationship with OC ($\beta=1.570$, $p = 0.095$). Employees aged 41 to 50 also had positive relationship with IQ ($\beta=-3.658$, $p = 0.062$) in the WAS+PSM2 model. The results indicated that age was positively related to organisational commitment but also positively related to intention to quit for older respondents.

6.4.3.3 Education

Education showed significant relationships in the models with OC and JS as dependent variables. In the PSM2-OC and PSM2-JS models, the respondents with doctorate degrees showed a negative relationship with OC ($\beta=-3.692$, $p = 0.045$) and JS ($\beta=-1.397$, $p = 0.037$). In the PSM2+WAS on OC model, a negative relationship was observed for holders of Doctorate degrees ($\beta=-4.968$, $p=0.005$). In the WAS+PSM2 on JS model, negative relationships were observed for Bachelor degree holders ($\beta=-0.465$, $p=0.041$), Master degree holders ($\beta=-0.489$, $p=0.081$), and Doctorate degree holders ($\beta=-1.573$, $p=0.013$). The results were similar to the effects of education in the PSM1 models. Higher education was associated with lower degree of organisational commitment and job satisfaction.

6.4.3.4 Supervision

Supervision of employees was also a statistically significant controlling factor in the models on OC and JS. A positive effect was observed in the PSM2-OC model ($\beta=1.210$, $p=0.007$) and in the PSM2-JS model ($\beta=0.447$, $p=0.006$). The positive effects were retained in the WAS+PSM2 on OC model ($\beta=0.887$, $p=0.043$) and in the WAS+PSM2 on JS model ($\beta=0.299$, $p=0.056$). These results indicated that the respondents in supervisory positions were more likely to have higher organisational commitment and job satisfaction.

6.4.3.5 Service Length

Service length was a statistically significant controlling factor in the WAS-PSM2 model. Employees with service length from 6 to 10 years showed a negative relationship to PSM2 ($\beta=-2.066$, $p = 0.004$). Similar to the results of PSM1 tests, employees with over 20 years of service showed a positive relationship with IQ ($\beta=3.875$, $p = 0.039$) in the PSM2+WAS model. These

results indicated that employees with less tenure had a lower degree of emotional affection to public service while employees with over 20 years of service had a higher level of IQ.

6.4.3.6 Family Socialization

Family socialisation had a single significant effect in the PSM2-OC model ($\beta=0.074$, $p = 0.097$). The direction of the relationship indicated that family socialisation was positively associated with organisational commitment. These results confirmed the earlier findings of the positive relationship between family socialisation, PSM and organisational commitment (Perry, 1997; Perry et al., 2008).

6.5 Moderation Effects of Wasta

The study hypothesised that wasta would negatively moderate the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. Moderation was tested with robust regression models that included employee outcomes as the dependent variables, control variables, independent variables and moderator variables. Moderator variables were created by centralising the PSM and wasta variables and multiplying them. Two separate moderators were created for PSM1 and PSM2:

$$\text{ModPSM1WAS} = (\text{WAS} - \text{MeanWas}) * (\text{PSM1} - \text{MeanPSM1})$$

$$\text{ModPSM2WAS} = (\text{WAS} - \text{MeanWas}) * (\text{PSM2} - \text{MeanPSM2})$$

Table 6.9 below offers a summary of the moderation results. The independent variables (wasta, PSM1, PSM2, moderators and controls) are presented in rows and the dependent variables (employee outcomes) – in columns. Altogether, six models are presented. The first three models present the effects of PSM1, wasta and the moderators (including controls) on organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit respectively. The next three models present the

effects of PSM2, wasta and the moderators (including controls) on organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit respectively.

The results of wasta influence on the PSM-employee outcomes relationships are discussed below. Exploration of the marginal effects of PSM1 and PSM2 on each employee outcome at different levels of wasta is presented in graphs as a way to visualise at what levels wasta has statistically significant effects on the relationships between PSM and employee outcomes (Brambor, Clark and Golder, 2006). The solid centre line on the graph allows to observe how the marginal effect of independent variable (PSM1 or PSM2) on employee outcomes (OC, JS and IQ) changes as wasta level increases. The dotted lines on the graphs represent confidence intervals and allow to determine the conditions under which wasta has a statistically significant impact on the relationship. A statistically significant effect is observed whenever both the upper and lower bounds are either above or below the central zero line (Brambor, Clark and Golder, 2006).

Table 6.9. The Regression Coefficients of PSM1, PSM2 and Wasta Interactions on Employee Outcomes

Predictor	OC	JS	IQ	OC	JS	IQ
PSM1	.191**	.062***	.266			
PSM2				.149**	.065**	.246*
Wasta	-.164***	-.0716***	.406***	-.185***	-.072***	.390***
Wasta x PSM	-.035**	-.015***	.030	-.024***	-.010***	-.013
Male	.189	.049	3.430***	.204	.079	3.125***
Age31-40	2.138**	.630**	-2.198	1.579*	.441	-2.278
Age41-50	1.888**	.604*	-3.710*	1.268	.377	-3.774**
Above50	1.364	.605	-3.113	.801	.363	-3.660
Bachelor	-1.045*	-.511**	2.270*	-1.436**	-.601***	1.853
Master	-.809	-.483*	2.434	-1.322*	-.601**	2.051
Doctorate	-5.161***	-1.695***	4.893	-4.829***	-1.600***	4.255
Supervise	.498	.191	.135	.716*	.213	-.193
Service6-10	-1.263	-.416	.281	-1.062	.318	.824
Service11-20	-.547	-.167	1.219	-.102	.007	1.410
Serviceabove20	-.311	-.227	3.569*	.060	-.079	3.815**
Family socialisation	.018	-.007	-.060	.010	-.009	-.047
Religionsocialisation	-.164	-.003	-.023	-.015	.001	-.060
N=206						
R square	.319	.182	.254	.310	.190	.253
Adjusted R square	.257	.108	.186	.247	.116	.185
F statistic	4.92***	5.11***	3.93***	4.96***	5.32***	3.54***

NOTE: ***p < 0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1

6.5.1 Moderating Effect of Wasta on PSM-OC Relationship

Wasta showed significant negative moderating effects on the relationship between PSM1 and OC ($\beta = -0.035$, $p = 0.014$). Figure 6.5 shows the marginal impact of PSM1 on organisational commitment contingent on wasta. It demonstrates that the relative level of wasta has an important effect on the relationship between PSM1 and OC. From the graph, it is clear that the positive effect of PSM1 on OC declines with increasing wasta levels. A statistically significant negative relationship is observed at wasta scores starting from approximately 16. Further analysis showed that 98 (45.6%) of respondents reported such levels of wasta. Overall, the results indicate that higher levels of wasta turned the PSM1-OC relationship into a statistically significant negative one as is indicated by the area where both bounds are below the zero line. At the same time, it should be noted that at lower levels of wasta, the effect is not statistically significant.

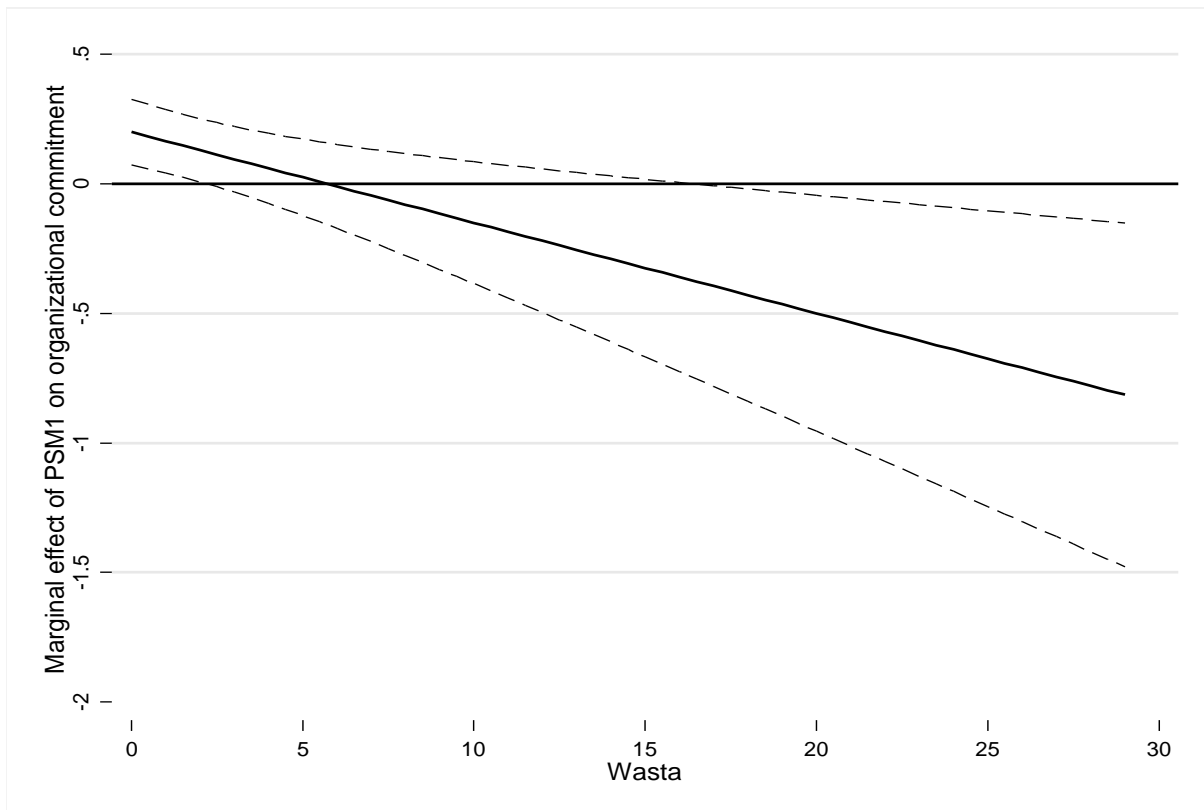


Figure 6.5. Marginal Impact of PSM1 on Organisational Commitment Contingent on Wasta

Wasta also demonstrated a significant negative moderation effect for the PSM2 – OC relationship ($\beta=-0.024$, $p = 0.008$). Figure 6.6 shows the marginal impact of PSM2 on organisational commitment contingent on wasta. The graph indicates similar patterns as in the relationship for PSM1. It demonstrates that the relative level of wasta was important in conditioning the relationship between PSM2 and OC. From the graph, it is clear that the positive effect of PSM2 on OC declines with increasing wasta levels. A statistically significant negative relationship is observed at wasta scores starting from approximately 17. Further analysis showed that 81 (39.3%) of respondents reported such levels of wasta. Overall, the results indicate that higher levels of wasta turned the PSM2-OC relationship into a statistically significant negative one as is indicated by the area where both bounds are below the zero line. At the same time, it should be noted that at lower levels of wasta, such an effect is not statistically significant.

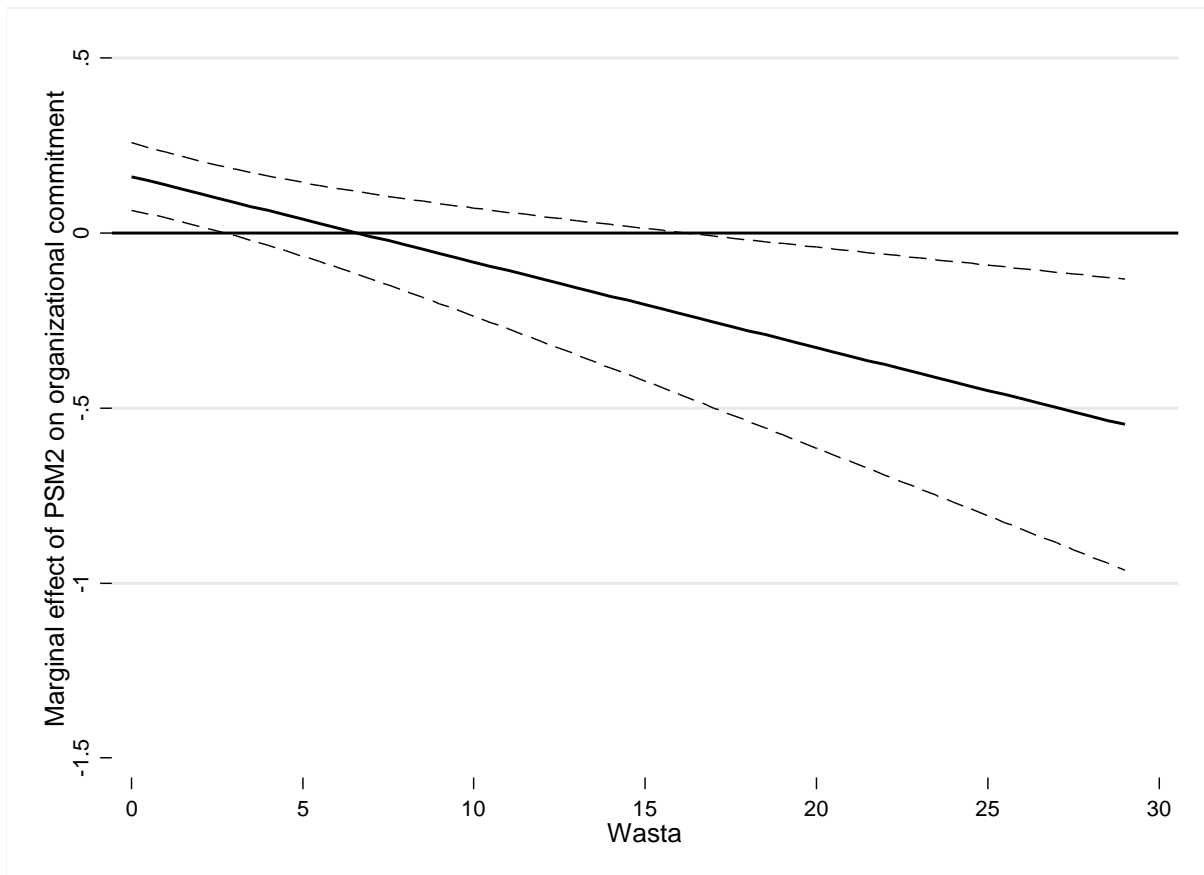


Figure 6.6. Marginal Impact of PSM2 on Organisational Commitment Contingent on Wasta

In sum, the negative moderating effects of wasta on the PSM1-OC and PSM2-OC relationships confirmed hypothesis 5a.

6.5.2 Moderating Effect of Wasta on PSM-JS Relationship

Wasta showed significant negative moderating effects on the relationship between PSM1 and JS ($\beta = -0.015$, $p = 0.005$). Figure 6.7 shows the marginal impact of PSM1 on job satisfaction contingent on wasta. It demonstrates that the relative level of wasta was important in conditioning the relationship between PSM1 and JS. From the graph, it is clear that the positive effect of PSM1 on JS declined with increasing wasta levels. A statistically significant negative relationship is observed at wasta scores starting from approximately 11. Further analysis showed that 147 (71.3%) of respondents reported such levels of wasta. Overall, the results indicate that higher levels of wasta turned the PSM1-JS relationship into a statistically significant negative one as is indicated by the area where both bounds are below the zero line. At the same time, it should be noted that at very low levels of wasta, such effect is not statistically significant.

