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# Demystifying the components of public service motivation among young public servants in China: a qualitative inquiry

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## ABSTRACT

While public service motivation (PSM) is universally acknowledged as a value-laden and context-contingent construct, few studies have relied on qualitative methodologies to investigate unique components and dimensions of PSM in a Chinese context. Thus, our knowledge of on-the-job motivation (held by Chinese public employees) and how the cultural and political systems shape these motivations remains limited. This study fills this gap through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 22 junior public servants working at various organisational levels, geographic locations, and functional departments. The findings show that an attachment to the governance regime and predilection towards becoming a politician are two key dimensions that capture the rational motives among Chinese civil servants. In terms of norm-based motives, Confucianism-oriented authoritative values (including government-centric conception, collectivism, obedience, and moral obligations to serve the public) combine to affect the ways in which Chinese nascent public workers interpret the notion of public interests. In addition, love for both the family and nation serves as a core affective factor that contributes towards one's willingness to seek membership in the public sector. This study ultimately helps construct an all-encompassing yet localised PSM concept, laying the foundation for subsequent quantitative examinations, validations, and replications of PSM-related theories in China.

## KEYWORDS

Public service motivation (PSM); components; dimensions; qualitative inquiry; China

## Introduction

The invention of public service motivation (PSM) represents an effort from public administration scholars to augment the conventional assumption of "*homo economicus*" in the public sector (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2015). PSM stresses that rational, norm-based, and affective motives drive public employees (Perry & Wise, 1990). Although the existence of the PSM construct has been widely acknowledged, there is some disagreement about its core components (Bozeman & Su, 2015). Perry (1996) constructed a four-dimensional measurement scale that encompassed the attraction to public policymaking, commitment to public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice to capture the core components of PSM. Whereas his original construct and measurement tool has been widely validated

across various contexts and sectors (e.g., Bright, 2008; Liu et al., 2015), other studies have reported either low face validity or inconsistent findings that stem from its use (e.g., Giauque et al., 2011; Kim, 2009; Lee & Choi, 2016). On this note, PSM constructs that were initially developed in the US may not capture core “publicness” values in other places.

The institutional theory provides insights into how various institutions, such as cultural and political systems, shape an individual’s value perception and work motivation. Through a typical socialisation process, institutions transmit specific values and identities to their members (Perry, 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007). As a result, people have different perceptions of public values and motivations depending on their contextual perspective. For example, using the International Social Survey Programme’s survey, Norris (2003) detected significant variations in work motivation among public service workers across cultures. Similarly, Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (2008) concluded that the “public” components of PSM vary regionally, which can be attributed to institutional and cultural differences. European authors have indeed confirmed that “local” public ethics, including customer orientation, democratic governance, and political loyalty, should be incorporated into the PSM measure (Ballart & Riba, 2017; Giauque et al., 2011; Vandenabeele, 2008). Likewise, Korean scholars have tried to revise the original PSM construct to suit the Korean context (Kim, 2009, 2017; Lee et al., 2020). However, scholars from other Asian countries, including China, have fallen short of developing a context-specific measure that takes their respective local conditions into full consideration (Mussagulova & van der Wal, 2021; Van der Wal, 2015).

China is a case in point for contextualising PSM as it has a distinct national culture shaped by its long history and unified language. National culture can be understood as a collection of values, beliefs, and attitudes that distinguishes it from that of another nation or society (Hofstede, 1984). Although there is no consensus on an accurate definition of Chinese national culture, scholars have agreed that traditional Chinese culture is deeply rooted in Confucianism, and contemporary Chinese culture is fundamentally shaped by socialism (Fan, 2000). This distinct national culture makes some public values more prevalent in China than other places. For example, scholars have found that authoritarian values constituted unique value preferences for public servants. Particularly in autocracies such as China, an adherence to those values will result in a boost of PSM on the part of civil servants (Chen & Hsieh, 2017; Ripoll & Rode, 2022; Wang & Wang, 2020), whereas democratic governance values may be more prevalent and embraced in European countries, such as Finland and Switzerland (Giauque et al., 2011; Vandenabeele, 2008). Although Korea was deeply influenced by Confucianism, scholars found that Chinese public servants preferred more power-distance values than do Koreans (Lee et al., 2020). Thus, this special national culture gives China an identity that not only distinguishes it from Western culture, which is typically rooted in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, but also from other East Asia countries such as Korea.

However, few efforts (particularly with the aid of qualitative tactics) have explored the meanings and components of PSM in China. The relatively narrow foci of the extant quantitative design have restricted our understanding of the breadth of PSM in China. The qualitative method is thus suitable to inductively identify the specific motives underlying a multidimensional concept like PSM. The combination of both deductive and inductive qualitative analysis can complement the weaknesses of routine survey answers with the strength and possibility of revealing unexpected insights (Azungah, 2018). Departing

from a rational, norm-based, and affective basis of motivation, this article presents a qualitative inquiry with the goal of exploring the context-specific components of PSM among public servants in a Chinese context.

We argue that the theoretical framework of PSM that was developed by Perry and Wise (1990) is universal because it represents individuals' basic psychological needs to do good for others. However, the components that epitomise different core elements of PSM are culturally sensitive, as they are shaped by both culture-specific values and the embedded political system. The PSM scale that is developed in other cultural contexts might ultimately fail to suitably capture the authentic motives held by Chinese public servants (Sun & Gu, 2017). Following this line of thought, the roles that cultural and political systems play in shaping the authentic motivations held by Chinese public servants are worthy of discussion.

This study contributes to the literature on PSM in several ways. First, it is a response to the recent scholarly call to develop culturally sensitive dimensions of PSM in an Asian context (Mussagulova & van der Wal, 2021; Perry & Vandenabeele, 2015; Van der Wal, 2015). Given that most existing PSM studies tend to downplay the cultural and institutional differences between China and other societies, this study demonstrates the cultural boundary and theoretical applicability of the current PSM models. Moreover, unlike most existing PSM studies that have utilised a survey-based design, this study takes advantage of the qualitative method to develop a localised PSM construct (Ritz et al., 2016). Finally, the qualitative inquiry of the sub-components of PSM lays solid groundwork for the development of context-specific measurement items and quantitative validation of seminal PSM theories in China.

The next section reviews the literature on PSM and its development in China. A description of the Chinese context regarding Confucianism, socialism, and the existing civil service system follows. The third section outlines the qualitative methodology. We conclude by presenting the main findings and discussing their implications for future PSM research.

