Attraction and attrition under extreme conditions – Integrating insights on PSM, SOC-R, SOC and excitement motivation

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Panel: Public Service Motivation: Beyond the Boundary of Public Management

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1. Introduction

It is a crucial question how to attract and retain motivated personnel – in particular when the work environment is challenging. In the last decades, research on public service motivation (PSM) has been drawing particular attention to if and how PSM holds a potential for attracting personnel to work conditions where extrinsic motivational factors are comparatively low (Perry & Wise, 1990). Several studies indicate the motivation to do good for others and society can be a source of attrition to serve in the public sector (Hansen, 2014; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2013; Vandenabeele, 2008), but also that this may be a matter of occupational category as well as sector (Andersen, Pallesen, & Pedersen, 2011).

Recently, there has been a call for moving research on PSM beyond the boundary of public management and for integrating insights from a broader conceptual and theoretical landscape across related disciplines (Nowell, Izod, Ngaruiya, & Boyd, 2016). This need for integration is particularly pertinent when it comes to attraction and attrition of personnel as the motivational bases may change between the different phases of the recruitment process. Putting a lot of effort into recruiting employees with high PSM is less fruitful if the employees de-recruit rapidly, as a result of their needs for community or excitement not being met (Christensen & Wright, 2011). This is why we need to expand our knowledge of what meaning and significance is ascribed to 'the public' in different motivational forms, and how these forms come into effect in different ways throughout the recruitment process.

Thus, the research question that this paper analyses is how different motivational forms vary in the process of attraction and attrition. In doing this, the paper compares and contrasts PSM with relevant concepts from neighbouring fields – most notably sense of community (SOC) and sense of community responsibility (SOC-R), and excitement motivation (EM) – in order to discuss how we can expand the frontier in which PSM operates in relation to attraction and attrition (Bretz, Ash, & Dreher, 1989). By evaluating PSM within the broader theoretical constructs of motivation and communities, we aim to clarify its value within the knowledge that already exists surrounding career choice and organisational behaviour.

The PSM construct has been hero-worshipped in public administration, yet it remains under-theorized (Bozeman & Su, 2015). Bozeman and Su (2015) argue that the pronounced popularity of PSM has led to a mushrooming of conceptualisations with little attention being given to parsimony. According to them, this leaves the PSM literature in need of stronger conceptual boundaries and clarification. One way to do this is to compare, contrast, and integrate insights from neighbouring concepts from the literature in psychology (Excitement motivation), and from community psychology, most notably SOC and SOC-R. Our comparison of motivational forms is useful in order to clarify and understand the prevailing notion of 'the public' in the PSM construct as well as the importance of having a specific or abstract referent. This is important in modern, multicultural societies – particularly countries where migrant workers constitute a large proportion of society's care-takers, and in countries where there is a pronounced diversity amongst people. It raises the question, why should people be motivated to contribute to a society that they do not see themselves as being part of? The comparison of the different motivational forms (EM-PSM-SOC-SOC-R) prompts us to consider how specific community contexts actively create and foster motivation, a point that concepts from community psychology engage with but that the PSM research has neglected.

Investigating the dynamics between forms of motivation over time makes it possible to investigate variation between motivational forms that attract an individual to a job, and those that are important to attrition. The motivational forms are dynamic over time and different motivational forms are activated in different contexts. More insight on these dynamics is required as the effort made to recruit may be in vain if there is little attrition.

When the work conditions are challenging, the literature on PSM has been found to have 'a dark side', i.e. if job demands are too high, the failure to satisfy the urge to contribute to the public good may lead to burn-out, absenteism and ultimately de-recruitment (Bakker, 2015; Jensen, Andersen, & Holten, 2017; van Loon, Vandenabeele, & Leisink, 2015). However, recent research indicates that a challenging

work environment is not all bad (Steen & Schott, 2018; Vermeeren, Kuipers, & Steijn, 2014). Provided that employees feel supported and experience good exchange relations with their organisation, a challenging work environment is a factor that may in fact contribute to attrition rather than de-recruitment (Audenaert, George, & Decramer, 2019). We need more knowledge on how turn around can be accomplished when the conditions for public service are not met. Hence, the paper aims to contribute to the growing body of literature on the 'dark side' of PSM.

A challenging work environment encompasses many considerations. Public administration research has unfolded several contributing factors ranging from public servants who are confronted by high levels of red tape (Davis, 2013), or faced with conflicting values and ambiguous goals. The latter is particularly relevant when it comes to recent findings about person-organization fit, and to the impact of value congruence on work-related attitudes and behaviors among employees (Jensen, Andersen, & Jacobsen, 2019; Krogsgaard, Thomsen, & Andersen, 2014). This research identifies conditions that are likely to produce challenging work environments. The sector of education has been mentioned as one among several sectors where challenging work conditions are prevalent, in particular among schools that involves different cultural and languages backgrounds. The strain stemming from these factors is expected to be exacerbated in periods characterized by teacher shortage (Steen & Schott, 2018).