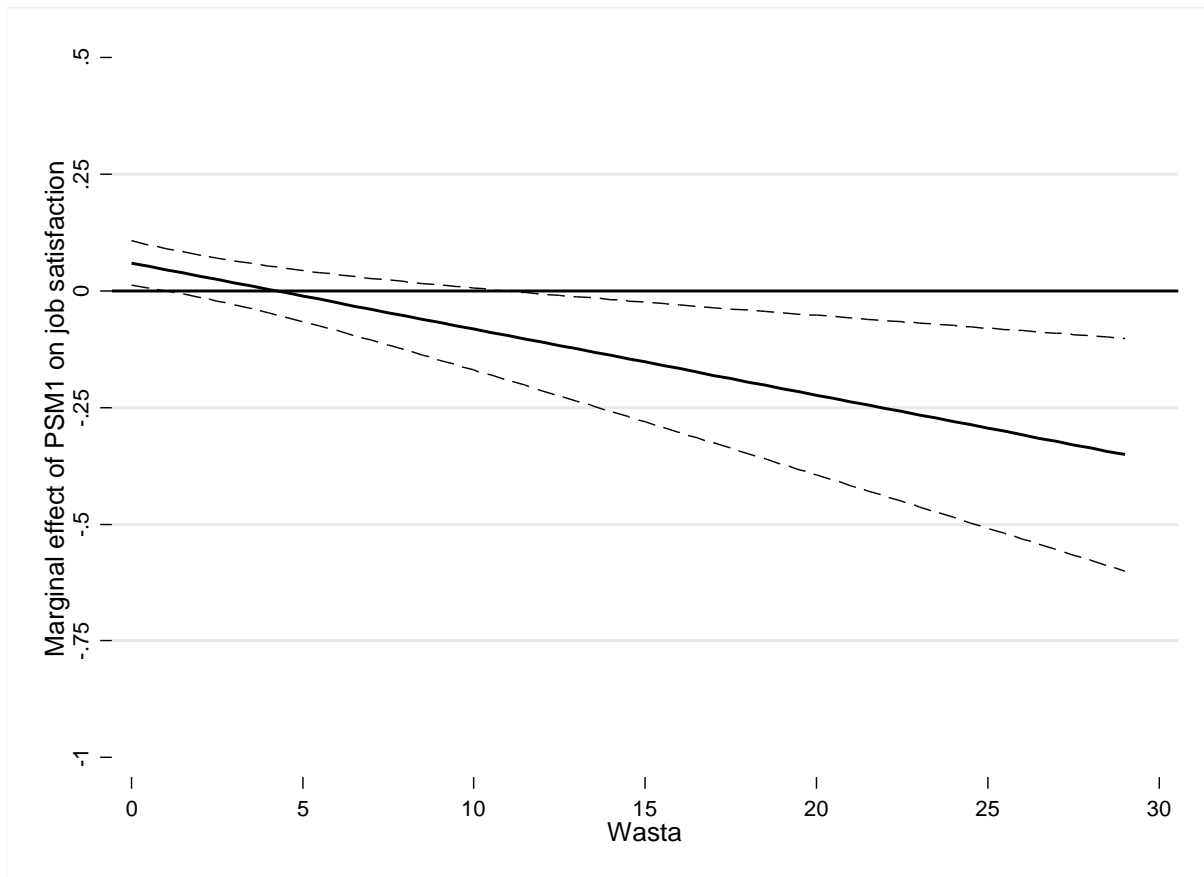


Figure 6.7. Marginal Impact of PSM1 on Job Satisfaction Contingent on Wasta

Wasta also demonstrated a significant negative moderation effect for the PSM2 – JS relationship ($\beta=-0.024$, $p = 0.008$). Figure 6.8 shows the marginal impact of PSM2 on job satisfaction contingent on wasta. The graph indicates similar patterns as in the relationship discussed above. It demonstrates that the relative level of wasta was important in conditioning the relationship between PSM2 and JS. From the graph, it is clear that the positive effect of PSM2 on JS declined with increasing wasta levels. A statistically significant negative relationship is observed at wasta scores starting from approximately 13. Further analysis showed that 131 (63.6%) of respondents reported such levels of wasta. Overall, the results indicate that higher levels of wasta turned the PSM2-JS relationship into a statistically significant negative one as is indicated by the area where both bounds are below the zero line.

At the same time, it should be noted that at lower levels of *wasta*, such an effect is not statistically significant.

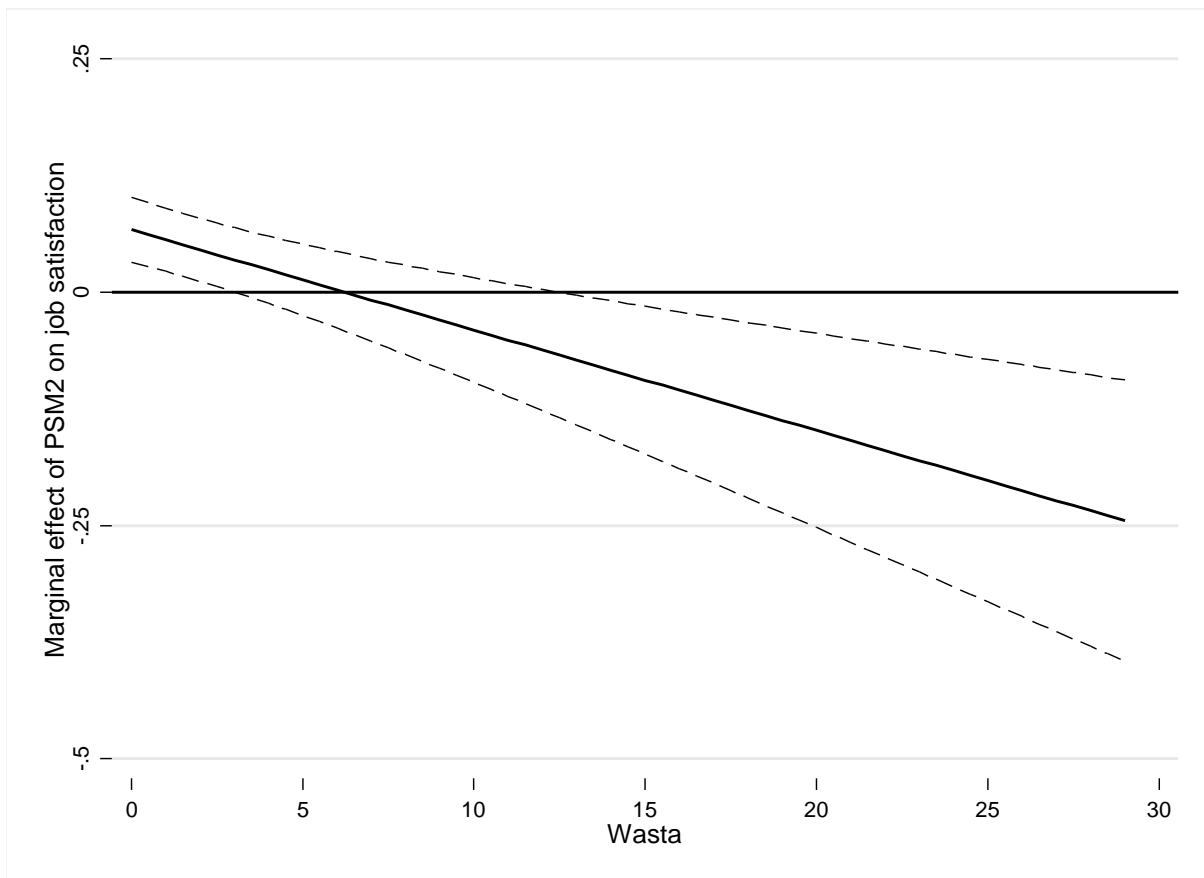


Figure 6.8. Marginal Impact of PSM2 on Job Satisfaction Contingent on *Wasta*

Overall, the negative moderating effects of *wasta* on the PSM1-JS and PSM2-JS relationships confirmed hypothesis 5b.

6.5.3 Moderating Effect of *Wasta* on PSM-IQ Relationship

No significant moderation effect was found in the relationship between PSM1 and IQ ($\beta=0.030$, $p = 0.308$) or for the PSM2-IQ relationship ($\beta=-0.013$, $p = 0.480$). The absence of the relationships disconfirmed hypothesis 5c.

6.5.4 Summary of Moderation Effects

Figure 6.9 displays the results nested within the hypothesised moderation model.

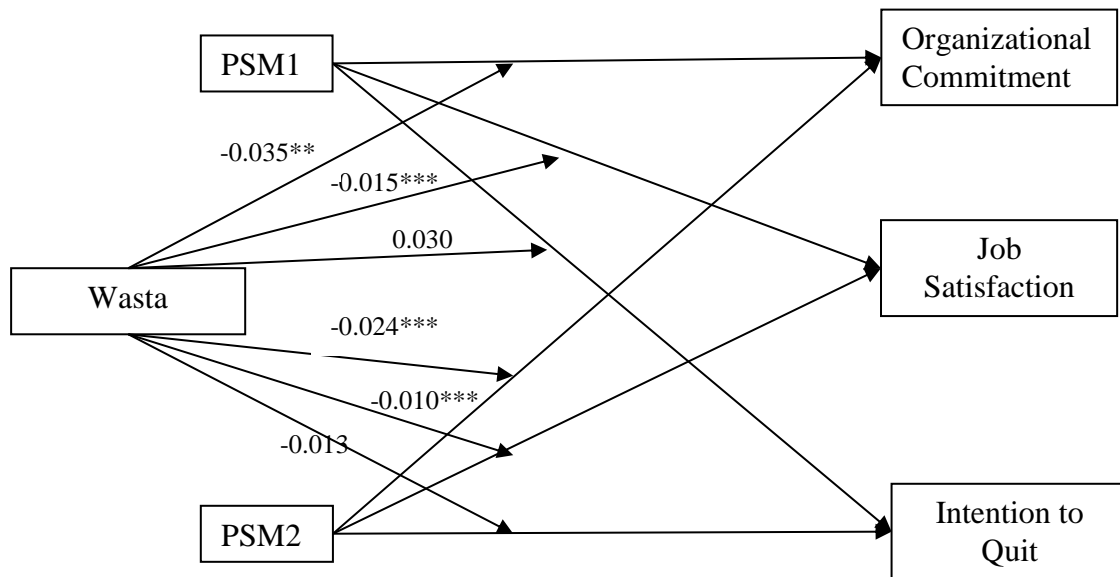


Figure 6.9. Moderation Model Results

NOTE: *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided the results of quantitative inferential data analyses of the survey data. Because the EFA split PSM into two variables, PSM1 and PSM2, the results were reported for each of them separately. Both PSM1 and PSM2 showed positive relationships with organisational commitment and job satisfaction although neither variable showed a relationship with intention to quit. Wasta showed a negative relationship with organisational commitment and job satisfaction and a positive relationship with intention to quit. In terms of indirect effects, PSM1 showed partial mediation effects between wasta and all employee outcomes. However, PSM2 did not demonstrate any indirect effects on such relationships. Wasta showed a negative moderation of the relationships between both PSM variables and organisational commitment and job satisfaction. No moderation effect was observed for the relationship between either PSM variable and intention to quit. Table 6.10 provides a summary of the hypotheses tests results for the PSM1 and PSM2 variables.

Table 6.10

Comparative Summary of the Hypothesis Testing Results

Hypothesis	Relationship	Result for PSM1	Result for PSM 2
1a	PSM->OC	Confirmed	Confirmed
1b	PSM->JS	Confirmed	Confirmed
1c	PSM->IQ	Not confirmed	Not confirmed
2a	WAS->OC	Confirmed	
2b	WAS->JS	Confirmed	
2c	WAS->IQ	Confirmed	
3	WAS->PSM	Confirmed	Confirmed
4a	WAS->PSM(Med)->OC	Confirmed	Not confirmed
4b	WAS->PSM(Med)->JS	Confirmed	Not confirmed
4c	WAS->PSM(Med)->IQ	Confirmed	Not confirmed
5a	PSM->WAS(Mod)->OC	Confirmed	Confirmed
5b	PSM->WAS(Mod)->JS	Confirmed	Confirmed
5c	PSM->WAS(Mod)->IQ	Not confirmed	Not confirmed

In line with the study's research design, additional qualitative data collection and analysis was conducted in order to clarify the uncovered relationships in the quantitative data analysis. The next chapter presents the qualitative data analyses.

CHAPTER 7

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analyses of the qualitative data collected. Following the explanatory sequential study design, the purpose of the qualitative data analysis was to attain a deeper understanding and interpretation of the initial quantitative analyses. The chapter begins with a description of the interviewed sample. Next, thematic analysis of the collected data is presented following Miles and Huberman (1994). The data from the transcribed interviews were organised by means of reduction and development of the themes based on similar patterns expressed within the transcripts. These patterns were then linked to the research questions formulated in the beginning of the study. The responses were categorised semantically and logically into distinctive themes. The second step in the analysis was data display which involved codification of the data so that content analysis could be performed. The final step was conclusion drawing and verification by defining the key meanings, patterns and developing possible explanations for the data.

7.2 Interview Sample and Participants

In qualitative research, there is no established number of recommended samples (Baker and Edwards, 2012). The main idea is to reach data saturation, that is, the point at which little new insight is attained from each new interview (Mason, 2010). Charmaz (2006) proposed that about 25 interviews should be sufficient for this purpose. Creswell (2003) suggested a number between 20 and 30. However, Green and Thorogood (2009) argued that “little new” comes out of interviews when the mark of 20 participants is reached. Bertaux (1981) suggests that a minimum number of interviewees for data saturation should be 15. Some researchers even claim that saturation of qualitative responses occurs at around 11-12 in-depth interviews (Guest et al., 2006). In this regard, Crouch and McKenzie (2006) noted that the goal of interviews is

not about making generalisations but about achieving understanding, and even smaller sample sizes can offer this for in-depth interviews. They, however, proposed sample sizes between 15 and 20 participants.

Following the suggestions above, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted within this study. The participants were recruited from the respondents to the survey based on their answer in the end of the survey about willingness to participate in an interview. 48 survey participants expressed the desire to be interviewed, with 20 recruited from their numbers based on the recommendations above regarding data saturation. Because the goal was to clarify the relationships investigated by the survey study, the participants were recruited in line with the demographic distribution of the survey sample. Table 7.1 below presents the individual characteristics of the participants.

Table 7.1

Interview Study Participants

No	Gender	Age Group (yrs)	Education	Supervisor?	Length of Service (yrs)
1	Male	31-40	Bachelor	Yes	6-10
2	Male	18-30	Bachelor	No	Less than 5
3	Male	31-40	Bachelor	No	6-10
4	Female	31-40	Bachelor	Yes	6-10
5	Male	31-40	Bachelor	No	11-20
6	Male	31-40	Bachelor	Yes	11-20
7	Male	18-30	Bachelor	No	Less than 5
8	Male	31-40	Master	No	6-10
9	Male	31-40	Bachelor	No	11-20
10	Female	41-50	Master	Yes	above 20
11	Female	31-40	High School	No	11-20
12	Male	31-40	Bachelor	No	11-20
13	Male	31-40	Bachelor	No	11-20
14	Male	31-40	Doctorate	Yes	11-20
15	Male	41-50	Master	Yes	11-20
16	Male	41-50	Doctorate	Yes	above 20
17	Male	above50	Bachelor	Yes	above 20
18	Female	41-50	High School	No	11-20
19	Female	41-50	High School	No	above 20
20	Male	31-40	Bachelor	Yes	6-10

Table 7.2 compares the distribution of the interview participants based on individual characteristics against the survey sample distribution. As is seen, the two samples match closely which means that the interview sample adequately represented the survey sample.