## **PSM: components and dimensions**

PSM emerged in the early studies as a scholarly heuristic, which indicated that different reward preferences and work motivations exist between public and private employees (Horton, 2008). Although empirical evidence has confirmed this (Rainey, 1982), it was not until the 1990s that Perry and Wise (1990, p. 368) explicitly defined PSM as "*an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations*". Whereas definitions of PSM with different foci have been invented by subsequent scholars (e.g., Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999; Vandenabeele, 2007), the general agreement is that PSM is not tantamount to concepts such as altruism, prosocial motivation, or public sector motivation (Perry et al., 2010). Prosocial motivation focuses on specific others and individuals, whereas PSM seeks to contribute to society at large or unidentified groups (Breugh & Ripoll, 2022; Ritz et al., 2020; Schott et al., 2019). Altruism is unidimensional and contradicts egoism, whereas PSM captures multidimensional motives, including both altruistic and egotistic (e.g., rational motive) components (Piatak & Holt, 2020). PSM is not an acronym for public sector motivation either (Vandenabeele et al., 2018), which refers to those broad factors that attract individuals'

joining the public sector, including aspects such as job security, extrinsic rewards, and intrinsic factors (Ritz et al., 2016). Contrary to those broader motivational magnets, PSM focuses on “a particular subset of this type of motivation that people have to serve others and contribute toward the welfare of society at large” (Brewer et al., 2012, p. 1).

PSM is a context-specific concept that is embedded in particular cultures and political systems (Vandenabeele, 2008). Although scholars have tried to develop a universal measurement scale, the initial efforts were unsuccessful (S. Kim et al., 2013). Kim (2021b) replicated the results of S. Kim et al. (2013) and suggested that the relationship between PSM and other constructs can be meaningfully compared among different countries through an international PSM measurement scale. However, using a survey of 23,000 public servants across 10 countries, Mikkelsen et al. (2021) concluded that the causes and consequences of PSM are meaningfully compared across 8 countries, yet its specific meaning and dimensions are not generally comparable among them. Thus, the exact notion and measurement scale of PSM should differ across various cultural and political contexts.

European researchers made progress in developing context-specific dimensions of PSM that consider local cultural values and political systems. To name a few, by analysing the administrative traditions in Spain, Ballart and Riba (2017) demonstrated that adding a new dimension (i.e., public loyalty) into the PSM measurement scale would help achieve a better overall model fit than the original four-dimensional scale. Vandenabeele (2008) indicated that democratic governance should be added to the existing measurement tool in European settings. Giauque et al. (2011) suggested that “Swiss democratic governance” should be added when examining Switzerland.

Notably, academics in Asia also joined this wave of enthusiasm. Korean scholars suggested that traditional Confucianism (such as achieving fame, prestige, and love for the people) should be considered as a crucial source of PSM in Korea (Lee et al., 2020). Chen and Hsieh (2017) demonstrated that submission to authority and male dominance, two Confucian values, would affect PSM in Taiwan. In Islamic countries such as Iraq and Pakistan, scholars found that Islamic religious values and principles serve as salient antecedents of PSM among public servants (Azhar & Steen, 2022; Hassan & Ahmad, 2021). However, although these non-Western PSM studies have highlighted the importance of embracing unique cultural and administrative values in the expression of Asian PSM, only a handful of efforts have succeeded. Context-specific measures to better capture parochial values remain scarce. As Mussagulova and van der Wal (2021) mentioned, “There were few attempts to develop a culturally sensitive measure that would take into consideration local attitudes toward public sector employment and cultural values” (34).

Liu et al. (2008) was the first to test the applicability of the original PSM measurement scale in the Chinese context. Using factor analysis, they found that the compassion (i.e., COM) dimension developed by Perry (1996) was not valid in the Chinese context. Liu and Perry (2016) then tested a revised version of a four-dimension model of PSM based on Perry (1996) and showed its goodness of fit among Chinese public servants. However, this work only revised several existing items to fit the Chinese context, instead of developing cultural- and administrative-specific dimensions that take the specificities of Chinese governance and cultural regimes into account.

In hindsight, the overarching construct of PSM may be universally applicable because it represents individuals’ innate inclination to benefit society. However, there are differences

**Table 1.** Distinct features of Confucian values, socialism, and the existing civil service system in China.

Confucian Values	Socialism	Civil Service System
The vision of commonwealth ( <i>datong</i> ) Benevolent government Rule of virtue ( <i>filial piety</i> )	Communist society Party leadership Collective values	Public servants serve as both the administrators and politicians; Low pay for public servants; No administrative neutrality.

in the antecedents and meanings of doing good for others across different cultures and institutions. For example, although we all talk about public interest, values, and responsibilities, Chinese civil servants may have different understandings of these concepts when compared to their Western counterparts. Based on the institutional theory, we argue that traditional Confucian values, contemporary socialism, and the existing civil service system combine to define the notion and determine the antecedents of PSM as held by Chinese public servants. Besides, PSM is not exclusively held by individuals serving in government organisations. It also pertains to the innermost worlds of those working in other sectors, including non-profit organisations and private companies. PSM is likely more prevalent among public employees, mainly because of the public nature of governmental or quasi-governmental organisations (Perry et al., 2010). This article thus focuses on PSM among public servants, instead of on all types of workers in China.

### **Institutional sources of PSM in China: cultural and political contexts**

PSM is fostered through the socialisation process in which various institutions instil values among individuals (Perry, 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007). These values create a logic of appropriateness to guide people's motives and behaviours. Research has suggested that many institutions, including family, school, religion, and work organisations, simultaneously shape individuals' PSM (e.g., Kim, 2021a; T. Kim et al., 2022; Kiyak & Karkin, 2022; Perry, 1997, 2000; Tao & Wen, 2022; Vandenabeele, 2011). Variations in PSM can also be attributed to differences in broader cultural and political contexts, which influence how public employees define their social identity and manner of benefiting society (Kim, 2017; Ritz & Brewer, 2013).

We argue that traditional Confucian values, contemporary socialism, and the existing civil service system are three major institutional sources of PSM for Chinese public servants. The following sections, rather than presenting comprehensive summaries of detailed cultural, political, and social contexts in China, seek to make sense of what it means to be a public servant in China and to highlight factors that differ significantly from those in the US context (Table 1). This helps us develop a literature-based framework that serves as an underlying structure for the qualitative analysis of how culture and political institutions influence the motives of Chinese public servants.