In order to explore how different motivational forms are at play in different phases of the recruitment process we identify an extreme case of a challenging work environment. We focus on teachers at a state school (primary and lower secondary school) that is characterised by different cultural and language backgrounds in a period defined by teacher shortage. The geographical particularly adds to the case qualifying as an extreme case. It is characterized by remoteness, a stratified geography and socio-economic problems. Through this case study of how different motivational forms come into play in different phases of the recruitment process, we offer insights into what inspires public servants to take up and stay in jobs that confront them with pronounced isolation and expose them to social hardship that could result in people de-recruiting in large numbers. We wanted to uncover what motivates others to not only accept these types of jobs, but also choose to stay in them.

While this study is conducted in Greenland we argue that the knowledge generated here is not limited to this particular location. Its relevance extends across a variety of cases characterized by stratified geographies and social problems, for instance. Both factors contribute to a challenging work environment, and pose a serious threat to the attraction and attrition of public servants in these areas (Butler and Hamnett, 2007; Collins and Coleman, 2008). Our research also taps into recent debates surrounding the relationship between PSM, SOC and SOC-R – especially how these factors contribute

to our understanding of perceptions and behaviours that motivate people within public organisations (Boyd et. al. 2018).

In the following paper, we start by offering a brief introduction to the Public Sector Motivation literature, focusing in particular on the notion of 'the public' and 'the referent'. We will then progress to an overview of our design and research methods, before leading onto an analysis of our main findings. Finally, the paper will reflect briefly upon these conclusions and their significance to broader theoretical constructs – most notably, the interplay between PSM, SOC and SOC-R that allows us to develop our understanding of the motivating perceptions and behaviours in challenging work environments.

2. Integrating insights on motivational forms

The recruitment process is modelled according to the three phase model of *attraction-selection-attrition* (ASA) (Bretz et al., 1989). However, we delimit the focus in this paper to attraction and attrition. *Attraction* denotes a process where an individual is attracted to something. This mechanism could potentially sort individuals into jobs and occupations. For instance, Perry & Wise (1990, p. 370) argued that the stronger an individual's PSM, the more likely they are to seek employment in the public sector. In contrast, *attrition* denotes the retention of personnel.

In the following, we integrate insights from SOC, SOC-R, PSM and excitement motivation (EM). This gives rise to an analytical model (Figure 1). On the x-axis, the figure distinguishes between need-based and other regarding types of motivational forms. This distinction stem from community psychology which identifies sense of community (SOC) (need based) and sense of community responsibility (SOC-R) (other regarding) as two distinct forms of motivation. Below we argue that PSM and EM can be classified on this dimension too. On the y-axis, the figure distinguishes between motivational forms that are associated with a specific referent or an abstract referent. In doing this, it draws upon community psychology, most notably on the importance it ascribes to community contexts. Below we argue that at distinction can be made between SOC and SOC-R, which have a specific referent, and PSM and EM that have an abstract referent.

Figure 1: Integrating Insights on Motivational Forms
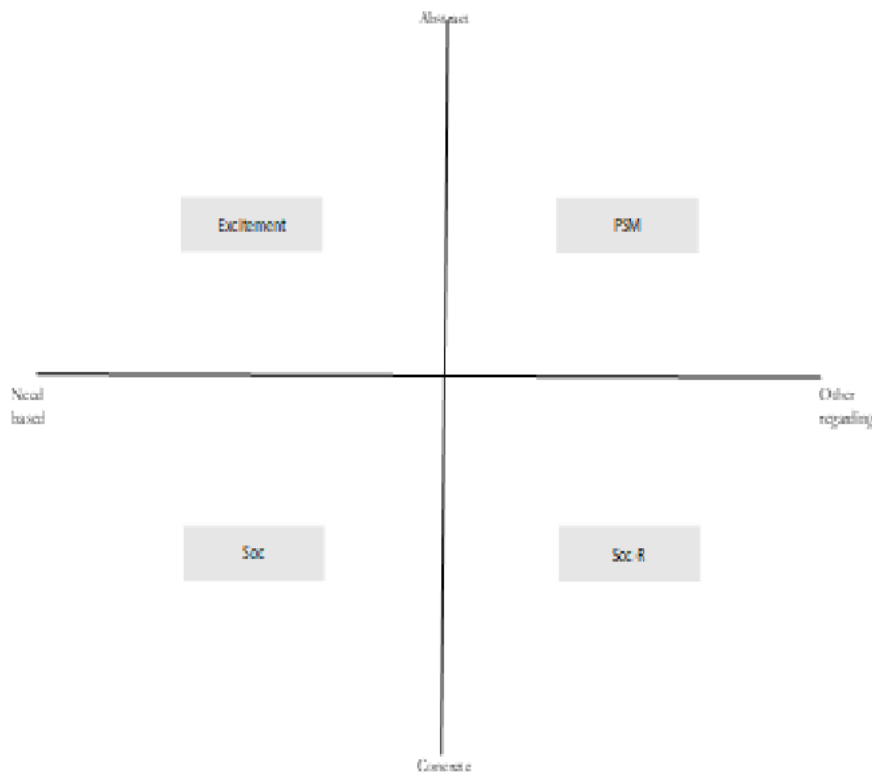
Public service motivation

