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**“All quiet on the non-Western front?”
A review of public service motivation scholarship in
non-Western contexts**

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Abstract

While public service motivation (PSM) research has recently become more internationalised, over 80% of all scholarship is still being conducted in Europe and the United States. In this article, the focus is on recent PSM scholarship in non-Western contexts, involving 36 empirical studies published between 2000 and 2014. Of particular interest are the origins of scholarship, the theories, samples and methodologies used, and the empirical findings on the relation between PSM and key antecedents and outcomes. The findings show that the use of theoretical and methodological approaches with a Western signature is sometimes problematic in explaining motivational and organisational dynamics in non-Western contexts. In response, the discussion concludes by proposing a research agenda for non-Western PSM research with three key interest areas: cultural values and societal disposition, different types of motivators and their relation with PSM, and links between public service ethos, institutions, and PSM.

Keywords: Public service motivation; public management; public service ethos; developing countries; Asia

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Introduction

Public service motivation (PSM) research has mushroomed in public administration in the last 15 to 20 years (Perry, Hondeghem & Wise, 2010; Perry, 2014), particularly since the development and testing of Perry's (1996, 1997, 2000) 24-item scale that has provided the methodological impetus for most PSM research. The concept emerged from discussions on public service ethics in the 1970s (Buchanan, 1975), which provided a counterview to cynical perceptions of self-interested, extrinsically motivated bureaucrats depicted by public choice theorists (eg., Tullock, 1976). Building on Rainey's (1982) work which showed that public sector employees have stronger interests in pursuing ideological or altruistic goals than their private sector counterparts, Perry and Wise (1990, p. 368) developed the idea of PSM which they defined as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations".

Subsequently, Brewer and Selden (1998, p. 417) have defined PSM as "the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service", while Rainey and Steinbauer (1999, p. 23) have viewed PSM as a "general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind", thus explicitly associating PSM with altruism. Perry and Hondeghem (2008, p. 3) draw a clear distinction between public service motivation and public sector motivation, the latter of which refers to more extrinsic motives for public sector employment such as job security, work-life balance, and pension systems.

Dissatisfied with most PSM definitions that do not take into account the institutional role of values and states in shaping an individual's service motivation, Vandenabeele (2007,

p. 547) redefined PSM as “the beliefs, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate”. To better accommodate commonalities of the PSM construct in international settings, Kim and Vandenabeele (2010) proposed changes to the multi-dimensionality of PSM, defining it on the basis of self-sacrifice and adding three categories of motives: instrumental, value-based, and identification. Recently, Kim, et. al. (2013) have further explored the explanatory power of the concept in different countries with a large-scale comparative survey study.

Studies have shown that PSM is generally associated with better job and organisational performance (Naff & Crum, 1999; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2005; Brewer, 2008; Petrovsky & Ritz, 2014). Highly motivated employees, who are driven by a belief that their work serves a greater purpose and the larger community, can increase the effectiveness of public service delivery with limited government resources. Hence, PSM is of apparent concern to practitioners who strive to increase the effectiveness of public organisations and improve recruitment and retention practices.

Given that Perry and Wise (1990) construed the notion of PSM and Perry (1996) developed the PSM scale in the context of public institutions in the US, the initial American dominance in this field should come as no surprise. In response, in the past decade, scholars have tested the validity and reliability of PSM in a variety of geographical contexts to examine whether PSM is relevant beyond the American context (cf., Horton & Hondeghem, 2006; Kim, et. al., 2013).

While research has shown that PSM exists in many countries (Vandenabeele, Scheepers & Hondeghem, 2006; Houston, 2011; Kim, et. al., 2013), its validity as a universal construct still suffers from two major problems. First, conceptual and operational definitions of PSM in different cultural contexts display considerable variety (Vandenabeele, 2008; Giauque, Ritz, Varone, Anderfuhren-Biget & Waldner, 2011; Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang & Yu, 2011), which are not always consistent with the initial PSM theory (Kim, et. al., 2013). Thus, even in countries where the general PSM construct has been demonstrated to exist, differences exist in sub-dimensions of the construct (Vandenabeele, Scheepers & Hondeghem, 2006; Kim, 2009a; Kim, 2009b) and in their antecedents and consequences (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle, 2008; Houston, 2011).