### **Confucian values**

Confucianism has been dominant in China for a long period. It is also a political discourse that influences a wide range of aspects, including the ruling legitimacy, guiding thoughts,

behaviours of rulers, and citizens' expectations of the government (Jiang, 2018). Jiang (2018) summarised Confucian political theory into five major components. In our view, three of these are related to the cultural source of PSM in China. The first is the vision of the commonwealth (*datong*), which defines the goals of the government and rulers. Rulers are selected because they are assumed to promote the general welfare and build a commonwealth society. This vision gives the government supreme status, and attracts the most talented to join it. This is reflected in the ideal of ancient intellectuals who believed that officialdom was the natural outlet for good scholars (*xue er you ze shi*; Warner, 2010). The pursuit of governmental positions of these intellectuals is not out of self-interest, but rather it serves as the only proper means to achieve the vision of the commonwealth. Thus, in Confucian philosophy, public officials are guardians of public interest with the highest standard of virtue and talent (Frederickson, 2002; Yung, 2014). Gaining fame and prestige by obtaining a leading cadre position is an important motivational factor for the Chinese.

The second component is a benevolent government, a principle for maintaining political and social order. It exists for the benefit of the governed (Jiang, 2018). This provides legitimacy for the government, where governors are committed to serving the people; in return, the subjects willingly submit themselves to the rulers (Frederickson, 2002; Minh Chau, 1996). If a ruler fails to practice benevolent governance, the people should step forward and punish the tyrant.

Finally, Confucianism advocates the rule of virtue to achieve a benevolent government, which requires an excellent ruler to exemplify the virtues of a gentleman (*junzi*). The most important virtue for a gentleman is *filial piety* (Hu, 1997), which means that children should respect and obey their brothers, parents, and elders in the family. A good governor is deemed the best practitioner of filial piety and is expected to apply this spirit to the commoners as though they were family members (Minh Chau, 1996). Thus, Confucians also advocated an idea of the same identity of family and the nation (*jia guo yi ti*). Public officials should combine the love for the family with a love for the motherland.

## **Socialism**

Socialism has been the dominant ideology since the Communist Party of China (CPC) assumed power in 1949. Although the prominence of socialism had eroded after Deng's reform and opening-up policy, it was institutionalised in the CPC's governance strategy and will continue to influence Chinese public servants (Yang, 2012). Socialism advocates building a communist society, an ultimate goal for nearly all communist parties. To achieve this, the most important principle is to see party leadership as an effective tool. With respect to power, socialism has a strong preference for a hierarchical structure where the party has a monopoly over absolute power (Zhang, 2009). The highly centralised and authoritarian system ensures that Chinese governments can act on their will to issue and carry out nearly all policies. A consequence of such a political system is that it reinforces the government-centric conception for Chinese public servants. Socialism also highlights collective values that call for people to sacrifice their personal gain and short-term benefits to achieve a communist society in the long term (Peng & Heath, 1996). This is clearly seen in the oath administered at the time of admission to the CPC: "*I will be ready at all times to sacrifice all that I have in the interest of the party and the people*". The

authoritarian nature of surrounding institutions and values, as contended by Ripoll and Rode (2022), confirms the righteousness of such sacrifices. Thus, from this perspective, serving the people is a principal value for Chinese civil servants.

### ***The civil service system in China***

The civil service system in China is distinct from that of the US. Lam and Chan (1996) summarised several distinctive features of the Chinese civil service system, including the scope of civil service, administrative-political relations, and the nomenklatura system dominated by the party. First, the entire bureaucracy is the civil service (Chan, 2004). Both administrators and politicians are public servants. The identities of a political leader and administrative worker are interchangeable. Public servants who perform well are recognised by the upper-level cadre and then promoted as political leaders (Choi, 2012). All high-ranking officials in China, even as high as the General Secretary of the CPC and Premier of State Council, are promoted from low positions. Thus, the motivation of Chinese public servants should contain both the motives for being civil servants and politicians. Second, low (inadequate) pay for public servants seems to be the norm. All civil servants, including high-ranking cadres, were given a meagre, basic salary to sustain their minimum living requirements (Shi & Wu, 1993). When compared to other sectors in China, the financial allowance of public servants was lower (Chan & Ma, 2011). The increase in salary with tenure and rank was also small (Chew, 1990). Although recent reforms introduced some pay-for-performance practices, the bonus incentives were negligible, as performance assessments were problematic and usually in the hands of political leaders (Chew, 1990; Gao, 2009). Thus, economic rewards are not as attractive as political promotions for motivating public servants. Third, administrative neutrality, a salient value and principle of the Western system, cannot be found in China (Tsao & Worthley, 2009). China is a party-state polity where the CPC plays a dominant role in nearly every domain (Zhang, 2009). There is no exception for cadre management. Unlike North American and West European countries where public servants should be politically neutral, China has specified that supporting the CPC leadership is a requirement for all public servants under its civil service law (Chan & Li; Tsao & Worthley, 2009). Thus, Commitment to the party constitutes a crucial motivational basis for Chinese public servants.

### ***Specificities of the PSM in China***

Perry and Wise (1990) conceptualised PSM as constituting rational, normative, and affective motives. Following this, we developed the specificities of PSM in the Chinese context based on the literature on the culture and political system in China. We further highlighted the differences in relation to this conceptualisation from a Sino-US comparative perspective (Table 2).