PSM is defined as: 'An individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society' (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008, p. vii). This definition sees the public as society at large. It encourages the view of an abstract and generalised public, as opposed to a concrete and specific community, which is the referent in SOC and SOC-R. If we turn to the four sub-categories of PSM and seek to identify their respective notions of the public, we see little variation to this. According to Perry and Wise (1990: 368), PSM consists of four sub-dimensions based on instrumental, normative and affective reasons. *Attraction to public policy making* (ATP) is a form of instrumental motivation, which is directed at doing good for others through influencing organisational decision-making and implementation in order to build better framework conditions for public service. *Commitment to the public interest* (CPI) is the normative form of motivation, which refers to actions generated by efforts to conform to values and norms. People may feel a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment, when they contribute to the fulfillment of norms on serving the public interest or as a desire to make a positive difference (Kim et al., 2013). Identification is central to the affective dimension of PSM – also known as our level of *compassion* (COM). Here, it is the sense of 'oneness' or the feeling that one could easily end up in the other person's situation that creates a willingness to do

good for them (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010). This emphasis on the motivation to provide public service to specific groups brings this dimension of PSM in line with neighbouring motivational constructs: SOC and SOC-R, which have an explicit focus on groups and communities. The last dimension of PSM is self-sacrifice (SS), which serves as the foundation for the other three dimensions. This will to bypass one's own needs (Perry, 1996) accelerates the impact of your public service – regardless of whether that is affectively, normatively or instrumentally motivated (Kim et al., 2013; Vandenabeele, 2007). In sum, PSM is an other-regarding motivational form with an abstract referent.

Sense of community (SOC) and Sense of community responsibility (SOC-R).
SOC and SOC-R share a common foundation in an understanding of the public as it is embedded in specific, concrete groups and communities, i.e. a specific referent (see figure 1). However, from this point they diverge. SOC is based on needs fulfillment and pertains to feelings of belonging to and being a member of a community or organisation. In contrast, SOC-R is defined as 'a feeling of personal responsibility for the individual and collective well-being of a community of people not directly rooted in an expectation of personal gain' (Nowell et al., 2016). Thus, SOC-R is other regarding, but with a focus on the interaction between an existing belief system and a specific community context.

Excitement motivation

Recent studies of changes to soldiers' PSMs when deployed to war zones opens a new agenda for studying motivating factors for providing public service in extreme settings (Braender & Andersen, 2013). This research points to the significance of excitement motivation to the recruitment of personnel for urgent tasks (Zuckerman, 2014; Zuckerman, Eysenck, & Eysenck, 1978; Zuckermen, Kolin, Price, & Zoob, 1964). Excitement motivation is a need based motivational form. It draws attention to 'adrenalin junkies', who move on to 'the next fix' when the excitement fades over time (Braender, 2016; Braender & Andersen, 2013; Parmak, Euwema, & Mylle, 2012). However, there is no specific referent to the motivation. Places and activities that are perceived as exciting can be located anywhere. The context, which activates excitement is embedded in an outside-in perspective, which make a particular location appear full of adventure when seen from the outside. However, many locations possess this capacity when seen from the outside. In this sense there is no specific referent for excitement motivation.

Expectations

On the basis of Figure 1, we generate a number of expectations. The first set of expectations pertain to the x-axis. We expect that need based motivational forms are important to attraction, as employees are attracted to jobs which can fulfill their needs, but if needs are not fulfilled this influences attrition, because then they will not stay in the long run. In contrast, we expect other-regarding motivations to be important to attrition as people with pro-social motivations will be prone to stay in jobs where they do good for others. However, the PSM literature shows that PSM has a 'the dark side'. It can lead to burn-out and de-recruitment if job-demands are too high because individuals in their urge to do good for others work so hard that they risk burn-out. Both SOC-R and PSM share the characteristic of being pro-social in orientation. Hence, we expect that these motivational forms are related to burn-out and ultimately de-recruitment if job-demands are too high.