Second, international comparative PSM research has mostly focused on contrasting Anglo-American and Western European settings (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle, 2008; Kim, et. al., 2013). Indeed, over 80% of all PSM scholarship between 1990 and 2013 has been conducted with data from either the United States or Europe (Ritz, Brewer, & Neumann, 2013). Moreover, as scholarly work on PSM continues to extend to other geographical regions, most studies still focus on the nature of PSM in developed countries (Liu, Thang & Zu, 2008; Liu, Du, Wen & Fan, 2012). There is little research on the nature and motives of public employees in the developing world or more traditional societies (Liu, 2009; Liu & Tang, 2011).

The second of these two problems provided a stimulus for this review, which recognises that many current PSM studies may not be representative of countries in other geographic regions that possess peculiar historical, cultural, governance and institutional contexts that are unlike those in the West. For example, many non-Western countries do not have well-

developed public administrations or a well-established public service ethos like their Western counterparts.

The specific aim of the review is to examine how PSM is studied in non-Western contexts. It addresses published PSM literature from non-Western countries in terms of the number of publications and authors that have emerged since year 2000; the most frequently used publication outlets; the major conceptual underpinnings of the research conducted; the types of research designs, data sources and analytical methods employed; and the major lines of study and contents of the published literature. Thereafter, an overview is provided of the variables and relationships scholars have empirically tested, followed by a discussion of the theoretical and methodological implications of the review's findings, the limitations of the review, and three key interest areas for a PSM research agenda in non-Western settings.

Methodological approach

The review employs the framework developed by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2013). It adds to that framework by distilling research that has made use of empirical data or examined the PSM construct in a non-Western setting, and also by including studies that were published since Ritz, Brewer and Neumann completed their analysis.

The research for the review was conducted as follows. A search was performed of seven public administration journals,¹ along with a search using a major online database, Scopus, to

¹ The seven journals are: *Public Administration Review*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, *The International Public Management Journal*, *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, and *International Review of Public Administration*. These journals were selected because they are some of the leading journals in the field of Public Administration. In addition, (other) journals based in Asia were included to ensure that studies of PSM in non-Western settings would be identified.

identify journal articles from other peer-reviewed journals. The timeframe for all searches was 2000 to 2014. While this timeframe does not cover research on PSM in non-western contexts between 1990 (the year Perry and Wise developed the construct) and 2000, initial search findings and preliminary network analysis showed that most, if not all, of the PSM research in non-Western settings began after 2005.

The keywords used in the search were “public service” and “motivation”, with a focus only on articles with international comparisons of the PSM construct or empirical research conducted outside of the United States and Europe. This search process resulted in a set of 47 articles. The articles to be included in the review were then selected based on two methodological criteria similar to those used by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2013). First, the construct of PSM as developed by Perry and Wise (1990) had to be included as one of the variables studied or topics discussed. Second, studies had to apply an instrument to measure PSM, even though it could be different from Perry’s (1996) multi-dimensional PSM scale. The result was the inclusion of 36 articles.

Findings and analysis

Number of publications

As shown in Figure 1, PSM in the non-Western context is only beginning to emerge, with most of this scholarship being in Asia. The number of articles published in the English language outside of the West was scant until 2011 (7 articles, 19.44%), but has been growing steadily since 2012. A total of 36 PSM articles were published during the period of study, with slightly more than half of them published after 2012 (19 articles, 52.77%). The number

of articles peaked in the first nine months of 2014 (14 articles, 38.88%) which marked the end of the review period. This illustrates intensified interest and credence in PSM research from a non-Western perspective.

[place Figure 1 here]

Number of new authors

Figure 2 shows the number of new PSM authors on a yearly basis.² The number was relatively low between 2005 and 2010 (5 new authors). However, there was a significant increase in the number of new authors from 2011 to 2014 (40 new authors), with most of them entering in 2013 and 2014 (27 new authors).

[place Figure 2 here]

A closer examination of the institutional bases of the new authors indicates that non-Western scholars are indeed taking up PSM scholarship: China (13 authors, 29.55%), South Korea (8 authors, 18.15%), Taiwan (4 authors, 9.09%), Hong Kong (2 authors, 4.55%), Singapore (2 authors, 4.55%), India (2 authors, 4.55%), Bangladesh (2 authors, 4.55%) and Egypt (1 author, 2.27%). The remaining new authors were based in Australia (1), the United States (4 authors), the United Kingdom (4 authors) and the Netherlands (2 authors).

² Following Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2013), a “new author” was defined as the first time an individual’s name appears in the chronologically arranged dataset. Subsequent publications by the same author were ignored.