Table 7.2
Distribution of Interview and Survey Participants Based on Individual Characteristics

Characteristic	% of Interview Sample	% of Survey Sample
Gender		
Male	75%	68%
Female	25%	32%
Age (yrs)		
18-30	10%	8.7%
31-40	60%	53.4%
41-50	25%	34.0%
above 51	5%	3.9%
Education		
High School	15%	12.1%
Bachelor	60%	70.4%
Master	15%	16.0%
Doctorate	5%	1.5%
Supervision		
Yes	45%	45.1%
No	55%	54.9%
Service Length (yrs)		
Less than 5	10%	11.2%
6-10	25%	20.9%
11-20	45%	50.5%
above 21	20%	17.0%

7.3 Data Reduction through Coding

Coding is a useful means of data reduction because it allows to refine the massive chunks of qualitative data by identifying the most common patterns and responses (Creswell et al., 2003). Within the qualitative analysis framework developed by Miles and Huberman (1994) two types of codes are defined. Descriptive codes reflect information about the cases being studied while pattern codes help generate interconnections between the descriptive codes (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The corresponding coding processes applied in this study are shown below.

7.3.1 Descriptive Coding

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested the creation of a start list of codes because it allows to tie the study's conceptual interests to the data collected. These codes can then be redefined and filtered out during the analyses of transcripts, and more codes can be added. This approach is considered especially useful when the study already has an established framework for concepts and relationships between them, as in this case. In line with Miles and Huberman (1994), a list of preliminary codes prior to interviews was created (Table 7.3). The list was based on the conceptual framework of the study.

Table 7.3
Start List of Codes

Code Label	Code Definition
PSM	Public Service Motivation
PSM-NRB	Norm based, rational PSM
PSM-A	Affective PSM
EO	Employee outcomes
EO-OC	Organisational commitment
EO-JS	Job satisfaction
EO-IQ	Intention to quit
WAS	Wasta
WAS-D	Damage done by wasta
IN	Institutions
IN-SI	Self-identity
IN-SR	Self-regulation
IN-C	Culture
IND	Individual characteristics
IND-GEN	Gender
IND-AGE	Age
IND-ED	Education
IND-SUP	Supervision
IND-SER	Service length
IND-FAM	Family socialisation
IND-REL	Religion socialisation

After reviewing the interview transcripts several times, specific statements which could be directly linked to the majority of categorised codes were identified. Starting with motivation, the majority of respondents agreed (14 out of 20) that the primary force prompting them to take

the public service positions was the desire to do good for the society. Examples of the responses included:

- *I wanted to serve the public from an early age. It seemed more meaningful than pursuit of selfish interests. (Respondent 4)*
- *In general, doing good for others is the major motivational force to me. (Respondent 13)*
- *I find great deal of motivation and purpose in serving the society. (Respondent 10)*
- *I want to help the others the way I can. Public service allows me to do this. (Respondent 19)*

At the same time, several participants mentioned other factors such as “better pay” (Respondents 1, 2, 6, 15), “better job guarantees” (Respondents 1, 2, 15, 16) and “stability” (Respondents, 2, 7, 15).

Among the specific factors of the PSM category, both norm based, rational motives and affective motives were mentioned. However, the respondents mentioned more frequently and assigned more weight to the former. In total, 14 participants mentioned rational and normative aspects of PSM as motivators for public service. The importance of “meaningful” public service was mentioned 8 times (Respondents 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 14, 17). Interest in doing “good for community” was mentioned 6 times (Respondents 3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 17). Public service as an “obligation” to community and society was mentioned 5 times (Respondents 4, 7, 15, 17, 19). Four respondents spoke about “satisfaction” in bringing benefits to communities and/or the society in general (Respondents 1, 10, 11, 18). Finally, three respondents spoke about the importance of doing what is best for the community, not individuals:

- *“I’d rather see more people to benefit from policies than just few.” (Respondent 7)*
- *“It is right to put aside personal interest for the greater good.” (Respondent 12)*
- *“I would love to see my whole community benefit from what I do. If needed, I can set aside my own needs for this.” (Respondent 18)*

In contrast, only 6 respondents attached an emotional side to public service. The most commonly mentioned factor here was “sympathy” and “compassion” for those “in need” (Respondents 2, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20). Four respondents confessed that they exhibit “personal feelings” (Respondents 4, 10, 11, 12) and sometimes even “guilt” (Respondent 15) upon seeing

social inequality in its different instances. One respondent confessed that “personal achievement does not matter as much as doing good for the society” (Respondent 11). One respondent also stated that “people, in general, cannot survive without relying on each other” (Respondent 10). However, the emotional side of PSM, when present, did not trump the norm based side as is evident from these responses:

- *“In any case, we should just abstain from emotions and do what we have to do: serve the public the way we should serve.” (Respondent 20)*
- *“But emotions may actually distract you from meaningful contribution to the society” (Respondent 11)*
- *“We cannot be sympathetic to some people and not sympathetic to others; our duty is to serve everyone” (Respondent 12)*

The importance of employee outcomes in public service also became evident in the course of the interviews. Most of the respondents spoke about job satisfaction (17 respondents), followed by commitment (15 respondents), though fewer spoke about intention to quit (7 respondents). In terms of job satisfaction, all 17 respondents mentioned that it is important in public service. Many spoke about job satisfaction in terms of ability to do what they see as a meaningful contribution to the society while others explained how it is connected to other employee outcomes:

- *“A person who seeks to do something for the society will be more satisfied at a public servant position than a person who seeks own benefits” (Respondent 2)*
- *“...job satisfaction in public service is a special thing. It keeps you going and wanting more.” (Respondent 4)*
- *“An employee whose purpose is making positive difference for the communities, for the society, for those in need will be able to satisfy this purpose in a public organisation.” (Respondent 5)*
- *“The importance of job satisfaction can hardly be overestimated, especially when we talk about public service.” (Respondent 7)*
- *“Satisfaction equals commitment. Commitment to the organisation and its goals, commitment to serve.” (Respondent 10)*
- *“...productivity in public sector is dependent upon satisfaction with the position you have, whether you feel you can make a difference.” (Respondent 17)*

In similar vein, the respondents spoke about organisational commitment. Importantly, the “match” between an intended job and the actual job was named a factor of organisational commitment by 13 out of 15 respondents mentioning it. Commitment was associated with a “sense of belonging” to an organisation (Respondents 2, 6, 7, 13, 17, 18) and the feeling that the work done by the organisation is “meaningful” (Respondents 1, 2, 3, 4, 11). Two respondents referred to “emotional” type of attachment in relation to commitment (Respondents 17, 18). In both cases, it was supplemental to a “sense of belonging.”

Although fewer respondents talked about intentions to quit, work pressures, absence of adequate training and inability to do what they wanted to do were mentioned by all those respondents who did (Respondents 1, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16, 20):

- *“Those who cannot fulfil their service purpose here are likely to quit.” (Respondent 7)*
- *“Sometimes they just throw new employees into working; no training, no mentorship. No wonder that many quit.” (Respondent 8)*
- *“People seek for ideal public service jobs. But many do not receive them. This leads to turnover.” (Respondent 10)*
- *I know many people thinking about leaving because they are disappointed with their positions.” (Respondent 14)*
- *“If no proper training is in place, people cannot last for long regardless their motivation to serve the society. How can they, if they are not explained what to do?” (Respondent 20)*

Only two out of 20 interviewees (Respondents 10 and 14) talked about *wasta* in relation to public service work. However, when asked directly about *wasta* instances at work, almost all the interviewees willingly expressed their opinions (many confirmed their confidentiality before engaging in this part of the interview). The general consensus was that *wasta* was, indeed, present in their organisations. 14 respondents admitted that they observed it in one way or another. *Wasta* influences were seen in hiring and promoting (12 respondents). Many respondents stated that *wasta* “mattered more” than individual skills and qualifications (10 respondents). The majority of respondents (12 respondents) viewed *wasta* as a negative force which is detrimental to the public service. Examples of opinions in this regard are:

- *“Wasta leads to hiring the wrong people for these jobs.” (Respondent 4)*
- *“Nothing good comes out of wasta; it has to be eradicated.” (Respondent 6)*
- *“These positions get filled through wasta for the material purposes, not for the purposes of serving the public.” (Respondent 7)*
- *“The practice of wasta and public service are incompatible.” (Respondent 10)*
- *“I see wasta at work; I see its damage done on employees and, by extension, on the society.” (Respondent 14)*
- *“How can you meaningfully service the others when you see injustice at work as a result of wasta?” (Respondent 20)*

And yet, more than half of the interviewees acknowledged that wasta was “obligatory,” “binding,” or “enforced” within the existing social norms (Respondents 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20). It is, in essence, a perpetuated social institution which is evident from the following responses:

- *“If you are once given wasta, you have to give it back someday.” (Respondent 2)*
- *“Many people accept wasta because they see no other choice.” (Respondent 5)*
- *“If asked by a relative, I have to give wasta.” (Respondent 8)*
- *“Wasta is bad, but in our society it is inevitable.” (Respondent 12)*
- *“Wasta has been a practice for ages, and I see little changes at present.” (Respondent 14)*
- *“Wasta is in our culture, like it or not.” (Respondent 16)*
- *“Wasta is so close to family relationships that sometimes you cannot distinguish where one ends and another begins” (Respondent 20)*

The concepts of institutions were discussed from the perspective of culture, religion and family. The cultural context was often referred to when the respondents spoke about public service. Many interviewees thought that Saudi culture was “important” in defining the social values to which they served (Respondents 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 17, 19). For example,

- *“Our culture actually calls to be mindful and helpful to each other.” (Respondent 4)*
- *“We are a collectivist society. This comes from our culture. We need strong public service to support it.” (Respondent 6)*
- *“Culture defines many things; public service is no exception.” (Respondent 13)*

However, it was also mentioned as a source of wasta (Respondents 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20).

Respondent 10 elaborated:

- *“I think, actually, that Arabic culture plays a double role. Yes, we have a culture of hospitality and it teaches us to serve others like we would serve ourselves. But since we also talk about wasta, culture is sometimes a negative force. Wasta is a part of our culture, and this is an example of a negative force.”*

Family and religion socialisation were also mentioned as important forces. Respondents spoke about family values and upbringing as “defining” or “essential” in formation of their own public identity (Respondents 4, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18). For example,

- *“My family was one of the defining factors when it comes to the choice of public service profession.” (Respondent 11)*
- *“In my family, we always helped each other. We do this now. But my family members always took care of others; this is an essential trait I carried out from my family.” (Respondent 13)*
- *“From the early age, my parents told me and showed me how to be helpful. This was essential for my development as an individual.” (Respondent 17)*

In similar vein, some respondents referred to Islam and the Islamic tradition (Respondents 5, 7, 12, 13, 14 and 15). Religion socialisation was seen as a “guiding force” in the choice of professional devotion (Respondents 7 and 12), and Islamic tradition as a “defining” aspect of public service identity (Respondents 13 and 15). Respondents 5, 7 and 14, for example, spoke of Islamic teachings as an “important factor” in their choice of public service.

When asked about individual characteristics that made difference in public service, the majority named age as the most important factor (15 Respondents in total). The consensus was that older people are likely to be more driven for public service (13 respondents) with only two respondents (Respondents 2 and 7) stating that younger people are stronger oriented towards public service.

Education was named an important factor by 14 respondents. However, there was no clear pattern in relation to public service. Some believed that more educated people would be “better equipped” and “knowledgeable” to perform public duties (Respondents 1, 5, 10, 15, 16), while others believed that higher educational levels would prompt for “questioning” the nature of one

work and “critically assessing” it (Respondents 9, 13, 20). Yet some believed that education was less important than the desire to do good for the others (Respondents 2, 18).

Similarly, there was no certainty with regards to the role that service length plays in public service. Six respondents (3, 8, 15, 16, 19, 20) commented on this issue:

- *“I think if you work in public service for long, this means you develop a much stronger commitment to it.” (Respondent 3)*
- *“The most committed to public service are the people who do public service for longest.” (Respondent 15)*
- *“When you work too long in the public service, you may simply get tired. It will start being less meaningful.” (Respondent 16)*
- *“Those who work longer often become disillusioned about public service.” (Respondent 20)*

Out of five female interviewees, three (Respondents 4, 18, 19) expressed an opinion that women are more inclined and better equipped to do public service. Respondent 18 elaborated,

- *“Women are perhaps better suited for public service work. This is because women are more caring. They take care of homes and family members, and they can care for unknown people more willingly. A woman public worker will never turn you around. I know this from my own experience. Women public service workers are always there to help while men can be sometimes rejecting.”*

7.3.2 Pattern Coding

Pattern codes identify emergent themes, configurations or explanations (Miles and Huberman, 1994). They go beyond descriptive patterns by interpreting and interconnecting data (Creswell et al., 2003). Specifically, pattern codes emerge around combinations of interrelated themes, causes, relationships and constructs (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The search for patterns in the collected data for this study was based on the available conceptual framework, research questions and descriptive codes identified earlier. The following patterns emerged.

7.3.2.1 PSM Is Related to Job Satisfaction and Organisational Commitment

As was noted earlier, the majority of interviewees viewed the desire to serve the public as the main motivational force behind joining the public service organisations. Further, the respondents in majority admitted that being motivated is an important thing for employees in public organisations. Consequently, there is a link between the two, and many interviewees saw it through the idea of meaningful service (14 respondents in total):

- *I wanted to serve the public from an early age. It seemed more meaningful than pursuit of selfish interests. Today, I'm really happy at my work. (Respondent 4)*
- *In general, doing good for others is the major motivational force to me. This is why I like doing my job. (Respondent 13)*
- *I find great deal of motivation and purpose in serving the society. Likewise, I find purpose and satisfaction in my work (Respondent 10)*
- *I want to help the others the way I can. Public service allows me to do this. This job is what I wanted all along. (Respondent 19)*

Another link was an impact made on society (12 respondents). Some typical comments were:

- *"I really like seeing myself changing people's lives to the better. It is a great thing that our work here helps the society at large." (Respondent 7)*
- *"Even if I probably wanted a better pay or working conditions, here I can accomplish so much more for those who are in need." (Respondent 12)*
- *"A person who really focuses on the community, on the society, benefits from public service and should love his job. I do." (Respondent 18)*

Fewer interviewees (6 in total) saw job satisfaction as a result of affective commitment although some strong responses emerged mostly in form of empathy and compassion:

- *"I can only be satisfied with my job if I can help those who really need help, to those in distress." (Respondent 2)*
- *"I am compassionate about helping others; this is how I find satisfaction in what I do." (Respondent 11)*
- *"I really feel for the people who may somehow be underprivileged. I am happy to help by all means I can." (Respondent 12)*

The link between PSM and organisational commitment emerged through three distinctive themes: finding the right place to make an impact (11 respondents), feeling that organisational work is meaningful (9 respondents), and finding the match between personal desires for public

service and their position in an organisation (10 respondents). Examples of responses within each theme were:

- *“When you want to make an impact on the society with your work and you finally find such work, it is a great feeling. You become committed to your goals and to this organisation.” (Respondent 6)*
- *“I cannot tell how much it is important to feel that my work is meaningful. Otherwise, I would not be so much attached to this organisation. I feel like I belong here” (Respondent 3)*
- *“Commitment to the cause and commitment to the organisation are inseparable in public service. You have a wish for doing something good for the people it is important that the job you have serves this purpose.” (Respondent 13)*

7.3.2.2 Intention to Quit Is Not Related to Motivation

As was mentioned in the previous section, 7 out of 20 interviewees mentioned intention to quit or turnover intentions in the context of their work. However, only 2 (Respondents 8 and 16) expressed an opinion that the lack of motivation for public service could be a “strong reason to quit. Other factors were such as lack of training, disappointment and work pressures were mentioned by the interviewees more often. Perhaps the best explanation about the absence of the link between PSM and intention to quit was provided by Respondent 1:

- *“Many people find that public service jobs are not for them. And it is not about inability to meet your desire to do public service, it is about realistic factors. I, personally, see the lack of employee training and mentorship as the top reason. Many will not be able to withstand the work demands. Many will not be able to arrange their time. The demands for work matter, they are not easy to meet for everyone.”*

7.3.2.3 Wasta Is a Negative Force for Employee Outcomes

As was mentioned earlier, there was a general agreement among the interviewees that wasta mattered in their organisational setting and that wasta had negative connotations. The respondents, however, also related it directly to negative employee outcomes. The majority of interviewees (13 in total) mentioned that wasta was detrimental to job satisfaction. Typical comments were:

- *“...you cannot just happily work in an organisation when wasta is a common practice.” (Respondent 4)*

- *“Wasta results in lower satisfaction with the working environment, with your job overall. It makes people bitter towards each other.” (Respondent 6)*
- *“Those hired through wasta may have inclination to do public service, but I found it is almost never a case. They are in these positions for the benefits. To me personally, it is a big disappointment. I cannot be satisfied with it.” (Respondent 7)*

Similar themes of negative influence were noted for organisational commitment. In total, 10 respondents in one way or another attributed lower organisational commitment to wasta. Four respondents mentioned that when wasta practices are easily observed a “sense of belonging” is lost (Respondents 2, 13, 17, 18). Three interviewees (Respondents 7, 12, 18) complained about the loss of “attachment” to an organisation where wasta is present. Three more proposed directly that a sense of commitment is lost when wasta is present (Respondents 10, 14, 20). Two respondents said that they witnessed wasta firsthand and lost “dedication” to both the organisation and their work (Respondents 16, 17).