The second set of expectations pertains to the y-axis. Above we argued that PSM and excitement motivation lack a specific referent. We expect that this leaves them with a blind spot in terms of explaining attraction and attrition to Tasiilaq (our case) as a specific community. Excitement motivation is need-based with an abstract referent. Excitement is a source for attraction, but only as long as the extreme geography is novel and exiting. Once social problems become pertinent in everyday life, excitement wears off. When the need for excitement is not fulfilled, attrition is difficult. Indeed, excitement motivation may lead to recruitment elsewhere, which have become more exiting when seen from the outside. Hence, excitement cannot explain attrition in Tasiilaq. Similarly, PSM is other-regarding with an abstract global referent. It is possible to do good for others and society in a number of locations. Thus, we expect that PSM does not explain why personneel is attracted to Tasiilaq. However, once people are there, the social challenges become pertinent. Hence, while PSM can be a source of attrition as the possibilities for doing good for others are very pronounced, it is not associated to attraction.

Coding and analysing data on attraction and attrition within the framework of this analytical model enables us to explore how different motivational forms are at play in the process of attraction and attrition for public sector jobs in challenging work conditions.

3. Method

The present paper reports upon a study of an extreme case of challenging work conditions. In doing this, it focuses on teachers at a state school in Eastern Greenland, Tasiilaq School. East Greenlanders speak a distinct dialect that qualifies as a language unique to the region, despite not being able to reach the status of a minority language. The case also harbors severe socio-economic problems – with approximately fifty per cent of the students involved with the local social authorities at any given time, and ongoing issues stemming from substance and sexual abuse (annual report 2014/2015).

Greenland in general has struggled for a long time with teacher shortages. Schools located on the periphery of the country are most prone to experiencing difficulties attracting qualified staff. This is due to the fact that school teachers typically apply for their first job in close proximity to where they are or went to school themselves. This is sometimes referred to as the 'draw of home' (D. Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2005). Low performing schools do not usually deliver pupils into the education system that progress past lower secondary school. For this reason, the option of recruiting some of their former pupils as qualified teachers is not as readily available to them. The school that this paper engages with is caught in this cycle. They have chosen (along with other schools in similar situations), to turn to their former colonial power (in this case, Denmark) to recruit trained personnel. Tasiilaq is the school in Greenland that has attracted the highest proportion of teachers based on Danish recruitment efforts. In total, the school has 425-450 students making it one of the largest schools in Greenland. Approximately, 60-70 % of the trained teachers are Danes. 100% of the non-trained, part-time teachers are East Greenlanders. The research design is a longitudinal case study drawing on semi-structured interviews, participant observation and documentary material. The data was collected during five visits to the school in August and June of the academic years 2014-15 and 2015-2016, and a follow up visit in September 2016. Data includes: repeat interviews with 12 interviewees including both teachers and school management; ongoing participant observation – in classrooms and the teachers' common room; annual quality reports required by law to be submitted by the school. Our field work resulted in approximately 280 pages of transcribed interviews and approximately 30 pages of field notes from observations both in the classroom and carried out in the teachers' common room. This material was coded in NVivo in two phases. First, an initial inductive coding which informed the construction of the analytical model (Figure 1), and secondly, using this model to guide the deductive coding process (need based-other regarding; specific-abstract referent). The 2014-2016 reports that constitute the data for this particular paper are publicly available on the municipality's website (www.sermersooq.gl). This length of time and the in-depth interviews offers unique insights into how different motivational forms

interact with different understandings of motivation and community in the process of attraction and attrition.

4. Analysis

As outlined in the methods section, the coding process and analysis of the transcribed interviews were carried out on the basis of our analytical model (Figure 1). In the following section, we explore how different motivational forms are at play during different phases of the recruitment process. In doing this, we identify the four different motivational forms: excitement motivation (EM), sense of community (SOC), sense of community responsibility (SOC-R) and PSM in our data set and explore if they are mutually exclusive or if there are particular areas in which the four motivational forms overlap and feed into each other.

4.1. Excitement Motivation

The coding and analysis here (Table 1) reveals that a group of teachers who deliver public service in contexts characterised by challenging work conditions are motivated to take on these positions by the anticipation of excitement lying ahead. Those seeking this sort of excitement and adventure were typically attracted to the job because of the isolated and remote location of the workplace and the adventures associated with this (#A, B, C, F), or in one case (#D) the chaotic circumstances surrounding the school.

Tabel 1: Excitement Motivation

Attraction	Attrition
• *"Three days after I had arrived, I had a pack of sled dogs." (#A)* • *"I saw the job add and I thought: 'Wow, that sounds exciting.'" (#B)* • *'Of course it was exciting to move up here. I love the nature. I have a pack of dogs myself. They are out there [waves out the window].And my snow scooter. I drive the kids and myself to school every day during winter.' [#C]* • *"Well, you know. I like these very remote places… Places that are authentic somehow.*	• *(Derecruitment) Whenever a new teacher arrives..well things take time. When things start to pick up, the teacher leaves again – just like I am about to leave. But during my time here [in Tasiilaq], what I kind of specialized in, is chaos management, and going to these places [where there is chaos]….and there was total chaos, right. And I thought that was kind of exciting, right…You know, total chaos.'(#D)* • *(Derecruitment) When I came up here*