Of the 36 articles published, 22 of them were co-authored (61%). Nine of these 22 articles (41%) featured a partnership between authors from Western and non-Western institutional bases. Two notable Asian scholars who have ventured into PSM research are Liu (Shanghai Jiao Tong University, 10 articles) and Kim (Seoul University of Science and Technology, 7 articles).

Publication outlets

In terms of publication outlets, 16 journals carried articles on PSM with a focus on a non-Western context, with 12 (75%) of them being public administration/management/policy journals: *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* (5), *Public Administration Review* (4), *International Journal of Public Administration* (3), *Public Management Review* (3), *Public Personnel Management* (3), *International Review of Public Administration* (2), *Public Administration* (2), *International Review of Administrative Sciences* (2), *Review of Public Personnel Administration* (2), *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* (1), *American Review of Public Administration* (1) and *Journal of Asian Public Policy* (1). Of these 12 journals, only three are edited outside the United States, United Kingdom and Western Europe: *International Review of Public Administration* (South Korea), *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* (Hong Kong) and *Journal of Asian Public Policy* (Hong Kong).

The four non-PA journals with articles that touched on non-Western PSM are *Social Behavior and Personality* (3), *International Journal of Manpower* (2), *Theory and Decision* (1) and *Chinese Management Studies* (1). These journals cover a range of disciplines, including economics, business, psychology and sociology, indicating that PSM is increasingly

being tackled in other fields of study (cf., Ritz, Brewer & Neumann, 2013).

Theoretical approaches

To understand how non-Western scholars view PSM, an analysis was made of the underlying theoretical frameworks used. To facilitate comparisons with the findings of Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2013), theoretical frameworks and approaches were grouped according to the 11 major theoretical lines they used. Given that the studies included in the present dataset had to discuss substantially the PSM framework introduced by Perry and Wise (1990), PSM was not included as a separate category. Table 1 shows the distribution of underlying theories.

[place Table 1 here]

In non-Western scholarship, the theoretical frameworks are similar to Western scholarship, such as motivation and job choice theories, as well as institutional, culture and socialisation factors. Because formal and informal rules, norms and values are instrumental in structuring or brokering relationships between public employees and public organisations, the motives of public employees need to be framed within a larger context than just individual dispositions (Perry, 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007; Liu & Tang, 2011; Chen, Chi-Wei & Chen, 2013). Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang and Yu (2011) suggest that in East Asian public sectors, social environments and relationships are particularly important in determining one's career.

Research designs and methods

Four aspects of research designs and methods were analysed. There included sample selection, data collection methods, dimensions of PSM and measurement scales, and analytical techniques (cf., Ritz, Brewer & Neumann, 2013).

(a) *Sample selection.* The geographical origins of the empirical data collected for each study were analysed, with multiple classifications being assigned to the six studies in the dataset which utilised data from several countries: see Table 2. As shown, while almost all researchers studying PSM in Northeast Asia employed primary survey data as their empirical data, the empirical data from other regions were mainly obtained through international surveys such as the World Values Survey (WVS) and International Social Survey Program (ISSP).

[place Table 2 here]

The types of respondents were also examined. First, a significant portion of the respondents was from the public sector, holding either managerial, executive or supervisory positions (42.86%), or non-managerial positions including street-level bureaucrats (44.90%).³ Of these studies, four samples were part-time students in a Master of Public Administration programme. A small number of surveys were of private sector employees (8%) and full-time university students (4%). Second, a key difference with PSM scholarship more broadly (cf., Ritz, Brewer & Neumann, 2013) is that none of the non-Western PSM literature contained samples from the non-profit sector or from politicians. Third, in terms of levels of government, more than half of the public sector samples surveyed comprised employees of local governments, with less than a quarter of the samples including employees from national

³ In some studies, two separate surveys were conducted

and central governments, and a little over 10% from state, provincial and local governments.

(b) Data collection methods. Most studies (65.61%) in the dataset utilised survey research as the primary means of obtaining and analysing PSM data from respondents, while eight studies (25%) employed secondary analyses of survey data. Only a very few studies used individual interviews (2 studies, 6.26 %) and mixed-method approaches (1 study, 3.13%). All but one study used cross-sectional designs (32 in total). No studies employed quasi-experimental designs, non-survey archival data, or other data collection approaches (cf., Ritz, Brewer & Neumann, 2013).