Rational motives, as defined by Perry and Wise, signify motivations that are grounded in individual utility maximisation. It can be understood as an instrumental motive that involves the means to achieve public interest at large (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010). The first rational motive for Chinese public servants is *the desire to be a politician*, which denotes the realisation of self-importance and prestige. This is slightly different from Perry



**Table 2.** Differences in rational, norm-based, and affective motives between Chinese and US contexts.

	Chinese Context	US Context
Rational Motive	Desire to be a politician; Commitment to the governance regime; Advocacy for an ideal society.	Participation in the process of policy formulation; Commitment to a public program; Advocacy for an area of special interest.
Norm-Based Motive	Moral obligation to public interests; Government-centric conception; Obedience; Collectivism.	A desire to serve public interests; Loyalty to duty and the government; Social equity.
Affective Motive	Filial piety of benevolence.	Genuine conviction of its social importance; Patriotism of benevolence.

and Wise's (1990) conceptualisation of the rational motive, in which participation in the policy process is the main rational consideration for public servants in the US. This difference can be attributed to the fact that public servants in the US are only administrative workers, whereas Chinese public servants are both politicians and civil servants. The desire to create public policy is subordinate to the desire to be a politician because a politician has the final power to create and change a policy. The second rational motive for Chinese public servants is *advocacy for an ideal society* that originates from both Confucianism and socialism. The desire to build a better society encourages the Chinese to join the government and fulfill their ambition to change the world. Perry and Vandenabeele (2015) noted that the rational motive is associated with loyalty to governance regimes, and suggested the need to capture "local" institutions and an individual's disposition towards the governance regime. Thus, the interest among the Chinese to join the public sector workforce is motivated by their *commitment to the governance regime* because their beliefs around being politicians in such governance systems serve as prerequisites for them to help forge an ideal society and promote social benefits.

Norm-based motivation denotes the need to be consistent with social norms and values. It is also labelled as a value-based motive (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010). We grouped public values for Chinese public servants into four categories. The first category was the *"the obligation to serve public interest"*. In the US context, Perry and Wise conceptualised *"the desire to serve public interest"* as the core normative value. The word "desire" may be traced to Kant's ethical theory, in which moral action is initiated out of free will and is independent of external pressures (Buchtel et al., 2018). However, Confucianism conceives of the notion of the self as social intimacy, assuming that the self is based on social relations and roles (Barbalet, 2014). External duty is not a constraint but an opportunity for individuals to cultivate virtue (Shun & Wong, 2004). Thus, a sense of moral obligation motivates the Chinese to serve public interests. On a related note, the second and third public values are *obedience* and *collectivism*, which have been well documented in the literature (Chen & Hsieh, 2017; Van der Wal & Yang, 2015; Wang & Wang, 2020). The last normative value refers to a *government-centric conception* that highlights the central role of the government in government-society relations. This conception originates from Confucianism's understanding of the political and social order. It is strengthened by the ruling status of CPC in the current politico-administrative system.

Affective motivation is grounded in an individual's emotional state towards others whom they wish to serve. Although it is a general psychological state, culture may affect the basis and expression of benevolence. In a US context, the core affective motive for

public servants was identified as the *patriotism of benevolence* (Frederickson & Hart, 1985). However, unlike Western democracy, which has generally associated benevolence with the nation, Confucianism places the foundation of benevolence on the ground of family-oriented filial piety (Hu, 1997). Succinctly put, Confucius believed that the root of benevolence is filial piety. Confucians have created a higher moral standard for those who obtained a position in the government. They must not only practice filial piety within the family, but extend it to larger social groups as well (Hwang, 1999). In other words, benevolence is an extension of filial piety to others outside of the family circle. It requires public officials to treat people kindly, as though they were their own family members. Thus, in the Chinese context, affective bonding is based on the *filial piety of benevolence*.

## Method

This study relied on a qualitative design, primarily in the form of in-depth semi-structured interviews with incumbent public servants, to explore the critical structural components of PSM held by the Chinese. Qualitative materials provide additional insights into the specific situations that government officials actually experience, complex motivations underlying their decisions and behaviours, and most importantly, the meaning they attach to their choices. These insights are not only useful to theory-building (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) but also serve as an irreplaceable conduit to generate complementary evidence to triangulate quantitative findings (Yin, 2009). Given that a consensus on a well-fitted PSM measurement scale in China is still missing, qualitative methods are essential to informing the localised PSM scale development and additional quantitative testing. International PSM scales have been quantitatively examined several times in a Chinese context. Yet, related qualitative inquiries are still rare. Thus, this qualitative study sheds light on the motivational bases of public servants and spurs more nuanced and context-adjusted quantitative examinations of the PSM effects in China.

A purposive sampling strategy was applied to select interviewees who were believed to possess a higher PSM. This technique is frequently employed in qualitative research to help identify the most information-rich cases (Etikan et al., 2016). In a Chinese context, Liu and Perry (2016) found that new entrants with an average tenure of 4.7 years showed high levels of PSM, and public servants' tenure was negatively associated with their PSM. The underlying mechanism about the waning PSM among public servants remains understudied to date. One plausible explanation is that employees with a longer tenure in public organisations tend to experience more bureaucratic pathologies, such as red tape; thus, they face a declining PSM (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007). It is also probable that their interests in serving the public may have been satisfied at some point, ironically leading to a decline, if not disappearance, in their need to fulfill similar motivations as their careers continue to progress. The average tenure in our samples is similar to that in Liu and Perry (2016), which provides some indirect evidence that the interviewees may have been at the peak of their PSM. Compared with their senior counterparts, those who have only entered the public sector for several years may have a significantly greater passion for their work. To overcome the potential selection bias, we selected civil servants from different regions, departments, and levels. Prior studies have suggested that one should consider the sub-cultures when investigating the notions and levels of PSM, even within a single nation (Ritz & Brewer, 2013). Given that Han ethnicity (the majority ethnic group

in China) shares a different cultural tradition than other ethnic minorities, this study chose interviewees of Han ethnicity only to avoid possible sub-cultural influences. A total of 22 people were interviewed between March 6 and 25 August 2021. This sample size was determined by data saturation, when no quality information with added values appeared in relation to the research questions. Furthermore, it is also consistent with previous qualitative studies of similar natures that claim 15–28 interviews as the threshold range for achieving data saturation (Schott et al., 2019; Vinarski Peretz, 2020). Table 3 presents their characteristics.

Following previous qualitative research on PSM (e.g., Ritz, 2011; Schott et al., 2015; Yung, 2014), we asked respondents to recall their job-seeking and work experience, and this helped us identify the vital motivational factors underlying their public employment selection and active work engagement. The participants were asked to explain their reasons for choosing the government job, their expectations of being a civil servant, the distinct characteristics of a governmental position, factors that (de)motivate them at work, and so on. The interview outline is presented in Appendix A. To learn more about the meaning of PSM from their perspective, we also asked them about their understanding of public interest, values, and responsibilities if they did not explicitly touch upon these concepts themselves. Each face-to-face or telephone interview lasted at least 30 minutes.