Actually, I had hoped that I would find some active shamans up here." (#D) • 'So I was sitting on the toilet back where I lived in Copenhagen and was reading a magazine. It had an add with the headline: 'Greenland is recruiting teachers' and these pictures of polar bears and dog sledges appeared in my mind. I thought, yes that is exactly what I going to do. I am going to go to Greenland and look a polar bear in the eyes, I am going to shoot a seal and go fishing. For crying out load – that is what I going to do!' (#F)	myself, well, it was advertised as an adventure and so on. And indeed it is an adventure, but also a very demanding everyday life. If you are not ready for that, you will not last. We have staff who have been here for 30 years and others who stayed for 2 days.' (#D) • (Derecruitment) 'I have done it all [in Tasiilaq). Now I am off to X [a school in another part of Greenland). I want to shoot a musk ox' (#X field notes)

In the majority of the interviews, the attraction to adventure is closely linked to the remote nature of Eastern Greenland – capturing the excitement that comes from going sailing in an ocean filled with icebergs or sledding during the winter with your own pack of dogs. There is a thrill that comes from being confronted with the elements and having to survive in an environment that is full of danger. Not to mention, the ability to go fishing after a long day in the classroom and potentially get a glimpse of a humpback whale. In addition, in one case (#D) the challenging circumstances surrounding the school were seen as an attraction in themselves because they offered the opportunity to indulge in the excitement that #D associated with chaos (management).

These are some of the reasons why this group was attracted to teaching jobs at a school that is characterised by challenging work conditions. However, as we know, excitement tends to fade over time and can trigger an urge to move on to new adventures (Braender, 2016). This is especially true if the desire for adventure is not combined or replaced by other motivational forms, in particular motivational forms that are other regarding. If excitement motivation is not coupled with SOC-R or PSM, attrition is difficult. The coding and analysis of the data resonates with this expectation. Those who did not replace or combine this need based motivation that underpin attraction all de-recruited within a relatively short time, typically within 12-18 months. In these cases, the teachers found their motivation diminishing as soon as routine began to set in and went to search for excitement elsewhere.

Table 2: Sense of Community

Attraction	Attrition
• *'[my wife] has been in Greenland previously and wanted to go back'* (#E) • *'I am against year plans. I hate them…They [the school board and the parents] should bloody well know what I am all about.'*(#F) • *'It is all just paper work being passed on from one person to another. It has no practical relevance.'* (#G) • *I had been in Greenland before. It was a hazzle in many ways of course. The final straw was when my mother died while I was there. That was kind of traumatizing. Then I had some part-time jobs teaching [in Denmark]… I was unemployed for a while …and then I managed to get a job in Greenland again. (#H)* • *'I have been in Greenland, back in Denmark, and am now in Greenland with no plans to return to Denmark.'* (#I) • *I don't like what has become of the school system back in Denmark'* (#J)	• *"I love my job. I love my time off from work. I love my colleagues. I love the kids whom I also see outside the school. [I live close to] a family with 5 children…I am having them over tonight for pasta and a Disney Show."* (#A) • *(Derecruitment) 'I am hoping that I will soon begin to feel at home in this place, so that I really feel that I can do something. Feel that I am a part of it…'*(#B) • *'It is a family decision to leave [Tasiilaq]. If you had asked me what I would have done had I been on my own, I doubt that I would ever leave. It has been an emotionally very hard decision for me.'* (#C) • *(Derecruitment) '..I expect that I will participate very little [in relations with parents and local community]. I guess for me it will be very superficial, and I will have a hard time getting in to it. (#E)* • *'You should not move to Greenland if you have problems back home, because you'll bring your problems with you. And on top of that get new ones that you did not have back in Denmark: going mad because of the darkness, going mad because of the light – during summer - and going mad from living on an isolated island.'* (#I)

The coding and analysis of how a sense of community (SOC) influences the attraction and attrition of teachers at Tasiilaq School (Table 2) reveals that besides excitement motivation, teachers were motivated to take up a position at the school because they had a need to fill a void stemming from a lack of community back in Denmark (#E, F, G,H,I, J). Many had previously lived and in most cases worked in Greenland before. This group was motivated to take up a position in this extreme setting either because they had only sparse community relations in Denmark or through a disappointment with the community that they had been part of in Denmark. This could be for private reasons, e.g. divorce, or professional reasons, the latter often reflecting frustration with Danish education policy and reforms. Their need to belong to a professional community was no longer fulfilled there. This resulted in their decruitment in the Danish school system (push factor) and their attraction to the Greenlandic system

of education (pull factor). In Greenland, they managed to establish positive exchange relations among fellow staff, drawing on the support of co-workers and management (#F,G,I). Having their needs-based motivation catered to, they developed a keen interest in and responsibility for the local community, going on to organise extra-curricular activities for the children (#F,G). In doing this, they developed a sense of community responsibility (SOC-R). In other cases, SOC was combined with a pronounced motivation to serve the public (#I), thus tapping into the PSM framework, most notably the normative sub-dimensions *(CPI - commitment to the public interest)*. Those who failed to combine their need-based motivational form (SOC) with other regarding forms of motivation (SOC-R and PSM) typically derecruited within a relatively short time (#E,H,J).