Some interviewees (Respondents 5, 10, 15, 18) associated wasta with the desire to quit. There were both personal and general references in this regard.

- *“One way to deal with wasta is to simply leave the organisation.” (Respondent 5)*
- *“I saw people resigning because they could not get promotion because of wasta.” (Respondent 10).*
- *“I personally do not like when this happen. Sometimes it makes me want to leave.” (Respondent 15)*
- *“... people do leave when wasta is rampant.” (Respondent 18)*

7.3.2.4 Wasta Is a Demotivator in Public Service

The negative influences of wasta were discussed not only in relation to employee outcomes but also in relation to public service itself. More than half of the respondents (12 in total) mentioned that wasta experiences would directly or indirectly act to decrease their public service intent and identity. Major public service mechanisms get disrupted by the experience of wasta. Some interviewees pointed out that the public service becomes “less meaningful” and/or “purposeful”

when *wasta* is present in organisational settings (Respondents 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 14, 19). Some responded that *wasta* was incompatible with public service because it was driven by “self-interest” (Respondents 3, 7, 12, 17) or “personal benefits” in place of concern for the others (Respondents 1, 10, 18).

Some respondents also spoke about the emotional damage caused by *wasta* which decreases public service intentions (Respondents 2, 13, 14, 15, 20). Notable comments in this regard were:

- *“Wasta is difficult to overcome emotionally. It makes you feel less sympathy for the others. You become pissed at the entire world.” (Respondent 13)*
- *“People are supposed to help each other but not at the expense of the other people. Desire to commit good becomes shaken by *wasta* because your feelings are hurt. You become disappointed.” (Respondent 14)*
- *“The worst thing about *wasta* is that you are often helpless to do something. With the public service mentality, you want to be able to change things to the better. When this is not the case, you are emotionally in ruins.” (Respondent 15)*

7.3.2.5 Strong Public Identity Overcomes the Negative Context

An interesting observation was attained in the course of examining the codes for PSM, *wasta* and employee outcomes. As the analysis above demonstrated, *wasta* showed a negative effect on employee outcomes and PSM. However, several respondents insisted that individuals with very high level of public service commitment and identity may suppress the negative impact of *wasta* on employees. The observations mostly come from three interviewees (Respondents 9, 15, 17) and their personal experiences. All three insisted on having a strong desire to serve the public and a deep commitment to the public service. All three claimed to have experienced *wasta* and to having moments of doubt with regards to their purpose as public servants. However, due to their own high level of commitment and desire to serve the public, they admitted that they still enjoyed what they did and remained committed to the organisation and its causes:

- *“I’ve seen a lot in my experience as a public worker. Honestly, at times, I felt like I could not continue my work because of the all that bad context. Since we speak about*

wasta in particular, yes, that would be the reason for my poor spirits, too. But I am still here, still doing my job. I think this is because I am much more committed to the public service than almost everyone I know. It is a kind of faith. It helps me move along.” (Respondent 9)

- *“If I was so much concerned for wasta, I would have never stayed in this organisation, or any other organisation should this be the case. I just think that strong desire to do good overcomes this. Institutions like wasta do bother me, as some other things like sometimes the lack of appreciation of my work. But complaining is not something a truly committed person should do.” (Respondent 15)*
- *“You cannot expect a perfect working place in a public organisation. If things happen in other organisations, they are likely to happen at yours as well. Wasta, I mean, it is not an exception at all. But, you know, I’ve worked for over 20 years in public service now. Sometimes I start thinking about leaving for another organisation. But I think that my personal dedication to public service is stronger than that. Whenever I feel down because of things like wasta I just remember why I am here in the first place.” (Respondent 17)*

From these comments it can be concluded that by placing public duty above the negative context the respondents were able to overcome the consequences of such contexts. At the same time, it is seen that wasta experience actually contributed to stronger quit intentions of those with higher PSM. Emotional states like being in “poor spirits” and feeling underappreciated were strong factors in this. However, it seems that increased quit intentions did not really realize into actual quitting behaviour when PSM is high.

7.3.2.6 Wasta Diminishes the Positive Impact of PSM

While the respondents in general agreed that PSM is positively related to employee outcomes, further examination of the answers revealed that in the presence of wasta the effect is substantially lower for organisational commitment and job satisfaction. Wasta was often discussed within a general context influences on employee outcomes in the public service (12 respondents):

- *“To be satisfied with work, public employees need not only to assign meaning to their work but also to feel that the organisational context in which they work adheres to good standards.” (Respondent 1)*

- *“I often feel that in our organisation employees’ intent to serve the public is compromised by the environment perpetuated here.” (Respondent 14)*
- *“I think that public organisations need to create appropriate environment for employees to thrive” (Respondent 15)*
- *“To put it shortly, environment matters. It determines how motivated public employees are.” (Respondent 16)*

However, specific references to *wasta* were made as well. The interviewees used words and phrases like “reduced,” “damaging,” “negative influence” and “harmful” to describe the effects of *wasta* on employee outcomes. The negative influences were mentioned in relation to commitment to organisation (10 respondents) and satisfaction with the position (12 respondents). The particular mechanisms of such influences were mentioned as well:

- *“Even for those who are committed to public service, *wasta* experience is quite damaging. People lose a sense of commitment because they see how personal interests prevail over public interests.” (Respondent 4)*
- *“... public service employees have a special kind of motivation which can be substantially reduced through institutions such as *wasta*. They will be less likely to feel satisfied at work. This is because they will find less meaning in their work” (Respondent 5)*
- *“There is definitely a negative influence of *wasta*. You may, for example, identify strongly with public service and feel great at work, but such selfish practices will reduce that feeling. You will be disappointed because you will see others choosing own interests over public interests.” (Respondent 7)*
- *“... the sense of obligation for the good cause and the satisfaction from what you do can be easily reduced through *wasta* and similar practices. You become less motivated and less committed to your job. You will likely not perform at your best afterwards.” (Respondent 15)*
- *“*Wasta* benefits the few at the expense of many. If your belief in public good is compromised, you will not feel either satisfied with what your organisation does or with your work in particular. *Wasta* is harmful in this way.” (Respondent 18)*

7.3.2.7 Individual Characteristics Matter

A deeper analysis of the individuals’ responses allowed to identify certain patterns reflecting their individual characteristics. As was discussed earlier, the respondents thought of age as an important factor contributing to variability in public service motivation. This was confirmed with the older interviewees having a more positive outlook on organisational commitment and

job satisfaction. Among the 14 interviewees discussing the possible effects of PSM there were none younger than 30. All interviewees over 40 expressed strong positive views on job satisfaction and organisational commitment. The only interviewee over 50, who also had a positive outlook on both, commented that older employees like himself are “more mature as individuals and as employees.” He further noted that older employees develop a stronger “sense of attachment” to their organisations and public service.

Positive personal responses to job satisfaction and organisational commitment were obtained from 9 out of 11 interviewees in supervisory positions. However, the factors mentioned were less related to public service and more to do with the perks of the jobs. The respondents mentioned good salaries (Respondents 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 15, 20), social packages (Respondents 1, 3, 8, 10, 15, 17, 20) and an “interesting position” (Respondents 6, 15, 17) as the primary factors for job satisfaction and commitment. Only two respondents (Respondents 10 and 17) mentioned that their supervisory positions allow them to “do more” for society and people.

An interesting observation came out of examining the responses of individuals with different levels of education. While talking about personal experiences, both holders of Doctorate degrees (Respondents 14 and 16) stated that they were “somewhat” or “rather” dissatisfied with their positions. These individuals were also the only supervisors who answered like this. The reasons mentioned by the interviewees were “higher expectations” from their jobs and absence of good mechanisms to deliver public service as well as inability to influence the situation:

- *“I have a doctorate degree in public policy and management. However, I cannot implement any positive changes because of bureaucracy here. Our services could be much more effective and efficient, but it looks like no one cares.” (Respondent 14)*
- *“I have had much higher expectations for the position when I was promoted. They did not quite materialize.” (Respondent 16)*

7.4 Data Display and Interpretation

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), data display is critical in qualitative data analysis. Data display is presentation of the codes and interrelationships using figures, charts, tables, graphs and other visual means for easier interpretation and analysis. Table 7.4 below presents a list of descriptive and pattern codes identified from the interview transcripts along with the themes and mechanisms explaining them.

Table 7.4

Qualitative Data Display: Codes, Themes and Mechanisms

Code	Themes and Mechanisms	Respondents
	<u>Descriptive Codes</u>	
Norm based PSM		14
	doing good for society	14
	providing meaningful public service	8
	doing good for community	6
	obligation to society, civic duty	5
Affective PSM		6
	sympathy and compassion to those in need	6
	personal feelings to inequality	5
	reliance on each other	1
Job satisfaction		17
	making difference	10
	being in the right position	8
	through purpose and commitment	7
Organisational commitment		15
	match between ideal and actual job	13
	sense of belonging	6
	organisation doing meaningful work	5
	emotional attachment	2
Intention to quit		7
	absence of training and mentorship	5
	inability to do what one wants to do	3
Wasta		16
	present in organisation	14
	influences hiring and promotion	12
	negative force	12
	obligatory, binding, socially enforced	11
	matters more than skills and qualifications	10
Institutional influences		16
	culture is important in defining social values	9

	culture is a source of wasta	7
	family is essential in defining public identity	7
	Religion socialisation is a guiding force in public service identity	6
Age		15
	older people are more socially oriented	13
	younger people are more socially oriented	2
Education		14
	Educated people are better equipped to perform public service and duties	5
	Highly educated people will question the models of public service	3
	Education is not as important as desire for public service	2
Length of service		6
	longer service helps develop commitment	3
	longer service may lead to disillusionment about public service	2
	longer service may lead to loss of interest	2
Gender		3
	women are more inclined and better equipped for public service	3
	<u>Pattern Codes</u>	
PSM leads to JS		16
	through meaningful public service	14
	through the ability to make a positive impact on society	12
	through empathy and compassion	6
PSM leads to OC		14
	through finding the right place to make an impact	11
	through finding the match between personal desires for public service and the position in an organisation	10
	through feeling that the organisational work is meaningful	9
Wasta negatively influences employee outcomes		17
	one cannot be satisfied with the job where wasta is common practice	13
	wasta breaks a sense of commitment, belonging and attachment to an organisation	10
	wasta makes people quit organisations	4
Wasta demotivates public servants		15
	Wasta, directly or indirectly, decreases public service intent and identity	12
	Public service becomes less meaningful and purposeful	8

	Wasta is emotionally damaging	5
	Wasta is driven by self-interest, not public interest	4
	Wasta brings a sense of helplessness	4
Strong Public Identity Overcomes the Negative Context		3
	Negative context increases quit intentions among people with high PSM	3
	Quit intentions do not result in actual leaves because of high PSM	3
Wasta Diminishes the Positive Impact of PSM		12
	Wasta decreases the positive effect of public service identity on job satisfaction	12
	Wasta decreases the positive effect of public service identity on organisational commitment	10
Individual Characteristics Matter		16
	Older participants are more satisfied with their jobs and are more committed	14
	People in supervisory positions are more committed and satisfied but for the reasons not related to PSM	9
	People with doctorate degrees are somewhat or rather dissatisfied with their positions	2

Data display, according to Miles and Huberman (1994), serve as the basis for analytic text, that is, interpretation of the data and the drawing of conclusions. Interpretation of the qualitative data is linked to the study hypotheses to clarify the relationships confirmed and not confirmed by the quantitative data analysis.

7.4.1 PSM and Employee Outcomes

In line with the results obtained by quantitative data analysis, the interviews showed a relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. One general conclusion is that the interviewees saw PSM as a source of job satisfaction and organisational commitment. However, norm based, rational aspect of PSM seemed to be much stronger than its affective counterpart. The interviewees more often talked about norm-based and rational dimensions when referring to motivation in the public service. Most commonly themes were obligation to

do good for the community and society and the provision of meaningful service. These themes relate strongly to the items of PSM1 construct. By contrast, less mention was made of compassion, sympathy and empathy.

Consequently, when speaking about the relationship between motivation, organisational commitment and job satisfaction, the interviewees most often referred to rational, norm-based aspects as the most influential. From the interviews, it follows that PSM leads to organisational commitment and job satisfaction through provision of meaningful public service and the ability to make a positive impact on the society. Additionally, a strong theme of a “match” between personal desires for public service and the respondents’ position in an organisation emerged which suggested the presence of fit mentioned in other studies, such (Kim, 2012; Wright and Pandey, 2008). While the survey did not reveal a relationship between PSM and intention to quit, the interviews demonstrated that individuals with high levels of PSM may exhibit stronger intentions to quit when *wasta* is present. The interviewees linked this to emotional states like being in “poor spirits” and feeling underappreciated.

7.4.2 *Wasta* and Employee Outcomes

In line with the study propositions and the survey data analyses, *wasta* was discussed largely in negative terms by the interviewees. The majority of the interviewees mentioned witnessing *wasta* in one way or another in their organisations. The general consensus was that *wasta* matters in hiring and promotion and that it is often more important than skills and qualifications. Consequently, *wasta* leads to lower job satisfaction in public service by breaking the notion of the public good and meaningful service. It also undermines a sense of commitment, belonging and attachment to an organisation thereby decreasing organisational commitment in public service. It was mentioned that *wasta* directly causes people to quit when they saw that they could not change the organisational environment.