The interview recordings were initially transcribed in Chinese prior to translating them into English verbatim using the back-translation process (Brislin, 1970). To guarantee their accuracy and reliability, the transcriptions were also checked by a bilingual translator who was proficient in both English and Chinese. In addition, we shared the translated version with interviewed participants who possessed at least a conversational level of English proficiency, for cross-checking purposes. To achieve data triangulation, two investigators (the first and second authors of this article) independently analysed the interview materials and compared their respective notes. Minor discrepancies were ironed out through face-to-face deliberations. Any major or remaining disagreements were resolved through external discussions with a senior scholar in the home department of both authors.

We used both deductive and inductive coding elements to analyse the data. First, we followed deductive logic and developed the main code template based on the conceptualisation of PSM by Perry and Wise (1990). The main codes we used were the “rational”, “normative”, and “affective” motives. Each main code had several subcodes that were based on the motives identified in the literature review. For example, three subcodes were identified for the rational motive in the Chinese context: “being a politician is a prestige”,

**Table 3.** Sample characteristics.

Characteristics		N	Characteristics		N
Gender	Male	13	Geographic Location	Eastern China	11
	Female	9		Central China	4
Hierarchical Level	Officer	12	Age	Western China	7
	Associate Chief Officer and above	10		Below 25 years	9
Tenure	Below 1 year	4	Organization level	25 to 30 years	10
	1 to 3 years	9		Above 30 years	3
	4 to 5 years	6	County level	12	
	5 years and above	3	Prefectural level	5	
Education	Bachelor's degree and below	15	Provincial level	3	
	Master's degree	7	Central government level	2	

“advocacy for an ideal society”, and “belief in the legitimacy of the political system and party”. Appendix B presents the coding scheme. In the second step, we adopted a line-by-line open-coding strategy to dissect the transcripts, and subsequently developed a variety of codes that capture motivation-related components of our interviewees in full. Finally, we compared our open codes with the ones in the existing template. Where the interview transcripts contained motivational factors that could not be pigeonholed into the template, a new dimension (coding category) was created.

## Findings

The semi-structured interviews with 22 junior public servants working in different sectors and organisational levels revealed similarities in PSM levels. In line with the primary aim of the study, the analysis yielded five main themes from the interviews: The “desire to be a politician” and “advocacy for an ideal society” were transformed into a new category called “predilection toward becoming a politician”. The second category, “an attachment to governance regime”, was maintained as it was identified in the literature. The “government-centric conception”, “obedience”, and “collectivism” were transformed into a new category called “authoritative values”. The last category, “filial piety of benevolence”, was replaced by “the love for family and nation”.

### *Rational motives*

#### *Predilection towards becoming a politician*

Although the respondents showed varying levels of interest in politics and obtaining a leading cadre position, most interviewees admitted that the political incentive was a significant (de)motivating factor for career selection, work engagement, and job satisfaction. Some interviewees bluntly pointed out that the desire to be a politician was their primary consideration while opting for a government job, thus emphasising their instrumental or rational motive. This is clearly depicted in a statement made by a junior public servant:

If you opt for a government job, frankly speaking, what you care about is whether you can be promoted to being the leader of a department or something else like this position.

The respondents also talked about monetary rewards and benefits as their motivation for joining the sector, but emphasised that economic rewards were not as attractive as political promotions, as shown in the following quote:

To some extent, the motivation for work and high job satisfaction still comes from promotions (to higher positions). A promotion to a professional rank is boring because the salary will not increase too much. If you have a good family background, you won't care about the slight increase in salary at all.

However, two junior public servants clearly stated that they had no desire to lead cadre staff when asked about their work motivation. Some interviewees did not talk about their political aspirations at all, but rather emphasised serving the people. Their reluctance to speak about securing power and pursuing politics is understandable because of the strong social desirability pressure (Kim & Kim, 2016; Van der Wal & Yang, 2015). We thus

indirectly probed their political considerations by asking questions on their colleagues' political pursuits and demotivating situations. Nearly all respondents complained that the problematic political promotion system was a demotivating factor. Their interest in politics became clear when these interviewees talked about their peers, as shown in the following example:

Although they (the colleagues) did not explicitly express it, I feel that they actually have a lot of political pursuits. We are all around 30 years of age, which is a young and promising life stage. They desire to do something . . . At the same time, they have the ability (to achieve it).

We examined the meanings of being the leading cadre staff or politicians. In addition to self-interest explanations, the respondents elaborated upon two intrinsic reasons: 1) greater power can create larger occurrences; 2) being a politician is a matter of prestige. Several interviewees described the ideal society that they imagined and emphasised, where they were willing to contribute to its making by joining the government. This was expressed as follows:

I really feel that there is still a big gap between reality and the ideal society in my mind. Although an ideal society looks very idealistic, it is one where the people live and work in peace and contentment. In my dreamland, the system is sound and people's living standards are very high. The judicial systems are relatively complete, and there is less corruption. Evil forces are comparatively fewer. If I can make the entire country move toward this kind of society through my own efforts, I think it would be very valuable.

The interviewees clearly realised that the first step towards achieving their political aspirations and an ideal society was to become a leading politician because only great power can create large occurrences in China. As one interviewee noted:

Why did I desperately choose to be a civil servant? I want to be able to, at least, govern a county or small city in the future. It's not about what you can bring to yourself but having the sufficient power (to change society).

Another group of interviewees explained that being a politician is a matter of prestige, as it made them feel satisfied and self-actualised. One interviewee stated the following:

The sense of accomplishment and self-realization comes from many sources. However, it is very important that the sense of accomplishment and social status be brought on by one's profession. In the northwestern region, being a civil servant is considered decent, which is what I value most when I look for a job.

### ***Attachment to the governance regime***

The interviewees stated that the government was morally superior to the private sector because the primary purpose of the business sector is to make money, whereas the government is committed to contributing to public interests. This enhanced their loyalty to the government, as explained by one public servant in the environmental protection bureau:

My idea, and it may be a little naïve, is that doing business involves taking advantage of asymmetric information and earning profits. Although one can make a profit, such profits are not equivalent to achieving social values. However, the government does not need to

consider profits or costs. No matter how much money is spent, the government will resolutely protect the environment.

The interviewees pointed out that the governance system in China was exceptional and that other systems paled in comparison. This may have partly resulted from the propaganda of the CPC, but may have also been strengthened by the economic and crisis management performance created by the existing system. The commitment to the party constitutes a crucial motivational basis for Chinese public servants, as depicted in the following quote:

The outbreak of COVID-19, I think, gave me the feeling that you can see such a scenario perhaps only in our country in which all leading cadres and the general public work with one heart and one mind. Only in a country like China can the COVID-19 virus be controlled so well.