4.3. Sense of Community Responsibility

Table 3: Sense of Community Responsibility

Attraction	Attrition
• *'Perhaps it sounds a bit old-fashioned, but I don't care. I simply love to pass on knowledge to others…I like to share.' (# K)* • *I am very proud of being from East Greenland. I am proud of where I come from' (#L)*	• *As I mentioned yesterday [that it has been a tough year]…We had a child in the 4th grade that shot another child. We were so fortunate to have Missi [the municipality psychological aid] visiting. They are here twice a year. And they were here but declined to assist us, arguing that they were not qualified to help….what was I to do…I tried to create a space for the children to deal with their emotions – also for those children that I do not know….(#A)* • *In Denmark, in the beginning I was a mediocre teacher and after the reform [2013] I sucked as a teacher. But here I show up at work 6 in the morning. There is peace and quiet and I fix things, for instance I have made pigeon holes for my students and I want to make a time planner for them as well. (#F)* • *Here I can do things my own way. You know…I am primarily responsible towards the children and their parents. (#G)* • *I have been here since 1981…I could have retired this year but have decided to postpone my retirement. I have hopes for this school…I hope that more of our students will continue into further education. (#K)* • *'My hope for Tasiilaq School is that there will come more East Greenlandic teachers' (#L)*

Apart from those who were attracted by excitement motivation and/or sense of community (SOC), two interviewees were attracted to take up a job as teachers at one of the most remote and isolated schools in Greenland because of SOC-R (#K, L). These two interviewees diverge from the rest of the interviewees by having a culture and language background in East Greenland. Their decisions to take up positions at the school were embedded in a strong feeling of and pride related to being an East Greenlander. The coding and analysis of the interview data reveals that the nationality of the interviewees, i.e. Danes and East Greenlanders, stand out in the data.[1] While those teachers who were recruited in Denmark were all attracted to Tasiilaq School because of excitement motivation and/or a sense of community (SOC), the teachers who were born and raised in East Greenland were motivated by a pronounced sense of community responsibility (SOC-R). Their sense of community responsibility was also pronounced in relation to attrition and included postponing retirement (#K) – a point that emphasizes the significance of SOC-R in relation to attrition.

The data reveals that the significance of SOC-R in relation to attrition is not limited to the group of East Greenlandic teachers. It played a crucial role for several of the Danish teachers also, who combined their initial forms of motivation (Excitement motivation (#A,F) and SOC (#F,G) with SOC-R. This in turn touches upon the general point discussed in our theoretical concepts section – that while attrition is difficult if needs are not fulfilled, other-regarding behavior can also lead to de-recruitment if the job demand is too high (Bakker, 2015). 'Burn out' is a pronounced risk in jobs with high job demands and even more so in cases characterised by challenging work environments. As this study constitutes an extreme case of a challenging work environment, 'burn out' was a risk that teachers discussed openly in their common room. The risk was most apparent among the group of teachers whose motivation was informed by a sense of community responsibility, rendering it other-regarding and concrete. This group appeared especially susceptible to the severity of problems that many of their students struggled with and frustrated by the number of cases presented in the classroom. For this reason, it was not uncommon for teachers to experience 'burn out' during the research period that informs this paper. The data analysis indicates that those that were the most at risk of this type of de-recruitment were teachers whose motivation was informed by SOC-R.

[1] The data includes Danes and East Greenlanders and does not extend to West Greenlandic teachers at Tasiilaq School. In the paper, we discuss cultural differences among the interviewees in terms of differences in nationality between Danes and East Greenlanders rather than in terms of cultural differences between West and East Greenlanders and Danes. Along similar lines, the analysis does not address the question if East Greenlanders constituting a minority inside Greenland or if Greenlanders constitute one people.