(c) Analytical methods and measures. An investigation into the analytical methods employed by non-Western PSM researchers revealed that a combination of diagnostic tools has been applied: see Table 3. Two thirds of the methodologies used concerned multivariate or bivariate analyses (eg., measures of association or tests of differences), including factor analyses that evaluated the validity, reliability and internal consistency of Perry's (1996) PSM scale, and various types of regression analyses (66.66%). Some studies (26.76%) used univariate and descriptive statistics, and only three studies (3.57%) used qualitative analytical techniques.

[place Table 3 here]

Almost two-thirds of the studies (63.88 %) incorporated all four dimensions of Perry's (1996) PSM scale in their analyses. Five studies (20.83 %) used three dimensions, two studies (8.34%) assessed two dimensions, and one study (4.17%) included only one dimension of the PSM scale. Of these eight studies, five (20.83%) modified Perry's (1996) original scale to suit

the local context, but they kept the changes in line with the spirit and intent of Perry's original scale.

(d) Lines of study and contents. Table 4 displays the various analytical goals of the studies in the dataset. The goals were coded in accordance with the classifications employed by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2013), with multiple classifications per study being possible. Of the studies in the dataset, 24 analysed the relationships between PSM and various outcome variables, eight of which included moderating or mediating variables in the analyses of the PSM-outcome relationship. Sixteen studies tried to further develop the instruments for measuring PSM, while 11 of them addressed practical implications for public sector human resource management. Ten studies investigated the relationship between PSM and potential antecedents. Ten studies comprising a conceptualisation of the PSM construct in a non-Western context attempted to further develop or integrate theoretical perspectives.

[place Table 4 here]

Nine studies used data from multiple countries to examine PSM comparatively.⁴ Most studies dealt solely with PSM in a local or national context. Very few studies compared PSM across the public, private and non-profit sectors. Three studies constituted a review study or a research overview.

Similar to the development of PSM scholarship in the United States and Europe, much of the early non-Western PSM literature was focused on analysing outcomes: for instance,

⁴ These studies included more than one country in the empirical analyses to draw lessons on differences in the PSM construct or measurement in different national or local settings.

using Bono and Judge's (2003) scale for job satisfaction and Cable and Rue's (2002) measure for person-organisation fit. Later studies examined in greater detail the antecedents of PSM and moderating variables in the relationships between PSM and outcome variables.

Table 5 shows that the most commonly studied antecedents of PSM are gender, age and education. Other frequently examined variables include job grade and rank, job tenure and public sector experience, job attributes, roles and categories, and employee-leader relations. On the types of associations between antecedents and PSM, the aggregate findings of the dataset are that a large number of the quantified results are mixed or neutral (41 instances).

[place Table 5 here]

Given the relatively small number of studies included in this review, caution is needed in drawing generalisable conclusions on the relationships between antecedents and PSM, especially for antecedent variables that have only been studied by one or two researchers. Nevertheless, for antecedent variables that were included in at least five studies (eg., demographic characteristics), the results highlighted that women tend to display higher levels of PSM. Increases in age, better employee-leader relations, and suitable job attributes and roles are also positively related to the increases in PSM levels (cf., Ritz, Brewer & Neumann, 2013).

With reference to the empirically tested outcomes within the dataset, the most commonly examined outcome variables were occupational and sector choice, job satisfaction, organisational citizenship behaviour, and organisational compatibility: see Table 6. The

aggregate results show a substantive set of positive relationships between PSM and outcome variables (63.64%), particularly with job satisfaction. Two studies registered significant negative outcomes of PSM, namely turnover intentions and corruption permissiveness, which was in line with the general effect of PSM on these types of employee behaviours.

[place Table 6 here]

Like Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2013, p. 19) discovered, the dataset shows that the PSM scholarship in non-Western contexts is “unabashedly pro public service motivation”. It lacks a discussion of the potential negative consequences of PSM.

Also examined was the role of moderating or mediating variables in relationships between PSM and outcome variables. As Wright (2008, p. 92) noted, there is a need to investigate the potential factors that “mediate and moderate the relationship between PSM and important work-related outcomes” due to the complex and multi-dimensional nature of PSM, which could exert multiple influences on work attitudes and behaviours. Eight studies employed moderating factors in their analyses. These moderating variables included the love of money (Liu & Tang, 2011; Liu, Zhang, Du, & Hu, 2013), person-organisation fit (Kim, 2012; Gould-Williams, Mostafa & Bottomley, 2013; Liu, Tang & Yang, 2013), pay satisfaction (Chen & Hsieh, 2014), organisational identification and community citizenship behaviour (Liu & Perry, 2014), and familial financial conditions (Pandey & Jain, 2014). One study analysed PSM as a moderating variable between the efficiency emphasis of South Korean local government agencies and employee turnover intentions.