People (organizational leaders) always say that public servants should put their political allegiance first. While it is unnecessary to hold very strong commitments to the party, at least your political loyalty should be above the pass line. Although you can still be a civil servant even if you do not really support the party's ideas and policies from the heart, you certainly will not do a good job.

### ***Norm-based motives***

#### ***Authoritative values***

The interviewees also talked about the public values that they believed they had to uphold, thus explicitly implying normative motivation. Most participants held a firm belief that those holding centralised power should play a dominating role in social governance, while referring to the government-centric conception. The interviewees described cases where problems emerged and worsened because of the withdrawal of governmental power, as shown in the following quote:

The biggest driving force for environmental protection is certainly the government. In the past, the government was rarely involved in environmental protection, leaving enterprises to themselves (free to emit pollution). Enterprises themselves do not have the motivation to protect the environment as they only care about making money. Only government-led environmental protection can reverse the trend.

Another important public value is collectivism. The interviewees described how collectivist values led to their self-selection into governmental work, and specific incidents where these values supported them in overcoming rough patches. Many participants were proud of their work because they could represent a collective or national stance, rather than being the mouthpiece for special interest groups. This is seen in a statement made by a junior public servant:

Civil servants should have higher ethical standards when compared to the general public. You must have a collective mindset, and sometimes, you must put your personal interests beneath collective ones. When you do things, you have to consider the overall interests of the country or region more.

Obedience is an inclination to comply with the authorities, such as organisational leaders, parents, and organisations. Although both public and business leaders favour obedience from their employees, bureaucratic organisations lean more heavily towards formal rules,

standards, hierarchies, and impersonalisation. The interviewees described obedience as an important personal trait for governmental work. Those who had work experience in private companies unequivocally mentioned that a free working environment did not suit them. In contrast, they preferred to work under clear guidance. This is depicted in the following example:

(As a public servant,) you do not need to have any individual character. The only thing you need to do is to seriously and robotically follow the instructions and policies of leaders. If you have too many unique ideas, you will end up getting (emotionally) hurt.

### ***The moral obligation to serve public interests***

Most respondents argued that serving public interests was a moral obligation for every public servant to fulfill:

I think that in order to be a civil servant, one must first have a sense of responsibility for serving society and the public. Responsibility means that you really want to change something for the betterment of this society and country through your job. No matter how big or small (the actions that you take are), you are serving the people. You must bear this motivation in mind.

We all know that civil servants are obliged to contribute to public interest. This is the principle that has been repeatedly stressed by society and many others around us. Of course, I had this in mind when I chose (to be a civil servant).

The interviewees did not refer to the community even once while talking about public interests. Instead, they linked it to the general public and entire country. This is understandable because the community in China is understood as a geographic unit rather than a public space. When we investigated the meaning of public interests, most public servants tended to agree that when individual clients' interests were at odds with the country's interest, they would choose the latter. This is depicted in the following example:

Civil servants look at problems from a more macro, national standpoint. We are different from those businessmen and ordinary individuals because they only consider whether a policy is good for their individual or family benefits, or the development of their business. But we civil servants consider whether these public policies would bring benefits for overall and collective interests.

### ***Affective motives***

Individuals with high affective motives are more likely to sense others' feelings and offer an emotional response to them. The most frequently mentioned "others" among our interviewees were their parents. They expressed an unshakeable need to care about the feelings of their parents and satisfy their expectations:

An important factor weighing in my job decision was my parents. As I am an only child (of my family), I gave greater consideration to the issue of accompanying and cheering up my parents.

Receiving support from one's parents also constituted an important impetus:

The expectation and support of parents is a very big factor (in choosing to work as a public servant). My parents made it clear that they wanted me to take the civil service exam. If I fail the exam this year, there is no problem. They will support me in retaking the exam next year.

Affective motives were pronounced when respondents talked about their family. One respondent indicated that he was motivated when he thought that civil service work would change the status of his large family. This is depicted in the following example:

Being a civil servant means not only that you are good, but also how you can make relatives and family members around you become better. No one in my family and previous generations has ever been a civil servant. I think this may be wishful thinking for many Chinese people. They want to be upwardly mobile and change their class. Getting this job as a civil servant changes (upgrades) not only me, but also my entire family.

While referencing their love for the country, most interviewees used the phrase “love for both family and the nation” (*jia-guo qinghuai*). Although both are different, the participants considered them analogous. This is seen in the following response from an interviewee:

My classmate is politically ambitious. She also grew up in the countryside and saw a lot of (miserable) things around her family and hometown. I think these experiences reserved space for the love for family and the nation in her heart. She made it clear that she wanted to do things for people, and did not think money was important.

Most interviewees agreed that love for the family and nation would be stronger for public servants than for ordinary people and employees of private enterprises. This is shown in the following example:

I think the love for family and nation may really be more obvious among civil servants. After you engage in this work, you will develop a higher level (of love for family and nation) than those in the enterprises. Sometimes we write and send reports to provincial leaders solely in the hope of generating positive social benefits, such as improving policies and helping everyone live better lives. Extrinsic benefits take a backseat in those moments. I think I have this feeling (love for family and nation) a lot.

## Discussion

This article strives to explore the context-specific components of PSM among young Chinese public servants from rational, norm-based, and affective standpoints. The findings are mostly in line with the existing studies, indicating that the measurement scales developed in the US may not be desirably applicable to an Asian context (Kim, 2009; Liu et al., 2011; Van der Wal, 2015).

First, our findings show that the desire to be a politician, when compared to interests guiding policymaking engagements in the US, is a more salient and special rational motive to enhance civil servants’ self-realisation in China. These differences are rooted in specific cultural values, the existing civil service system, and the overriding dominance of the Communist Party in China. Traditional Confucianism and contemporary socialism advocate that fame and social acknowledgement should be obtained through civil service status (Warner, 2010; Yang, 2012). In Korea where similar Confucian values are upheld, scholars have also indicated that an important motivational factor for Koreans to pass the



civil service examination and enter the government was to gain social prestige and bring glory to the family (Lee et al., 2020).