Our dataset includes interviewees that de-recruited as a result of 'burn out'. This offers insights into the interplay between the different motivational forms. The analysis shows that it is one thing to feel like a member of one's organisation (SOC) and being ready to help that organisation, even if it creates hardship for oneself (SOC-R) (Boyd, et. al. 2018: 11) – it is another thing entirely to be acknowledged by others as member of an organisation. It can be considered a general conclusion derived from community studies that there is rarely a complete overlap between feelings of membership and acknowledgement of membership (Brincker & Gundelach, 2010). The discrepancy between individual feelings of membership and being acknowledged as a member by others is quite pronounced in communities that are characterised by a diversity of languages and cultures, such as Greenland (Brincker, 2017). To some extent, this explains how the school's management team succeeded in the first instance to attract teachers recruited from Denmark, even though these teachers had difficulty being acknowledged as true members of the organisation. They did not speak the language and did not share the culture of Eastern Greenland or Greenland at all. For this reason, even in cases where the teachers' perceptions and behaviours of motivation were strongly informed by SOC-R, the sense of community responsibility was not necessarily reciprocated. This left them vulnerable to 'burn out,' and ultimately, de-recruitment. Those who did not de-recruit were those who either by virtue of their cultural background and their mastery of the regional dialect were recognized as natives by other community members (e.g. #K,L), or managed to form their own groups within the organisation (e.g. #F, G). Being a member of these small sub-groups enabled them to tap into supportive positive exchange relations. For this particular group, the social hardship that characterised the work environment was something that they related to and were able to confront together. This points towards a challenging work environment not being all bad. In many cases, the inherent difficulties of the situation may inspire employees to team up – provided there is someone to team up with (Steen & Schott, 2018). This indicates that hardship has the capacity to foster community building and that much hard-ship can be overcome if the needs for community are fulfilled.

This insight adds to the conceptual discussion on the relationship between EM, PSM, SOC and SOC-R. The qualitative study indicates that the different motivational forms co-exist and that the fulfillment of one (the need based) is a pre-condition for the fulfilment of another (the other regarding). When multiple motivational forms are studied dynamically over time, it becomes clear that managers need to cater to the motivational needs (SOC) to retain pro-social motivational forms (SOC-R + PSM) in the organization. Especially, the study adds to existing knowledge on the dark side of PSM by pinpointing two vital aspects. First, that in a similar way to employees with PSM, employees with SOC-R appear to

be particularly exposed to burnout if their pro-social motivation is not fulfilled. Second, that if community is fostered, much hardship can be overcome.

4.4. Public Service Motivation

Table 4: Public Service Motivation

Attraction	Attrition
	(Instrumental - APP) I have a fantastic collaboration with Nuuk [the capital] and with my managers there' [#C] *(Affective - COM) 'It is worthwhile putting in 20 hours extra a week, I believe…without getting paid. Because the children, they reward you… (#F)* *(Normative - CPI) It does not matter if you are a nurse, or whatever, if you work with the local authorities or are a construction worker. You have a goal and you do not think about the salary. Unfortunately, far too many people have their eyes fixed on the salary. (#F)* *(Normative - CPI) 'My hope would be to make the teaching work, make management work, and to establish some continuity, so that teachers have the tools necessary for them to meet the students at the level they are at.' (#G)* *(Normative - CPI) 'Stability matters a lot. I am never ill. But I am part of the board of examiners in Nuuk and in September I am taking a course at the University over there. I make sure to prepare my classes for that so that the students know that I'll be gone. That enhances stability.' (#I)*

The following pattern emerged after coding and analysing our interview data for PSM. As mentioned above, a group of teachers had combined or replaced their needs-based motivation for providing public service, i.e. EM and SOC, with other regarding forms of motivation. This group falls into two categories. One group (#A,F,G) had taken a keen interest in the community and developed a sense of responsibility towards that community, typically seeking to contribute to the wellbeing of the children they were teaching. For instance, A and F had combined the initial excitement of finding themselves in one of the most remote parts of Greenland, and the anticipation of adventures lying ahead, with a pronounced compassion and sense of responsibility for their students (#A,F Table 3: SOC-R).

A's and F's compassion for the children and community at large points to an overlap between SOC-R and PSM. In PSM, the sub-dimension compassion is rooted in an affectionate relation to a particular group, such as the relationship F expresses towards the children at the school (#F Table 4: PSM). This shows that PSM is not exclusively tied to a generalised notion of the public and can be considered a phenomenon pertaining to specific exposed groups or communities as well. This opens up the

possibility of exploring the theoretical intersection between PSM (an abstract, generalised notion of the public on the y-axis) and SOC-R (a concrete, specific community on the y-axis). Previously, emphasis have been on PSM and SOC-R as distinct constructs (Nowell et al., 2016), but this qualitative insight reveals that they are also – and particularly when it comes to the sub-dimension compassion – overlapping motivational forms.