7.4.3 *Wasta* and PSM

The qualitative data analysis also largely confirms the idea of *wasta*'s negative influences on PSM. *Wasta* causes individuals to feel that public service is less meaningful and purposeful and that personal interest prevails over public interest. It also brings a sense of hopelessness and elicits negative emotions which have a detrimental impact on service intent and identity. *Wasta* negative influences, therefore, were experienced both through rational and emotional aspects of PSM.

7.4.4 Mediating Effect of PSM

The mediating aspect of PSM could not be clearly assessed from the interviews. It was uncovered, however, that individuals with very high levels of PSM may be less affected by *wasta* and the negative organisational environment overall when it comes to employee outcomes. *Wasta* experiences tended to have a weak effect on job satisfaction and organisational commitment for those who self-described themselves as being high on PSM. The mechanisms of resistance could be extremely high level of commitment to do good for the society and desire to serve the public. Therefore, if any mediating effect was present, it was mostly based on norm based aspects of PSM.

7.4.5 Moderating Effects of *Wasta*

In line with the study propositions and findings in the survey analysis, interviewees agreed that *wasta* diminishes the positive impact of PSM on employee outcomes. Again, the most common mechanisms severing the link between PSM and job satisfaction and organisational commitment were the belief that personal interests prevail over public concern, loss of meaning in public service, and disillusionment with organisation's work.

7.4.6 Effects of Individual Characteristics

To a certain extent, the interviews revealed the same patterns of influence of individual characteristics on the hypothesised relationships as were uncovered in the course of

quantitative data analysis. In line with the results of the regression analysis, older participants demonstrated a greater degree of job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Similar effects were observed for people in supervisory positions. However, the reasons for a high degree of satisfaction and commitment for supervisors were different from PSM: higher salaries, good social packages and work stability were often discussed. Finally, in line with the quantitative data analysis, interviewees with doctorate degrees expressed stronger dissatisfaction with their positions. Explanatory factors were mostly emotional: being disappointed and feeling unable to change the working environment for the better.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter offered an analysis of the qualitative data collected for the study. In total, 20 interviews were conducted, and the interviewees were from the ranks of those who took participation in the survey. The sample was deemed sufficiently representative of the survey sample.

The analyses of qualitative data followed Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach and included data reduction through coding, data display and data interpretation. The major constructs investigated in the study could be identified from the interview transcripts with some clarifications with regards to their nature. Specifically, it was revealed that the interviewees assigned more weight to norm based and rational motives for public service and less to affective, emotional motives. Stronger links between such motives and employee outcomes of job satisfaction and organisational commitment were observed.

Pattern analyses of descriptive codes mostly replicated the results of the survey data analysis. Specifically, PSM was found to positively influence job satisfaction and organisational commitment but not intention to quit. A positive relationship with intention to quit was identified among the individuals who had high degrees of PSM and who observed waste. Emotional responses like being in "poor spirits" and feeling underappreciated were strong

factors in this. However, it seems that the increased quit intentions did not really translate into actual quitting behaviour when PSM is high. A negative relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes was also observed in the interviews. In line with the survey data analysis, *wasta* was found to negatively influence PSM by affecting both rational and emotional aspects of motivation. It was also found to negatively affect the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. However, it was also uncovered that higher levels of PSM suppress the negative relationships between *wasta*, job satisfaction and organisational commitment.

Examination of the response patterns based on the individual characteristics of the interviewees also suggested that age, supervision and education had effects on PSM and employee outcomes. Specifically, older interviewees had higher levels of PSM and generally reported stronger job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Similar patterns were noted for interviewees holding supervisory positions although their job satisfaction and organisational commitment seemed to be less influenced by PSM than by other factors (salary, social package, stability). Finally, the holders of doctorate degrees displayed the lowest levels of job satisfaction and organisational commitment.

The next chapter offers a comprehensive discussion of the study results, the major conclusions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a comprehensive discussion of the study results as well as the study's theoretical and practical implications. The first section discusses the findings in relation to the study research questions formulated in Chapter 1. The second section presents practical implications and contributions of the research. The third section discusses the study limitations. The final section outlines directions for future research.

8.2 Discussion of the Findings

The discussion of the study findings follows the research questions that were formulated in Chapter 1.

8.2.1 The Relationship between PSM and Employee Outcomes

The first research question addressed the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes in Saudi public organisations. The results of quantitative analyses showed that PSM was positively related to organisational commitment and job satisfaction. These findings were consistent with the findings of the majority of empirical investigations (i.e. Cerase and Farinella, 2009; Kim, 2012; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Park and Rainey, 2007; Taylor and Westover, 2011; Vandenabeele, 2009). It can be concluded that public service motives appeared to be important determinants of organisational commitment and job satisfaction of public service employees in Saudi Arabia.

Importantly, the relationships were confirmed for both norm-based rational aspects of PSM (represented by a combined variable of attraction to policy making and commitment to public interest) and affective emotional aspects (represented by a combined variable of compassion and self-sacrifice). However, the influences of norm-based rational aspects were stronger than the affective ones. This suggests that Saudi public service employees may be driven more by

rational and less by emotional motives to serve the public, and that these motives have stronger positive effect on employee outcomes. These findings were largely confirmed by the qualitative data analysis where norm-based rational motives were emphasised much more often. Specifically, analysis of the interviews revealed that organisational commitment and job satisfaction in public service are strongly seen within the aspects of meaningful service and doing good for the society. These two factors closely correspond to the rational and norm-based motives within the PSM framework.

According to Perry and Wise (1990), rational motives are activated whenever individuals associate themselves with a public programme with which they identify while norm-based motives are activated by the desire to do public good. As follows from the analysis of qualitative data, Saudi public service employees feel more satisfied with their jobs and committed to organisation and its cause when these two types of motives are present. The reason for such findings may be embedded within the cultural context.

Studies by Hofstede (1980, 1991) revealed that in collectivistic societies, personal interests are often subordinate to the interests of groups and societies in large. In Saudi Arabia, a country high on the collectivism scale and with work values based on Islam, which emphasize duty and obligation to the society, public service employees could derive their motivation from these normative prescriptions rather than individual personal feelings. While this study did not investigate this question directly, future studies could explore this assumption further. In any case, the role of context seems to be strong in defining both PSM and its relationship with employee outcomes in Saudi public sector.

For the sake of discussion, it should be mentioned that despite being the most comprehensive and widely used cultural framework, Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions have received their share of criticism. Perhaps the most popular strand of critique focuses on Hofstede's assumption of cultural homogeneity. Critics believe that his analysis fails to take into account the variety of

ethnic groups and cultural groups within nations and ignores community variations (i.e., Redpath, 1997; Smith, 1998). In a similar vein, there is an argument that nations cannot be accurate units of cultural analysis because cultures are not always confined within national borders and can even differ within those borders (DiMaggio, 1997; McSweeney, 2002). Other researchers have also pointed to such issues as the relevance of a survey to measure culture, generalising cultural phenomena from one company, a lack of dimensions representing the culture concept, and a lack of statistical integrity (Jones, 2007; Schwartz, 1999; Søndergaard 1994).

As the debates regarding the applicability of Hofstede's framework for cultural assessments and explanations continue, it is reasonable to look for alternative explanations for the findings in this study. One possible explanation, and an interesting area to explore in future studies, could be the role of gender representation in the sample. Gender differences in a public context and in relation to PSM have been demonstrated by a number of studies (Bright, 2005; Groeneveld et al., 2011; Steijn, 2008). Interestingly, however, the nature of these differences vary in different contexts. For example, Perry (1997) and Lee and Lee (2009) found that men had higher scores on the public interest and self-sacrifice dimensions of PSM. Moynihan and Pandey (2007), however, found that women had a stronger score on the attraction to policy making dimension, while Wright and Christensen (2009) found that women were higher on compassion dimension. Finally, Groeneveld et al. (2011) found that male public sector employees were higher on the normative and rational dimension while women were higher on the affective dimension of PSM. It is possible that in line with Groeneveld et al., this study's male dominant sample expressed stronger normative and rational aspects expressed by PSM1 variable. This does not, of course, exclude other possible explanations. Organisational structure, administration and job related practices as well as hiring and recruitment could also have contributed to the presence of positive effects reported in the study.

Unlike organisational commitment and job satisfaction, PSM did not show a relationship with intention to quit. Therefore, while PSM had a positive direct effect on some employee outcomes in Saudi public sector, it was not an influence for all outcomes. However, there is no universally accepted view of PSM's effect on intention to quit as there is empirical evidence both in favour and against the relationship (i.e. Bright, 2008; Caillier, 2014; Na and Zhu, 2010; Naff and Crum, 1999; Park and Rainey, 2008). Such variation in outcomes is likely to be caused by the presence of contextual factors which could influence the relationship and even its direction. In line with this view, a positive relationship between PSM and intention to quit was observed when *wasta* was introduced to the regression analysis. Qualitative data analysis also revealed that individuals with high levels of PSM may exhibit stronger intentions to quit when *wasta* was present. The interviewees linked this to emotional states like being in "poor spirits" and feeling underappreciated. Therefore, contextual factors may produce a relationship between PSM and intention to quit where no such relationship existed without contextual considerations.

8.2.2 Influence of *Wasta* on Employee Outcomes

The second research question addressed the relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes. *Wasta* was regarded as the key institutional influence on employee outcomes in the Saudi context. *Wasta* is an undesirable yet almost inevitable institution that could negatively affect employee outcomes among the public service employees in Saudi Arabia. Both the pervasive nature of *wasta* and its negative role in organisational settings were extensively discussed by the interview participants. This was in line with the views on *wasta* and similar institutions reported elsewhere (e.g. Arasli and Tumer, 2009; Hayajneh et al., 1994; Keles et al., 2011; Tlaiss and Kausser, 2010). The majority of the interviewees mentioned witnessing *wasta* in one way or another in their organisation. The general consensus was that *wasta* matters in hiring and promotion and that it is often more important than skills and qualifications.

The negative impact of *wasta* on employee outcomes was strongly supported by the study results. Analyses of the quantitative data showed a negative influence of *wasta* on organisational commitment and job satisfaction and a positive influence on intention to quit. Such findings supported the existing empirical literature on similar negative institutional influences (i.e., Abdallah et al., 1998; Arasli et al., 2006; Arasli and Tumer, 2008; Bute, 2011; Daskin et al., 2013; Keles et al., 2011). Overall, it can be concluded that *wasta* had a direct negative influence on employee outcomes. Qualitative analysis further suggested that *wasta* affected employee outcomes in a negative way by breaking the notion of the public good and meaningful service, a sense of commitment and a sense of belonging.

8.2.3 Influence of *Wasta* on PSM

The third research question addressed the relationship between *wasta* and PSM. A negative relationship between *wasta* and PSM was found. Analysis of the survey data revealed that *wasta* was negatively related to both the norm-based rational and the affective aspects of PSM. This was further confirmed by interviewees whereby *wasta* leads to the notion that public service is less meaningful and purposeful and that it brings a sense of hopelessness and negative emotions which can have an adverse impact on service intent and identity. *Wasta's* negative influences, therefore, were experienced both through rational and emotional aspects of PSM. Overall, the outcomes of the study confirmed and contributed to the small number of studies reporting negative influences of *wasta* and related institutions (such as nepotism and cronyism) on employee motivation (Abdallah et al., 1998; Hayajneh et al., 1994; Daskin et al., 2013).

At the core of both Process Theory and an Institutional Perspective on PSM is the proposition that institutional context should influence an individual's motivation for public service (Perry, 2001; Vandenabeele, 2008). This study showed that the institutional context negatively influences motivation in public service through the institution of *wasta*. The consistency of the study findings with a range of theoretical perspectives comes from the self-regulation process

within an institutional perspective on PSM. This follows from the insights acquired in the course of qualitative data analyses. As was explained in the theoretical part of the paper (see Chapter 2), the self-regulation process within the institutional perspective on PSM can be examined through the lens of the theoretical propositions within of the Process Theory of PSM, Social Cognitive Theory, Self-Determination Theory, Predisposition-Opportunity Theory and Goal Setting Theory. Below I shall summarise the relevancy of this study findings within these theories.

Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1986) posits that individuals evaluate actions in line with their internal standards. Consequently, behaviour is more likely to be driven by PSM if the internal standards against which it is judged are in line with public institution grounded identities (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). However, when internal standards are aligned with different identities and values, PSM's influence on behaviour may be less defined. Within the PSM identity, individuals identify themselves with the community and society as a whole, however, *wasta* leads to association with the family. Over the course of interviews, extended families were mentioned as an essential component of *wasta*. Consequently, it was often mentioned that *wasta* was given because of familial obligations. As a result, due to the standards of behaviour associated with *wasta*, individuals would care less for performing public duty and more about fulfilling obligations to members of their extended family.

The findings are also consistent with Self-Determination Theory which suggests that if an environment satisfies the psychological needs of an individual, internalisation of values takes place: internal regulation takes place of external regulation of behaviour (Deci and Ryan, 2004). In relation to PSM, individuals, according to Self-Determination Theory, would develop a high level of motivation to serve the public after spending some time in the environment of a public organisation (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). However, *wasta* institution may interfere with this. Individuals who are not receivers of *wasta* may become dissatisfied with the entire

organisational environment and, therefore, less motivated to serve the public. This is exactly what was uncovered from the qualitative data analyses. *Wasta* was seen as breaking the notion of satisfaction with public service. This was especially evident from the interviewees who claimed to have experienced *wasta* and became disappointed in the environment where they work.

Predisposition-Opportunity Theory (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982) suggests that commitment to the organisation and consequent positive behaviour and contributions are possible only when the incentive systems match individual motives. In relation to PSM, self-regulated public service motivated behaviour will take place only if organisational incentives for meaningful public service match with the personal desire of individuals to perform such service. The notion of a “match” between an ideal of public service work and the position occupied by public servants was often mentioned during the interviews, but was regarded as an idea under threat by people who witnessed *wasta*. On the other side of the spectrum, there were extremely satisfied and committed interviewees in the supervisory positions who did not associate such outcomes with the ability to serve the public. Instead, high salaries, good social packages and stability of employment were mentioned as motivators. In other words, extrinsic motivators, including *wasta*, could play an important role in shaping employee behaviour. While only two of the interviewees admitted to have been given *wasta*, there is a high likelihood that there were more among the ranks of the interviewees.

Finally, Goal-Setting Theory (Latham and Locke, 1991) proposes the idea that motivation is purposeful. The key concept within the theory is goals – “applications of values to specific situations” (Locke, 1991, p. 292). In relation to PSM, this theory is used to propose that the presence of public identity increases goal commitment and, therefore, motivation (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Such individuals, according to the Goal Setting Theory, will perceive goals related to public service as more important and difficult to achieve. While this was

definitely the case for the majority of the interviewees, many complained that they became less committed to both public service and their organisations after witnessing *wasta* because their ideals were tainted. Seeing personal interest prevailing over a public service identity made these employees less satisfied with their jobs and with their organisations.

While it was generally demonstrated that through self-regulation processes *wasta* damages the link between PSM and employee outcomes, an interesting observation from the interviews was that for individuals with self-reported “high” or “very high” level of PSM, organisational commitment and job satisfaction remained unchanged even in presence of *wasta*. This finding deserves further investigation because it suggests that at certain level of PSM the negative contextual environment may have little influence on outcomes. Future investigations may consider whether differences in contextual influences on employees with higher and lower levels of PSM indeed exist.