The civil servant system in China is highly politicised without any differentiation among administrative servants (i.e., careerists) and politicians (Chan & Li, 2007). The motivational bases for Chinese public servants should include those for politicians. Research has distinguished the motivational pattern between politicians and administrative workers (Van der Wal, 2013), indicating that the attraction to public policymaking dimensions cannot capture the “political” motives among Chinese public servants. Generally speaking, extant studies found that motivational bases of behaviours differ between politicians and administrators (Pedersen, 2014; Ritz, 2015). For instance, although the commitment to public interest has constantly been proven as an important impetus for administrators to engage in citizenship behaviours (Kim, 2006), it does not increase the politicians’ work hours for general executive actions (Ritz, 2015). Rather, it is the motivation to obtain a political position that is critical to influencing politicians’ engagement in party-related activities, including interacting with citizens and responding to their demands (Ritz, 2015). Our findings show that Chinese public servants have a high desire to achieve political pursuits and change society by gaining power and cadre status. This may be consistent with public personnel management literature in China, which finds that monetary incentives are not as attractive as political promotion (Chew, 1990; Gao, 2009). For example, Ko and Han (2013) found that “chances to benefit society” was a more important motivator for Chinese university students when opting for governmental jobs than high salaries.

Put differently, since the increase in governmental officials’ PSM and self-realisation aspirations resulted largely from their desire to be politicians and forge better societies, the original attraction to public policymaking dimensions may be insufficient in capturing the rational motives among Chinese public servants. Thus, one suggested dimension for rational motive in a Chinese context is the “*predilection toward becoming a politician*”, and possible items are “I can do and contribute more to society if I become a politician”, “I have a strong desire to amend the flaws in our social system and achieve a better world”, and “I find it satisfying to be a politician”.

As aforementioned, given that the attraction-to-policymaking dimension was originally developed in an American setting (Perry, 1996), its inadequate ability to reflect the local institutional environments in which individuals operated constituted a key limitation (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2015). Perry and Vandenabeele (2015) thus suggested improving the global applicability of the PSM measure by better capturing individuals’ commitments to the respective governance regimes that they are under. Our findings do support the argument that a dimension capturing individuals’ attachment to the governance regime should be added into the current PSM measure. Interviewees who show high loyalty to the governance system are more likely to join the government and engage intensively at work. This is consistent with Kim (2017), who found that adding two items related to loyalty to the Korean democratic regime in the PSM measure would achieve a better measurement fit. Our findings suggest that loyalty to the sole-ruling party (i.e., CPC) serves as a crucial region-specific sub-dimension of PSM among civil servants, implying that PSM research should capture individuals’ commitment to local institutions (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2015). Thus, research in China should neither overlook nor underestimate the leading socialisation role of CPC in shaping the innermost motivations of civil servants. The suggested items for *attachment to the governance regime* include: “Preserving/

upholding the current governance system and leadership of CPC is an obligation on part of civil servants;" "I believe that there is no alternative regime that can viably supersede the existing one;" and "I think that the existing governance system is conducive to the advancement of individual citizens' wellbeing".

Second, the result supports the fact that region-specific public values should be incorporated into a localised measure of PSM (Giauque et al., 2011; Mussagulova & van der Wal, 2021; Perry & Vandenabeele, 2015). For example, scholars have emphasised that several public values, such as democratic governance (Vandenabeele, 2008) and political loyalty (Ballart & Riba, 2017), are more prominent in Europe. Studies set in East Asia show that Confucianism is a distinctive culture and value shared by Korea, Mainland China, and Taiwan (Chen & Hsieh, 2017; Lee et al., 2020). Similarly, the presence of authoritarian institutions and values also functions as a unique booster of PSM in autocracies (Ripoll & Rode, 2022). By the same token, our results confirm that government-centric conception, obedience, and collectivism are prominent among Chinese public servants. The interview responses suggest that individuals who are committed to those values are more likely to work for the government and have high work engagement in China. This is in line with existing research, which shows that the hierarchy culture is positively related to public employees' PSM in China (Lee et al., 2020). We labelled these three components, including the overriding importance of government, sheer willingness to obey authority, and the idea that collective benefits outweigh individual interests, as *authoritative values* because they are unique value preferences exhibited among public employees serving in an authoritarian state, such as China. Possible items under this category include: "Government is the core authority vested with the duty to protect public interest and social welfare;" "Obeying authority is a virtue for a civil servant;" and "I agree that sacrificing individual interests for the sake of the benefits of the majority is necessary".

Most Chinese public servants conceived of their responsibility for public interest as a personal obligation. Studies have showed that some extrinsic motivators like job security are still positively related to PSM in Asia because they support (rather than curtail) individuals' intrinsic motivation (Chen & Hsieh, 2015; Mussagulova et al., 2019). Likewise, a sense of moral obligation to serve public interest is to meet or reinforce one's intrinsic needs of self-importance. We found that the meaning of public interest, as identified by Chinese public servants, differs from those held by their Western counterparts. Most original measurement items in Perry (1996) are related to the community. However, our findings show that "community" is not a meaningful term in the Chinese context. Most Chinese, based on what they confided to us, considered community as having little to do with public life and civic responsibility, but being merely a living space. We recommend using the term "country" or "nation" as alternatives to replace the concept of community in the original commitment to public interest dimension. A possible item for the obligation to serve public interest is: "I consider contributing to my country to be an obligation".

In the eyes of many Chinese, public interest is tantamount to collectivist culture, which prioritises the collective over individual interests (Wang et al., 2002). In some circumstances, collectivism-oriented PSM may result in more negative behavioural consequences because the seemingly noble or at least harmless act of doing good for society and defending public interests may involve bending rules, and may come at the unintended cost of organisations or clients' interests in the long run. Scholars have recently recognised that PSM is not as "bright" as conventionally believed, and have uncovered

some of its negative consequences as well (Ripoll, 2022; Schott & Ritz, 2018). For example, using survey data from Spain, Ripoll and Schott (2020) found that PSM was positively related to social workers' acceptance of unethical behaviours. This is reflected in the old saying, "*A good end justifies the means*". Even if the administrative behaviour jeopardises individual clients' benefits, it is reasonable and acceptable if it is considered good for society. We thus expect the undesirable effect of PSM to be more prominent in a collectivist and authoritarian society in which public interest is generally referred to as the accumulative interest of a whole society rather than the protection of individual rights and benefits.