The argument that the relationship between SOC, SOC-R and PSM needs to be explored further receives additional support when engaging with the interview data of C, F, G and I (#C,F,G,I Table 4: PSM). They were all recruited 5-10 years ago and were attracted in the cases of C and F to adventures awaiting in the Greenlandic nature (#C,F Table 1: EM). In the cases of G and I, attraction was informed by a need to belong to a community – a factor that also feeds into the attraction of F (#F,G,I Table 2: SOC). The four teachers stayed for many years and several of them ended up accepting positions in management, to liaise with public authorities at their local municipality and on a national level. They had a clear and distinct understanding of the governance structure that the school is embedded in (Brincker & Lennert, 2019). While the four interviewees recognized their role as public service providers located in one of the most remote and isolated parts of Greenland, and furthermore especially in the case of C developed close bonds to that community (#C Table 2: SOC), they expressed a motivation to serve the public that resonates with PSM. In the case of F, G and I, their motivation appeared to be informed by the normative sub-category of PSM (CPI), while in the case of C, the instrumental sub-category of PSM (ATP) underpinned his motivation. Most importantly in the context of this paper, in the cases of F and G, both SOC-R and the normative sub-category of PSM can be identified among the motivational forms that underpin their attrition (#F,G Table 3: SOC-R and Table 4: PSM). In a similar way to the apparent overlap between SOC-R and the affective sub-category of PSM (COM) (#A,F), this opens up the possibility of exploring the theoretical intersection between PSM (an abstract, generalised notion of the public on the y-axis) and SOC-R (a concrete, specific community on the y-axis).

While the standard understanding of the public in PSM, i.e. society at large (Perry and Hondeghem 2008, vii) gives rise to an abstract notion of a generalised public, it appears that some subcategories of PSM are more open to an understanding of 'the public' with more attention paid to context and culture. This is particularly the case for those understandings of PSM that resonate with identification, most notably compassion. In this case, PSM is based on identification with a specific group which brings it into line with SOC-R. The above analysis indicates that a similar overlap may be found between SOC-R and the normative sub-category of PSM. These conclusions reveals a potential

interplay between PSM and SOC-R, combining the emphasis of PSM on the motivation to serve with the SOC-R sensibility towards who you serve.

5. Conclusion

This article set out to explore how different motivational forms vary in the process of employee attraction and attrition in a context characterised by challenging work conditions. In order to explore this question, the article identifies an extreme case and analyses it in a longitudinal study. The analysis produces three key findings.

The first finding reveals that when comparing and contrasting the different motivational forms (EM-PSM-SOC-SOC-R) it becomes apparent that rather than being mutually exclusive they co-exist and overlap. This finding is important because of the tendency in the PSM literature to engage in hero-worshipping of the concept of PSM, and to neglect motivational forms in neighbouring fields. Furthermore, it adds to the discussion of the extent to which PSM and SOC-R are distinct or overlapping constructs (Nowell & Boyd, 2016). The qualitative data analysis shows that two sub-dimensions of PSM - COM and CPI – overlap with SOC-R. Especially compassion for a particular social group seems to overlap with taking responsibility for a specific referent. It prompts us to consider how specific community contexts and referents actively create and foster motivation, a point that concepts from community psychology in particular engage with.

The second finding casts further light on the interplay between the four motivational forms that constitute the crux of this study by elaborating on how they change between the different phases of the recruitment process. The analysis reveals that while personal needs as well as responsibility and 'other-regardingness' are important to attraction, if needs are not met, attrition is difficult. However, also other-regarding forms of motivation, i.e. PSM and SOC-R, can lead to de-recruitment, if the job demand is too high. This finding reveals that rather than considering the motivational forms in isolation and as being static, they are dynamic and co-existing. By this we mean that while one form of motivation may lead to attraction, the specific community context may trigger other motivational forms to be activated in order to obtain attrition. This insight is not limited to the forms of motivation that have a specific referent, SOC and SOC-R. On the contrary, it extends to the motivational forms that have an abstract referent, i.e. PSM and 'excitement' implying that albeit both PSM and excitement relate to abstract referents, the extent to which they are brought into play depends upon the context. This, in turn, taps into the conclusion of this paper that PSM research can take a leap forward by expanding its

research agenda to integrate and elaborate upon the role of community contexts for the motivation to deliver public service in extreme settings and more generally. By broadening the scope of the PSM research agenda, it will allow PSM to shed new light on the motivation to provide public service across varied cultural contexts and cases that involve notions of 'the public' in specific communities, rather than the greater public.

Thirdly, the paper adds to the literature on the dark side of PSM. Both PSM and SOC-R can lead to de-recruitment if job-demands are too high. This is the case especially if needs for community are not satisfied. It seems that hardship has the capacity to foster community building and that much hard-ship can be overcome if the needs for community are fulfilled. This draws renewed attention to the significance of SOC for both scholars and practitioners. In particular, it raises important points for practitioners on the need to foster communities at work places where burn-out and de-recruitement is out-spoken.

As this study is based on a single case study of an extreme case the potential for generalization needs to be addressed. We argue that the extreme setting allows mechanisms and dynamics to stand out very clearly. However, the external validity of the study is low and the extreme conditions in Eastern Greenland in terms of geography, language, and cultural background is not found in many places. On the contrary, the value of the study is to be found in the conceptual and theoretical conclusion and the dynamics and interaction between different motivational forms in the phases of attraction and attrition.

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