8.2.4 Mediation Role of PSM in Wasta-Employee Outcomes Relationship

The fourth research question investigated the possible mediating role of PSM on the relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes. Because *wasta* was shown to have a negative effect on employee outcomes and PSM was shown to have a positive effect on them, it was assumed that a mediating effect of PSM could be present. The results of the study partially confirmed the mediating effects of PSM adding to the body of literature that reported similar effects although in different contexts and with different contextual variables, such as (i.e. Giauque et al. 2013; Gould-Williams et al., 2014; Kassim and Mokhber, 2015; Mostafa et al., 2015). However, the effects in this study were significant only for the norm-based rational aspect of PSM, not affective aspect. This was further confirmed by the qualitative data analysis where interviewees did not mention emotion related aspects of PSM (like compassion and empathy) as something that could contribute to stronger organisational commitment and job satisfaction in presence of *wasta*.

Such findings can be explained through the relationship between the collectivistic emphasis of the Saudi society and the norm-based attitudes it promotes. Studies by Hofstede (1980, 1991) revealed that in collectivistic societies personal interests are often subordinate to the interests of groups and societies in large. In Saudi Arabia, a country high on the collectivism scale and with work values based on Islam, which emphasize duty and obligation to the society, public service employees could derive their motivation from these normative prescriptions rather than individual personal feelings. This is also in line with the ideas of normative conformity and social action. According to Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982, p. 215), normative conformity provides a plausible consideration in motivation through social norms and actions that it creates. Social action “combines elements of voluntary individual will and collectivism represented by internalisation of social norms” and the normative regulation through these norms “determines the ends sought and sets constraints on the means used to pursue these ends”.

It is also worth mentioning that the mediating effects of PSM were somewhat weak with the proportions of mediation of 10.0% for organisational commitment, 8.3% for job satisfaction and 10.3% for intention to quit. In other words, while an indirect effect of PSM was observed, the low level of variance explained suggested the presence of other mediating variables, which future research may attempt to identify.

8.2.5 Moderation Role of *Wasta* in PSM-Employee Outcomes Relationship

The fifth and final research question in the study addressed the possible moderation effects of *wasta* on the PSM-employee outcomes relationship. Survey data analyses showed negative moderating effects of *wasta* on the relationships between PSM and job satisfaction and organisational commitment. In other words, *wasta* was found to reduce the degree to which PSM positively influenced job satisfaction and organisational commitment. The observed moderating effects of the contextual variable were in line with the recently reported findings

with regards to other moderators in the PSM-employee outcomes relationship (i.e. Homberg et al., 2015; Liu and Tang, 2011; Shrestha and Mishra, 2015; van Loon et al., 2015). The findings are also consistent with both Process Theory and the institutional perspective on PSM which claim that contextual factors play an important role in the PSM-outcomes relationships (Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2008). They also provide evidence that institutional effects may be negative as well as positive.

Qualitative data analyses helped uncover several ways through which *wasta* created a context that had negative effects on the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. Specifically, in the presence of *wasta* public service employees developed the belief that personal interests prevail over public concern, lost the meaning in public service, and became disillusioned with organisation's work. This is a direct reference to the norm-based rational dimension of PSM which includes attraction to policymaking and commitment to public interest. *Wasta* seems to damage the concept of social justice and desire to do good for society more strongly than a willingness to forego personal benefit for others or compassion. Social justice, according to Perry (1996), is an important normative anchor in PSM which is also linked to the concept of social equity. *Wasta* erodes the notion of social equity through provision of benefits at the expense of others. And again, the interview respondents did not mention emotion related aspects of PSM (like compassion and empathy) as something that could contribute to stronger organisational commitment and job satisfaction in presence of *wasta*. This may explain why the negative effect of *wasta* was stronger for norm-based rational dimension's (PSM1) relationship with employee outcomes.

The negative impact of *wasta* was also stronger for job satisfaction than for organisational commitment. In other words, in presence of *wasta*, public service employees were more likely to be dissatisfied with their jobs rather than express lower commitment to an organisation. Such difference may be explained by the presence of such factor as job security. Public sector

employment in Saudi Arabia, as was mentioned earlier, has been traditionally seen as superior for employees in terms of compensation and work benefits. This fact may contribute to the general desire to remain in the organisation and, in fact, absence of moderating effects on intention to quit. Exploration of the possible effects of perceived work benefits may offer an additional contribution to an institutional perspective on PSM.

8.3 Practical Implications

Several important practical implications can be drawn from this study. Public organisations should strive to improve the experiences of employees at work. Such experiences, however, are almost certainly shaped by the institutional context. Because, as demonstrated, the influences of institutions can be both positive and negative, the task of management is to identify the relevant institutional factors, examine their roles and, whenever possible, manage them by enhancing the impact of the positive institutions and reducing the impact of negative institutions.

Specifically, in line with this research, *wasta* was shown as a negative institution for public employees' motivation and outcomes. This is in line with previous research reporting on the widespread nature of *wasta* and its negative outcomes in organisational settings in the Middle East (Abdallah et al., 1998; Tlaiss and Kausser, 2011). It is recommended therefore that *wasta* should be actively screened and eliminated as a practice within public organisations. One way to do this could be through regular anonymous employee surveys and establishment of the hotlines for reporting *wasta* incidence so that appropriate investigations and actions are undertaken. This can be linked to the practice of whistleblowing in public organisations – the practice of reporting on malpractices and misdeeds in the workplace (Lewis and Uys, 2007). In relation to public organisations, whistleblowing practices help identify the existing deficiencies and correct them (Brewer and Selden, 1998; Gobert and Punch, 2000). It can improve organisational operations and, therefore, help in fulfilling the primary tasks of serving

society. It is very likely then that individuals with high levels of PSM would be willing to report of *wasta* practices. This is further supported by research. A study in collectivistic societies like Croatia suggested that individuals are driven by values of collectivism and, therefore, are more likely to be whistle-blowers (Tavakoli et al., 2003).

Public organisations can also establish clear guidelines against *wasta* practices and include anti-*wasta* clauses in the employment contracts. This is desirable because there is no comprehensive law in the Kingdom addressing *wasta*. In the developed countries, nepotism often falls under the conflicts of interest section of administrative law. For example, the US Code openly prohibits employment of relatives by public officials unless the latter is the most eligible candidate (*5 U.S. Code § 3110*). In the absence of similar laws in Saudi Arabia, public organizations, however, can establish own codes of similar kind. Such actions are consistent with the theoretical propositions of Social Cognitive Theory by establishing strong internal standards of public service to increase employee motivation for public service.

Because PSM in this study showed its importance in the context of public organisations, preferences for candidates with higher level of PSM is desirable for public service positions. As a result, public service organisations in Saudi Arabia should seriously consider including PSM level as a component of the hiring decisions. One strategy for attracting workforce high in PSM is to create images of organisations that are deeply committed to serving the public interest and offering opportunities to make a difference in the society and the community (Leisink and Steijn, 2008). Predisposition Opportunity Theory proposes that self-regulated public service behaviour is more likely to take place when organisational incentives correspond to identities of individuals. If, therefore, incentives can be aligned with public identities to ensure that individual behaviour will be directed by public service motives (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). An example of such incentives is performance appraisals that reflect and, therefore, encourage development of competencies relevant to public service. Such appraisals

can be integrated within the usual task-related appraisals. Another possible strategy could be establishing opportunities to meet with the beneficiaries of the provided public service. Such programmes should establish a strong organisational image of a public service organisation where personal motives to serve the public can be fully realised.

Being a multidimensional construct, PSM can produce different motivational profiles as was demonstrated in this study. Therefore, another important practical implication deals with the notion of PSM and the split between its norm-based rational and affective emotional aspects. The literature suggests that different PSM profiles can be associated with different perceptions of meaningful public service and doing good for society in terms of job tasks and policies (Andersen et al., 2013; Kjeldsen, 2012). For example, an emotionally driven PSM profile that places emphasis on compassion and empathy was found to better correspond to work tasks related to service production while norm-based PSM profile was found to better associate with service regulation jobs (Kjeldsen, 2012). Service production positions involve direct service to beneficiaries and social interaction with them while service regulation involves decisions about eligibility of individuals for public assistance based on rules and standards within legal and administrative frameworks. More specifically, individuals with higher affective dimension of PSM are likely to enjoy work that allows them contact with the service beneficiaries and immediately observe the results of their work. Individuals with high norm-based PSM profiles could be better in the positions that analyse the status of potential service recipients' and making decisions about public service eligibility.

8.4 Study Contributions

Within an institutional perspective on PSM, this study presented a conceptual framework investigating direct and indirect relationships between PSM, employee outcomes and a particular institution (wasta). For the most part, the study provided support for the fundamental

relationships and further clarified their nature. The contributions provided by the study are both theoretical and methodological.

8.4.1 Theoretical Contributions

The first important theoretical contribution of the study is in researching PSM within a new, non-westernised collectivistic national context and examining the role of this context in shaping PSM and its outcomes. The major theoretical views on PSM, The Process Theory and an institutional perspective, assign a strong role to the context (Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2008). This study contributed to the growing international PSM research (i.e. Giauque et al., 2013; Houston, 2011; Kim, 2009b, 2012; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Norris, 2003; Vandenabeele et al., 2008) by applying the theory within the context of public management in Saudi Arabia. Two major contributions arose from this extension of PSM theory. First, the study expanded geographical and cultural applications of PSM theory by confirming the existence of PSM and its positive influences on employee outcomes in the context of Saudi public organisations. Second, while the motivation of employees has emerged as a popular scholarship topic in Saudi Arabia (Aamir et al., 2012; Alamri and Zuraikat, 2011; Ghazanfar and Alhomide, 1994; Jehanzeb et al., 2012; Kashmiri, 2009), there has been no consistently applied theory to examine the relationships between motivation and employee outcomes. PSM could be a basis for such examinations as the statistically significant relationships in this study suggest. The current state of research on PSM in the Middle East and Saudi Arabia in particular is still in its infancy, but this study may serve as a foundation for further theory development and empirical investigations.

Second, analysis of PSM in new contexts inevitably brings questions about the role of institutions. Institutional theorists believe that institutions model individual preferences and constrain individual behavioural alternatives (March and Olsen, 1995; Steuneberg et al., 1996). Such influence can be direct, by means of influencing employee behaviours and attitudes such

as organisational commitment, job satisfaction or intention to quit and indirect by means of influencing the context within which these behaviours are supposed to arise. This study used an institutional perspective on PSM as a basis for analysis by considering the role of *wasta* - a strong element of Arabic culture as one of the major institution affecting work relationships in Saudi Arabian public sector. The findings of the study affirmed the effect of institutions by confirming the major relationships between *wasta*, PSM and employee outcomes as well as the moderating role of *wasta*. Such findings not only supported an institutional perspective on PSM but also helped partially fill two major gaps in institutional PSM research.

The first research gap filled is related to the role of macro-institutions on PSM and its outcomes. This role has received attention from public administration researchers only recently. The effects of macro-institutions are not readily observable and may often be indirect (Vandenabeele et al., 2014). However, studies did show that PSM can be influenced by public sector employment, cultural belonging, and country-citizenship (Vandenabeele and Van de Walle 2008; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013). This study expands the available knowledge by showing that culturally driven institutions like *wasta* could play a definitive role in public motivations and employee outcomes.

The second research gap filled is related to exploration of negative institutional effects on PSM and employee outcomes. Institutional theorists emphasise that institutional rules and norms can either support or restrict behaviours (March and Olsen, 1989; Scott, 2001). However, institutional influences in relation to PSM have nearly all been explored from a positive side (i.e. Brewer, 2003; Bright, 2005; Camillieri, 2007; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe et al. 2006; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen, 2013; Perry, 1997; Perry et al., 2008; Vandenabeele, 2011, 2014). Still, evidence from some studies suggested that institution may also provide negative contributions to PSM (i.e., Giauque et al., 2013; Grant and Campbell, 2007; Taylor, 2013; Van Den Broeck et al., 2008). This study confirmed that negative institutional influences do have a place in

relation to PSM and some key employee outcomes. This provides a valuable insight into the institutional perspective on PSM by suggesting that the impact of institutions on PSM may not be purely beneficial. This is especially true with regards to macro-institutions such as *wasta*. Finally, an important theoretical contribution was examination of both direct and indirect institutional and PSM effects on employee outcomes. Given the lack of clarity behind the mechanisms that influence the link between PSM and employee outcomes, this study answered calls for tests of the mediating and moderating effects of contextual variables (i.e., Bright 2008; Brewer, 2010; Christensen and Wright, 2011; Kjeldsen and Andersen, 2013; Steijn, 2008; Taylor, 2008). The findings of the study suggested that *wasta* was an important moderator of PSM effect on employee outcomes while the norm-based rational aspect of PSM was found to mediate the relationship between *wasta* and employee outcomes.

Taking these contributions together, it can be concluded that the concept of PSM is useful in helping us explain context-specific cultural and institutional influences in public service. On the one hand, this study has demonstrated that the ideas underlying PSM are common across different cultural spectra. On the other hand, as was demonstrated in many previous studies and in this particular research, PSM tends to vary in terms of strength, expression (represented by dimensionality) and effects. This variation is subject to institutional influences which, as this research shows, can be culturally driven and have either positive or negative impact on PSM and its outcomes. The importance of contextual influences on PSM open up possibilities for a wide range of research applications beyond as well as within the public service.

8.4.2 Methodological Contributions

An important methodological contribution of this study was the use of a mixed-methodology design which allowed to not only analyse the relationships between PSM, *wasta* and employee outcomes but also acquire insights into the nature of these relationships. This is an especially valuable contribution given the fact that the dynamics of the PSM-employee outcomes

relationship remain largely unknown (Bright 2008; Brewer, 2010; Christensen and Wright, 2011; Kjeldsen and Andersen, 2013; Steijn, 2008; Wright, 2008).

Qualitative data analyses provided valuable clarifications of the mechanisms at play. For example, it was revealed that PSM leads to organisational commitment and job satisfaction through provision of meaningful public service and the ability to make a positive impact on society. Additionally, a strong theme of a “match” between personal desires for public service and the position in an organisation emerged which suggested the presence of fit mentioned in other studies. It was also uncovered that *wasta* leads to lower job satisfaction in public service by undermining the notion of the public good and meaningful service and that it breaks a sense of commitment, belonging and attachment to an organisation thereby decreasing organisational commitment in public service. In relation to PSM, *Wasta* causes public servants to believe that public service is less meaningful and purposeful and that self-interest prevails over the public interest. It also brings a sense of hopelessness and negative emotions which are detrimental to service intent and identity. All these findings provided useful additional information on the works of PSM and institutions in relation to employee outcomes.

Another important methodological contribution of the study was the validation and application of an international PSM instrument. Given the fact that the original PSM measures were developed in the context of American government organisations, researchers have questioned the universality of their psychological meanings and psychometric properties in other socio-cultural contexts (Cerase and Farinella, 2009; Coursey and Pandey, 2007; Giauque et al., 2011; Kim, 2009a; Kim, 2011; Ritz and Waldner, 2011;). In addition, other researchers have called for the development of a more consistent and reliable instrument of PSM that could be used across different cultures (Castaing, 2006; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Liu et al., 2008; Taylor, 2007; Vandenabeele, 2008; Wright, 2008; Wright and Pandey, 2008). The instrument used in this research was based on Kim (2009a), and it showed excellent item validity and reliability.