Finally, our findings reveal that although there are general emotional states towards others, cultural differences continue to exist. In a US context, affective motivation is understood as a special relationship formed among civil servants, citizens, and the nation. However, for the Chinese, it is based on their family and national identities. Namely, it contains a central family-oriented virtue: filial piety. This is consistent with studies that have suggested that filial piety is positively related to PSM (Chen & Hsieh, 2017) and parents' expectations are important for the Chinese to choose to work in the public sector (Chen et al., 2018, 2022). Outside the family context, Chinese public servants do have an affective bond with the nation and citizens. However, our results show that they are more likely to attach affection to the nation rather than to individual citizens, indicating that individual-level compassion for Chinese public servants may be weak. This may be attributed to Confucianism's idea that the compassionate heart of civil servants should be reflected by their visionary policies and governance mechanisms that benefit the people (Yung, 2014). It may, in turn, offer some explanations for why the original dimension of compassion exhibited an unsatisfactory measurement fit in China (Liu et al., 2008). Simply put, the original items of the compassion scale emphasised affection towards individual citizens more than towards collectivities. Since the affective motivations for Chinese public servants focus more on the family and nation, we suggest using the term "*love for family and the nation*" in the Chinese context for a better measurement of affective motivation. The suggested items include: "I will consider how the decision would affect my family;" "I would like to treat citizens as my family members;" "I always think about how I can improve the welfare of the nation through my efforts".

## Conclusion

Notwithstanding the wide acknowledgement of PSM as a value-laden concept, only a handful of efforts have been made to explore the context-specific components of PSM in China (Liu et al., 2008; Mussagulova & van der Wal, 2021). The current study thus fills this lacuna by qualitatively investigating the motives of junior Chinese public servants with respect to their job selection and work engagement. The results of our study, on the one hand, lend empirical support to the universality of the theoretical framework of PSM developed by Perry and Wise (1990). On the other hand, we also demonstrate that the measurement components epitomising different core elements of PSM are culturally sensitive. In a Chinese context, an attachment to the governance regime and predilection towards becoming a politician can be understood as two key rational motives. Confucianism-oriented authoritative values and a moral obligation to serve in the public interest consist of the basis of norm-based motives. Finally, love for

both the family and nation serve as the essential affective motive held by Chinese civil servants.

This study contributes to the PSM literature in several ways. It is the first study to respond to the scholarly call to tailor the components and dimensions of PSM for a certain country in the Asian context (Liu et al., 2008; Mussagulova & van der Wal, 2021; Ritz et al., 2016). Based on the institutional theory, we linked the specific Chinese cultural and political contexts with the motivational basis of Chinese public servants. Given that most current studies tend to downplay or ignore cultural differences while applying PSM theories to make sense of phenomena occurring outside the US, this study expands our knowledge of the cultural boundaries and theoretical applicability of current PSM models. Furthermore, qualitative data are rarely utilised in PSM research (Bozeman & Su, 2015; Ritz et al., 2016). Thus, this study adopted a qualitative approach that is vastly different from existing quantitative statistical analyses. The narrative data helped explore culturally sensitive settings and the unique motivational basis of Chinese public servants. Finally, several dimensions and items confined to a Chinese context were identified, including the *“predilection toward being a politician”*, *“an attachment to governance regime”*, *“moral obligation to serve public interest”*, *“authoritative values”*, and *“love for the family and nation”*. These findings will undoubtedly lay the groundwork for the design of a context-specific PSM measurement scale, and invite quantitative examinations of cutting-edge PSM theories in China.

Our study also has several limitations. First, the findings are based on our conversations with 22 interviewees working in governmental organisations. Although we did our best to increase the diversity of the samples, caution must be exercised while generalising the results to all levels of government employees in China. For one, our samples comprise of new entrants in the government, which may have some disadvantages as it takes time for public organisations to transmit pertinent values to their members. This study also focused only on public servants working in the government sector, while ignoring other types of public employees in China, such as those in state-owned enterprises, social service institutions (*shiyè danwèi*), and mass political organisations. It would be premature to assume that the components of PSM are the same for all of them. Additionally, this study focuses solely on permanent employees. However, contractual workers on a temporary basis constitute a major part of the public workforce in China, especially at the local level. The motivational basis of this population seems to have been systematically ignored in the literature, which, in our view, leaves fertile ground for future research to explore. Finally, although a shared cultural identity at a national level is developed among the Chinese, sub-cultures continue to exist, especially for different ethnicities with their native languages. For example, using data from Switzerland, Ritz and Brewer (2013) found that Swiss German public employees had a higher level of PSM than did Swiss-French public employees. Our samples were of the Han ethnicity, which limited our capacity to detect whether minority groups in China would have a different pattern of PSM. Future research should explore the role of social culture in affecting the PSM levels of public employees with different ethnic backgrounds.

In conclusion, this article represents a pioneering attempt to advance the current understanding of PSM components among civil servants in China. While this study is inherently narrow in scope, it may viably stimulate the efforts put into the development and refinement of a localised measure of PSM in a Chinese context by future scholars.

Using larger, more heterogenous samples and by virtue of quantitative analytical techniques, further China-focused research ought to consider our suggested items and dimensions to better gauge the levels of PSM, not only for public servants, but also for non-profit and private employees. We also encourage PSM scholars worldwide to pay heed to the local institutions on their home soil and contribute to PSM wisdom through the addition of local insights.

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## Appendix A. Interview Outline

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### Introduction

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Q1: Can you recall a time where you actively job hunted?

Q2: Why did you choose to be a civil servant?

Q3: How is your current job different from one in a private company? Or why have you never considered working in the private sector?

Q4: Do you know why your colleagues chose to be civil servants?

Q5: What are your career expectations? Please elaborate.

Q6: Can you recall anything that occurred in your workplace that may have (de)motivated you from working with full commitment?

Q7: Overall, do you feel satisfied with your job? Why or why not?

Closing off

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## Appendix B. Codes and Sub-Codes

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### Public Service Motivation

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#### Rational Motives

- Being a Politician is Inherently Prestigious
- Advocacy for an Ideal Society
- Beliefs around the Legitimacy of the Political System and Party

#### Norm-Based Motives

- Contribution to Public Interests
- Government-Centric Conception
- Submission to Authority
- Collectivist Value Perception

#### Affective Motives

- With Parents
  - With Extended Family Members
  - With Society
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