The resulting measure of PSM was split into two factors; however, it should be kept in mind that these factors aligned well with the different types of motives that comprise PSM. Therefore, use of international survey instrument is suggested as a valuable approach for further investigations of PSM in various cultural contexts.

8.5 Study Limitations

While this study offered some important findings of both theoretical and practical nature, they should be used with consideration of certain limitations. One important limitation of the study was application of a cross-sectional design which might not have provided clear information on the direction of the relationships between the variables of the study (causality). The findings should therefore be interpreted based on levels of association between the variables. Longitudinal studies could offer better views on causality between the investigated variables.

Another important limitation was the use of convenience sampling. The study surveyed and interviewed public service professional from the Saudi Ministry of Education and may not be generalised to the entire context of public organisations.

Another limitation was related to the sequential explanatory study design. This approach required substantial investments of time and effort to collect and analyse quantitative and qualitative data. Typical for such a research design, some discrepancies arising in the interpretation of the findings from quantitative and qualitative analyses were difficult to resolve.

From the perspective of individual levels of commitment, PSM and intention to quit, an important limitation could be the lack of control over the reforms taking place within the education sector. As was explained early in the thesis, Saudi Arabia has been trying to reform its public sector by following the Malaysian example. Such reforms are intended to increase efficiency and performance of public sector by switching from the traditional to more market-oriented approaches. Still, it was noted that the progress of these reforms has been extremely

slow, which suggests that their effects on the relationships identified in this study may not be very strong.

Finally, the effect of only one institution, albeit very strong, was investigated in the course of the study. The significant results may suggest the influence of institutions on PSM and employee outcomes but such institutions may be numerous and their effects different.

8.6 Directions for Further Research

This study provides an opportunity for a number of promising directions for future research. First, as follows from one of the major study limitations, cross-sectional analysis is not much use in establishing causal effects between the study variables. A more explicit view on causal relationship may be offered by longitudinal studies of PSM and institutional influences in the context of Saudi public organisations. The major advantages of such research would be stronger causal links and the ability to observe changes in PSM and institutional influences over time. Both can be evaluated on the basis of stability and variability. The relationship dynamics would be another important factor to consider in order to explore, for example, whether increasing PSM levels lead to better employee outcomes over time despite presence of negative institutional factors.

Second, while reviewing Social Cognitive Theory, Self-Determination Theory, Predisposition-Opportunity Theory and Goal Setting Theory for explanations of *wasta* influences on self-regulation process and, by extension, on public service motivation, this study did not examine these assumptions directly. The references were made through qualitative data analysis which does not clearly establish associations put forward within these theories. Future studies may examine the core assumptions within these theories, how they align with institutions and employee motivations in public service, and whether they can explain the self-regulation influences proposed here.

Third, this study showed the importance of context in analysing the relationships between PSM and employee outcomes, but, as was mentioned, one institution cannot serve as a good indicator of all institutional influences. To investigate these influences further, more complex models, perhaps including other institutional influences, could be used. Although this study controlled for the influence of religion and family socialisation, the context within which public service takes place is grounded in many more institutions that could be relevant. It can be assumed, for example, that marriage could serve as a supporting factor for PSM by creating a stronger sense of responsibility and concern for others. Organisational rules and standards could either encourage or discourage development of PSM. Legal frameworks within which public service provision takes place as well as general political environment could shape general views on public service and either motivate or demotivate public servants. These are just a few examples of the wide area of possibilities that the institutional perspective offers for analyses. Studying the effect of various institutions should provide a better understanding of contextual influences and even provide evidence of varied contextual influences at different levels (micro, meso- and macro-levels). Finally, it could be analysed whether and if such influences are direct and/or indirect. Mediation and moderation models could be especially helpful in this regard considering that the strengths of the mediation and moderation effects produced in this study was relatively low.

Fourth, speaking of contextual effects, the outcomes of the qualitative analysis in this study suggested that at some point relatively high levels of PSM may make employees indifferent to negative contextual influences on employee outcomes. In other words, employees with high PSM may perform better, be more satisfied with their jobs and be stronger committed even in presence of negative contextual factors. Future researchers may explore this assertion by examining possible differences between institutional influences on employee outcomes for those relatively high and low on PSM.

Fifth, this study considered only a limited number of employee outcomes. Organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit may provide valuable insight on the works of PSM and context in public service organisations but they cannot alone reflect the full complexity of motivational and institutional effects on public servants. Inclusion of additional employee outcomes in the future models may provide much fuller understanding of such influences. Measures of productivity and performance, for example, could demonstrate whether PSM, in fact, leads to better organisational outcomes based on organisational mission and purpose. Measures of effort and involvement could show to what degree PSM enhances interest and participation in public organisation services. Measures of cooperation could demonstrate whether PSM results in mutual support in the workplace in providing public services.

Sixth, in relation to PSM, future studies may explore the link between cultural dimensions and PSM aspects that matter most. For example, this study uncovered that for Saudi public workers, norm-based rational aspects of PSM are much stronger than affective emotional aspects. According to Hofstede (1980), Saudi culture is high in terms of power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity but low on individualism and time orientation. Hofstede described Saudi Arabia as a normative society, which appears to be reflected in the strength of the norm-based PSM dimension for Saudi public servants. However, whether each, any or all of the cultural dimensions have an effect on PSM formation was out of scope of the study. There is some evidence that cultural dimensions may matter as the work of Vandenberg et al. (2008) showed; however, no empirical specifics of such influences are available especially for the non-westernised world.

Seventh, an important aspect of PSM research could be investigation of its possible negative effects. Recently, some researchers started investigating such influences with promising results. For example, in series of works Giauque et al. (2012, 2013) found that PSM was related

to resigned satisfaction, that is, diminished care for social work as well as increased work stress. Other researchers theorised about the possible frustration related to low societal impact that could lead to poorer performance among employees with high levels of PSM (Grant and Campbell 2007; Taylor 2013). Van Loon (2015) found that the PSM-employee wellbeing relationship is influenced by the social impact potential: higher burnout and lower job satisfaction may relate to either sacrificing self too much for public service or, on the contrary, frustration from the lack of personal contribution to public good. These findings and the findings of this research point to the possible negative effects of context. Whether context has something to do with the negative consequences of PSM as much it does with the positive consequences of PSM is another interesting area for future research.

Finally, this study offers a great foundation for application of PSM theory in the context of Saudi public organisations. As was mentioned, a comprehensive theory of motivation in public sector has yet to be developed for Saudi Arabia. The findings of this study provide a good starting point for investigations of PSM and its role in public organisations in the country.

8.7 Reflections On Undertaking the Research

When the topic and the conceptual framework of this study were finally decided, I at first had doubts with regards to feasibility of data collection. In my society, *wasta* is present literally everywhere, although people are not likely to talk about it openly.

It turned out, however, that when given confidence and the assurance of privacy, many speak about this topic freely. I was even surprised about the enthusiasm expressed by the people whom I interviewed face-to-face as they were willing to lay out their thoughts about *wasta* and its effects in the Saudi public sector. I was even thanked by some interviewees for letting them express their frustration with *wasta* practices and their alleged effects on their work and psychological well-being. From this standpoint, my initial worries about nervousness of

respondents and their unwillingness to discuss what seemed to be an uneasy topic thankfully did not materialise.

Still, one topic remained virtually closed. While the study participants were ready to speak about experiencing and observing *wasta* at their workplace, almost no one would speak about using the practice themselves. It, therefore, remains clear that *wasta* remains a taboo topic when it comes to personal uses. An interesting outcome therefore emerges: Saudis seem ready to denounce *wasta* at the workplace while not denying its uses for themselves when needed. To me this just shows how strongly *wasta* is embedded within my culture whether we like it or not.

My personal experiences also involve *wasta* socialisation and practices that extend well beyond workplace settings. I do believe that this practice is inconsistent with efficiency and productivity in organisational settings, though it does seem that it will be extremely challenging to completely get rid of it in the observable future.

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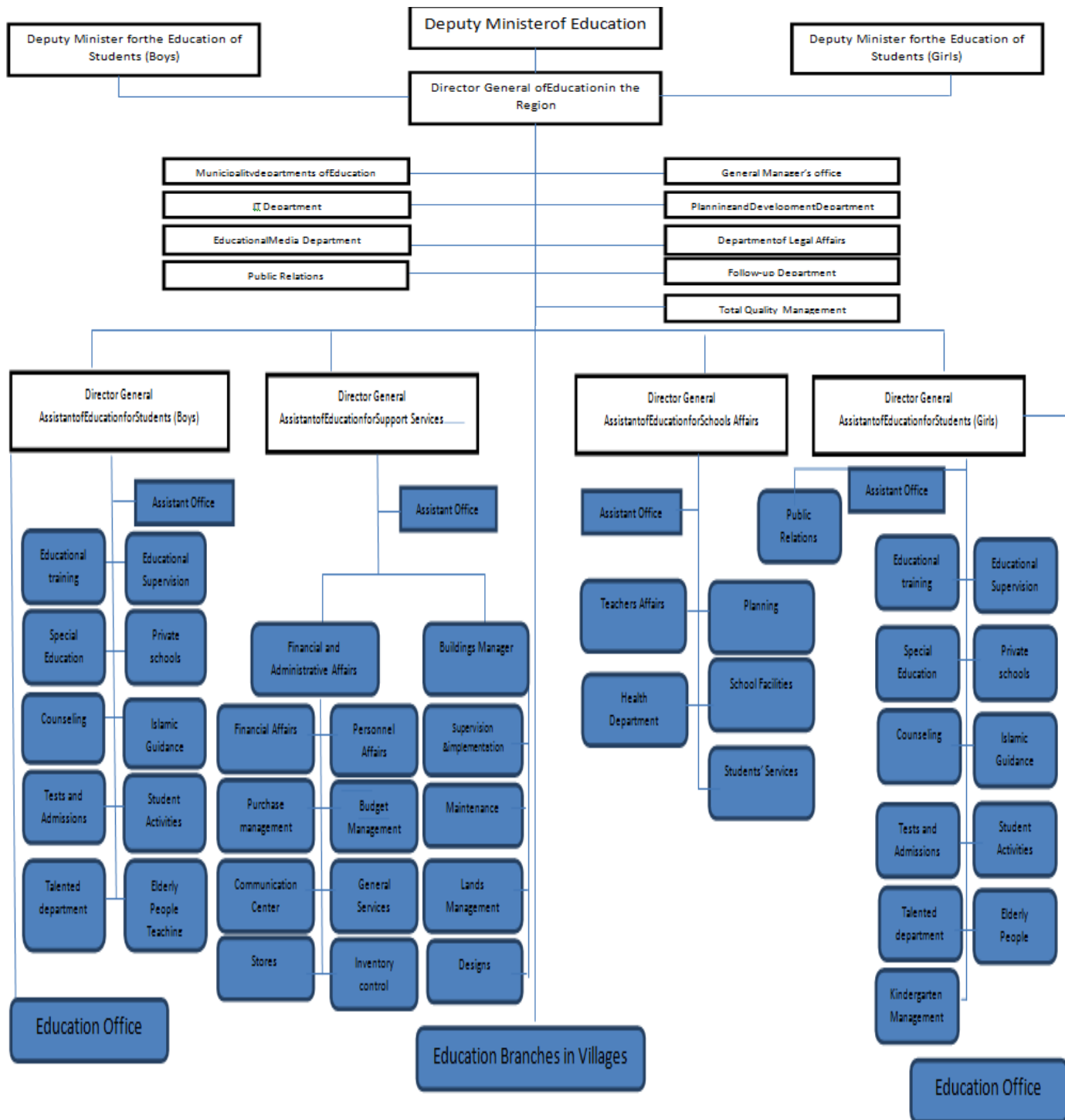
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Appendix A: Structure of Saudi Ministry of Education



Appendix B: Study Questionnaire in English

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

This questionnaire is the primary data collection tool for a doctorate project investigating certain aspects of Public Service Motivation (PSM) in Saudi public organisations. PSM is a theory that predicts that employees in public organisations are driven by special motivational factors different from material compensation. The purpose of the project is to explore and analyse whether the institution of (wasta) makes a difference to the relationship between public service motivation and employee outcomes such as organisational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit. The project is a partial fulfilment of the requirements of Cardiff University Doctor of Philosophy title. The project is carried out by Saleh Alreshoodi, a Ph.D. student.

The questionnaire is addressed at employees of Saudi public organisations, like yourself, to enquire about personal experiences and beliefs about work motivation at workplace and its impact on employee outcomes. The questionnaire consists of five parts:

- Part I: General Information
- Part II: Public Service Motivation
- Part III: Wasta Experience
- Part IV: Employee Outcomes
- Part V: Social Participation

The questionnaire should take you about 30 minutes to complete. Please, give your views freely. The survey is **STRICTLY ANONYMOUS**. All answers will be treated in **COMPLETE CONFIDENCE** and findings will be reported at an aggregate level only.

HOW TO COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE

To answer the questionnaire items, simply tick the point that best matches your own experience or belief. **THERE ARE NO RIGHT AND WRONG ANSWERS**. Please, note that each question should be answered just once. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at reshodi@hotmail.com or 0554884988

Saleh A Alreshoodi

PhD student

Cardiff Business School,

Cardiff, UK

Part I: General Information

This section seeks general information about yourself and your position in the organisation. It covers important background information for this research. Please, select one answer for every question.

1. What is your gender?

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. To what age group do you belong?

18 to 30 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
31 to 40 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
41 to 50 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
Over 50	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. What is the highest level of education you attained?

High school diploma	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bachelor degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Master degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Doctorate degree	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Do you supervise employees?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. What is your length of service in years?

	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 to 10 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
11 to 20 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
Over 20 years	<input type="checkbox"/>

Part II: Public Service Motivation

This section asks you about important aspects of public service. Please, indicate agreement or disagreement with the provided statements on a 7-point scale. Please, select ONE answer only.

6. I am interested in making public programmes that are beneficial for my country or the community to which I belong

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Sharing my views on public policies with others is attractive to me

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Seeing people get benefits from the public programme I have been deeply involved in brings me a great deal of satisfaction

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. I consider public service my civic duty

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Meaningful public service is very important to me

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community even if it harmed my interests

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. I am often reminded by daily events how dependent we are on one another

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. I feel sympathetic to the plight of the underprivileged

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. I believe in putting duty before self

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Part III: Wasta Experience

This section asks about your experiences and perceptions of *wasta* at workplace.

Please, indicate agreement or disagreement with the provided statements on a 7-point scale. Please, select ONE answer only.

18. Wasta is important for recruitment and promotion in my organisation

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. To get a good position in my organisation, wasta is more important than what you know

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Wasta is more important in my organisation than qualifications and work experience

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Wasta is commonly used at my workplace

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Part IV: Employee Outcomes

This section asks you to give your opinions about working in your organisation. Please, indicate agreement or disagreement with the provided statements on a 7-point scale. Please, select ONE answer only.

22. Overall, I am satisfied with my job

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. I feel emotionally attached to this organisation

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. I really feel as if this organisation's problems are my own

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. I feel a strong sense of belonging to my organisation

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. I would prefer another more ideal job to the one I have now

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. If I have my way, I won't be working for this organisation a year from now

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. I have seriously thought about leaving this organisation

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. I don't intend to remain with this organisation for long

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Part V: Social Participation

This section seeks to gather some additional information about your participation in social activities. Please, indicate agreement or disagreement with the provided statements on a 7-point scale. Please, select ONE answer only.

30. My parents actively participated in volunteer organisations

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. In my family, we always helped one another

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

32. Concerning strangers experiencing distress, my parents generally thought that it was more important to not get involved

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. My parents frequently discussed moral values with me

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. When I was growing up, my parents told me I should be willing to “lend a helping hand”

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

35. When I was younger, my parents very often urged me to get involved with volunteer projects for children

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please indicate how often you participate in the following activities:

36. Attend religious services

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. Pray or read religious texts

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38. Practice traditional religious rituals at home

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. Take part in any of the activities or groups of a mosque

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C: Interview Protocol

This is a basic set of questions developed for interview protocol. Some variations in questions were present and some additional questions were asked over the course of actual interviews.

1. What motivated you to become a public service employee?
2. What motivates people to perform their public service duties?
3. In general, or judging from your own experience, what makes public employees satisfied with their jobs? What makes them committed to their organisations? What can possibly make them quit?
4. Can you think of important external forces playing a role in the public service?
5. Is *wasta* present in your organisation? Does it affect your motivation to serve the society?
6. Can you name any individual factors that make a difference in public service?

Appendix D: Univariate Outlier Item Analysis

Item	Outlier Cases	Number of Outliers
PSM1apm1	18, 160	2
PSM2apm2	118, 160, 255	3
PSM3apm3	18, 224, 238	3
PSM4cpi1	133, 206	2
PSM5cpi2	160, 238	2
PSM6cpi3	6, 173	2
PSM7com1	217, 255	2
PSM8com2	190, 217, 228	3
PSM9com3	238	1
PSM10ss1	6, 7, 120	3
PSM11ss2	140, 163	2
PSM12ss3	83, 125, 168, 220, 226, 238	6
OC3	62, 99, 140, 169, 247	5
JS	76, 108	2

Appendix E: Multivariate Outlier Variable Analysis

Case	Mahalanobis D ²	Probability
24	4.64214	.000006
19	4.92831	.000011
21	4.93881	.000011
20	5.07455	.000015
121	5.11238	.000016
15	5.53200	.000033
13	5.55697	.000035
164	6.03304	.000075
55	6.08181	.000081
119	6.52667	.000154
23	6.76232	.000213
81	6.81190	.000227
69	6.85415	.000240
167	6.99724	.000288
22	7.25114	.000394
132	7.47931	.000516
175	7.64617	.000623

Appendix F: Normality Analysis for Individual Items

	N	Skewness		Kurtosis	
		Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
PSM1apm1	206	-1.779	.169	6.094	.337
PSM2apm2	206	-1.692	.169	3.923	.337
PSM3apm3	206	-1.765	.169	4.069	.337
PSM4cpi1	206	-2.854	.169	13.065	.337
PSM5cpi2	206	-2.155	.169	6.340	.337
PSM6cpi3	206	-2.228	.169	7.087	.337
PSM7com1	206	-2.579	.169	11.196	.337
PSM8com2	206	-1.682	.169	3.696	.337
PSM9com3	206	-1.191	.169	.709	.337
PSM10ss1	206	-1.606	.169	2.924	.337
PSM11ss2	206	-1.461	.169	2.906	.337
PSM12ss3	206	-1.774	.169	4.226	.337
WAS1	206	-.262	.169	-1.055	.337
WAS2	206	.133	.169	-1.321	.337
WAS3	206	.276	.169	-1.214	.337
WAS4	206	.221	.169	-1.050	.337
JS	206	-1.153	.169	.973	.337
OC1	206	-1.161	.169	1.000	.337
OC2	206	-1.448	.169	2.146	.337
OC3	206	-.023	.169	-1.357	.337
IQ1	206	.483	.169	-1.050	.337
IQ2	206	.609	.169	-.759	.337
IQ3	206	.372	.169	-1.096	.337
IQ4	206	-1.123	.169	1.483	.337
Valid N	206				

Appendix G: Exploratory Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.802
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	2189.494
	df	253
	Sig.	.000

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
PSM1apm1	1.000	.663
PSM2apm2	1.000	.447
PSM3apm3	1.000	.575
PSM4cpi1	1.000	.515
PSM5cpi2	1.000	.607
PSM6cpi3	1.000	.300
PSM7com1	1.000	.589
PSM8com2	1.000	.503
PSM9com3	1.000	.570
PSM10ss1	1.000	.512
PSM11ss2	1.000	.504
PSM12ss3	1.000	.429
WAS1	1.000	.590
WAS2	1.000	.811
WAS3	1.000	.784
WAS4	1.000	.488
OC1	1.000	.615
OC2	1.000	.784
OC3	1.000	.767
IQ1	1.000	.513
IQ2	1.000	.843
IQ3	1.000	.881
IQ4	1.000	.728

Total Variance Explained									
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.524	24.016	24.016	5.524	24.016	24.016	3.090	13.436	13.436
2	3.848	16.730	40.747	3.848	16.730	40.747	3.072	13.358	26.794
3	1.719	7.474	48.221	1.719	7.474	48.221	2.735	11.892	38.686
4	1.592	6.922	55.143	1.592	6.922	55.143	2.664	11.580	50.266
5	1.333	5.795	60.938	1.333	5.795	60.938	2.455	10.672	60.938
6	.994	4.322	65.261						
7	.920	3.999	69.260						
8	.830	3.610	72.870						
9	.722	3.140	76.010						
10	.705	3.063	79.074						
11	.640	2.782	81.855						
12	.596	2.591	84.446						
13	.524	2.278	86.725						
14	.516	2.242	88.967						
15	.445	1.936	90.903						
16	.433	1.883	92.786						
17	.372	1.617	94.403						
18	.318	1.382	95.785						
19	.296	1.287	97.072						
20	.222	.964	98.037						
21	.201	.872	98.909						
22	.137	.595	99.503						
23	.114	.497	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
PSM1apm1				.757	
PSM2apm2				.559	
PSM3apm3				.729	
PSM4cpi1				.668	
PSM5cpi2				.681	
PSM6cpi3				.478	
PSM7com1	.728				
PSM8com2	.664				
PSM9com3	.703				
PSM10ss1	.692				
PSM11ss2	.523				
PSM12ss3	.550				
WAS1			.741		
WAS2			.862		
WAS3			.821		
WAS4			.608		
OC1					.694
OC2					.862
OC3					.830
IQ1		.677			
IQ2		.891			
IQ3		.924			
IQ4		.830			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Suppressed values less than .450

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

Appendix H: Reliability Analyses of the Constructs and Items

PSM1

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.759	6

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
PSM1apm1	25.64	5.852	.614	.683
PSM2apm2	25.99	5.468	.473	.760
PSM3apm3	25.38	6.851	.532	.720
PSM4cpi1	25.38	6.549	.508	.723
PSM5cpi2	25.33	6.622	.603	.699
PSM6cpi3	25.30	13.283	.380	.754

PSM2

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.761	6

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
PSM7com1	37.89	12.671	.564	.716
PSM8com2	37.87	13.467	.495	.732
PSM9com3	37.82	13.543	.581	.722
PSM10ss1	38.21	11.854	.512	.726
PSM11ss2	38.31	12.057	.467	.738
PSM12ss3	38.09	12.728	.452	.739

Wasta

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.835	4

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
WAS1	10.90	25.347	.572	.829
WAS2	11.50	20.651	.792	.730
WAS3	11.71	21.368	.769	.742
WAS4	11.49	25.685	.539	.843

Organizational Commitment

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.829	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
OC1	10.82	6.941	.614	.838
OC2	10.84	6.629	.706	.744
OC3	10.55	6.775	.748	.706

Intention to Quit

Reliability Statistics

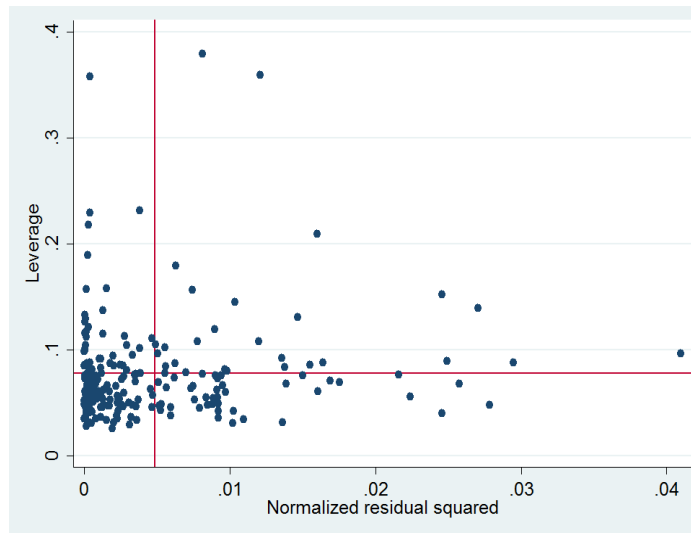
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.879	4

Item-Total Statistics

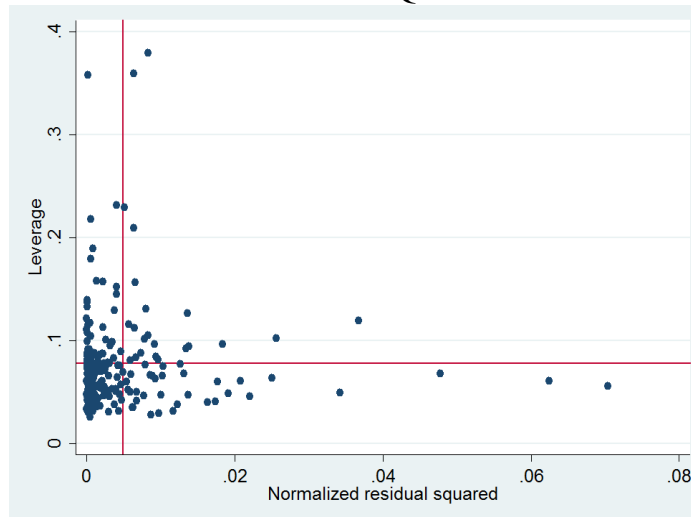
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
IQ1	10.33	28.673	.563	.912
IQ2	11.11	24.334	.832	.808
IQ3	11.32	24.968	.857	.801
IQ4	11.04	26.091	.726	.851

NOTE: Job satisfaction is not included since it only has 1 item.

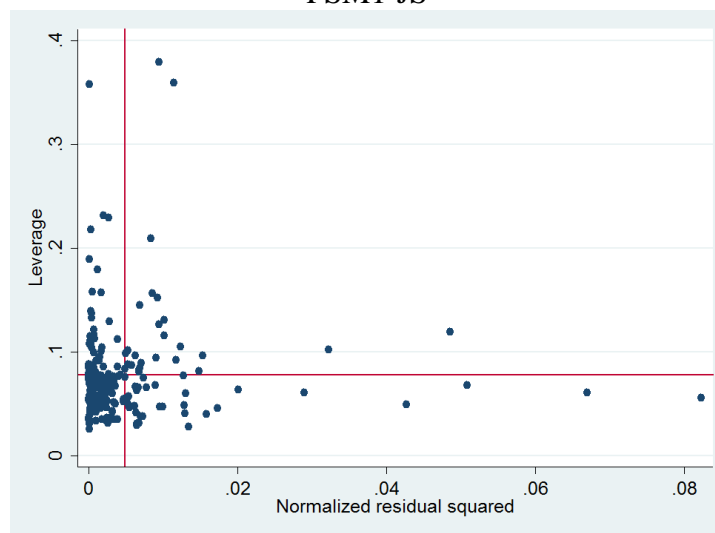
Appendix I: Residuals Squared versus Leverage Plots



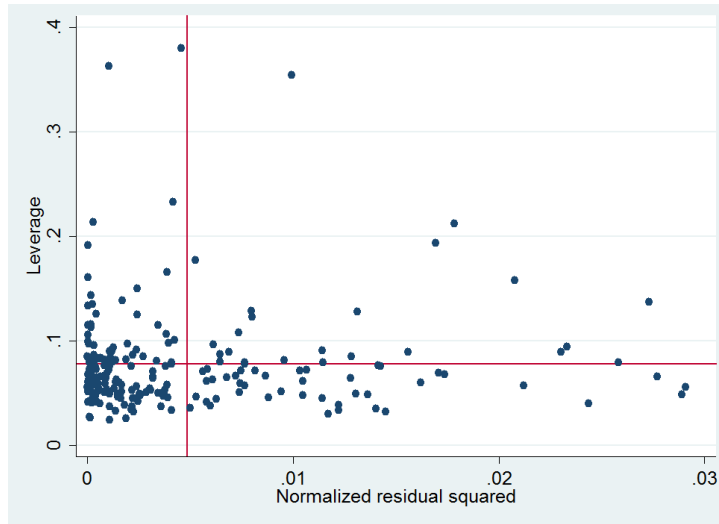
PSM1-IQ



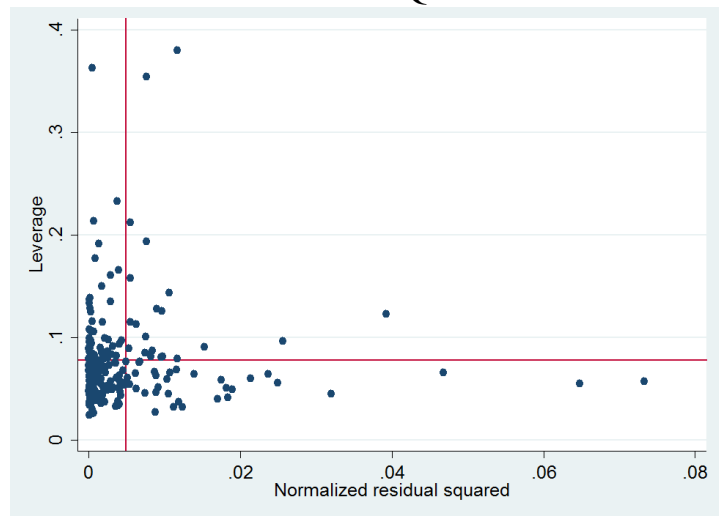
PSM1-JS



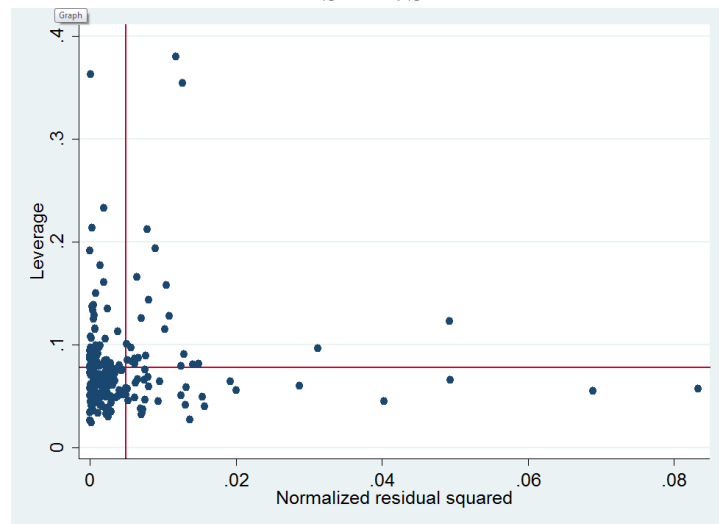
PSM1-OC



PSM2-IQ



PSM2-JS



PSM2-OC