Theoretical and methodological implications of the findings

Perry (2014) recently suggested that a third wave of PSM scholarship is beginning to emerge, and it is particularly important that non-Western scholars ride this wave. He suggested four activities in this third wave agenda: “pursuing more robust research designs that include field and laboratory studies; improving measurement to strengthen the construct and increase reliability and validity, particularly in cross-national studies; conducting more research on multiple incentives; and increasing efforts to apply theory and research findings to test the efficacy of strategies using public service motives” (Perry, 2014, p. 38).

In general, based on the findings of this review, non-Western PSM researchers are moving in the right direction and are asking the appropriate questions to take this sub-field further. However, non-Western PSM researchers should start developing and testing more unique theories of PSM outside the Western context, and begin to move away from simply validating or debunking Western PSM findings, or from “copying” existing instruments, approaches and data collection methods.

Chen and Hsieh (2014) observe that the motivation of public service officials in non-Western contexts might be spurred by a range of extrinsic motivations, particularly pecuniary incentives (the “love-of-money”) and job security, or at least by mixed motives extending beyond just PSM (Yung, 2014a). In the same vein, Infeld, Adams, Qi and Qi’s (2010) comparative study between MPP and MPA students from China and the United States shows that the former are far less driven by intrinsic factors. Moreover, others argue that in countries such as China, India, Malaysia and Singapore, where government jobs have more societal

stature (Infeld, Adams, Qi & Qi, 2010; Liu, Tang & Yang, 2013) and often provide better primary and secondary benefits than private sector jobs (Taylor & Beh, 2013), public and private sector employees may show different (and arguably less) contrasts than in most Western countries. In short: public sector motivation may crowd out, or at least co-exist with, public service motivation in the make-up of the motivational spectrum of public sector employees in non-Western settings, arguably even more so than in Western settings, although future comparative research is needed to further examine this issue. Such research could build on the excellent work by Taylor and Taylor (2010) and Perry (2014) on how multiple, potentially conflicting incentives affect public service conduct.

In addition, non-Western PSM research should move beyond individual dispositions and motives towards the study of institutional and environment contexts and how these might affect PSM (see, eg., Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 2000), as well as account for differences in PSM across regions and countries (cf., Kim, et. al., 2013). More insights are needed into how institutional factors affect PSM, particularly in ill-functioning public sectors in developing countries as “tough governance settings” characterised by major corruption issues and ambiguous international pressure for public sector reform (Andrews, 2013). The insights will add greatly to a range of public management debates in such settings. In this regard, institutional antecedents that PSM researchers in non-Western contexts may consider include political regimes, organisational culture, social and religious beliefs (eg., Confucianism), formal and informal relationships between politicians and public servants (cf., Van der Wal, 2013), and public service ethos and values (cf., Rayner, Williams, Lawton & Allinson, 2011).

Three methodological implications in particular emerge from the review. First, articles

studying PSM across different countries are scarce, with few useful exceptions aside (eg., Kim, et. al., 2013). This is not surprising, given that many researchers still attempt to codify PSM within their own national contexts. An interesting angle to consider is intra-regional examination of PSM in China, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan, particularly given that substantial PSM research emerges in each of these countries and that their populations and administrations share cultural similarities (cf., Besley & Persson, 2013). This would undoubtedly take PSM theory in Northeast Asia a step forward through further tests of validity and confirmation.

Second, scholars have questioned for some time now the psychometric acceptability of individual dimensions of PSM, emphasising conceptual weaknesses in the operationalisation of sub-dimensions in different national, cultural and institutional settings (Liu, Tang & Zhu, 2008; Kim, et. al., 2013). In particular, they have found that the sub-dimensions of “attraction to policymaking” (Lee, 2005; Kim, 2009a, 2009b) and “compassion” (Liu & Tang, 2011) are problematic in non-Western contexts. Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang and Yu (2011) highlighted that this may be due to differing cultural contexts resulting in subjective interpretations of the questions and dimensions of Perry’s scale. This is particularly problematic if a survey is administered in a language that is not familiar to the participants, or if the survey questions are not properly translated (Chen, Chih-Wei & Chen, 2013; Gould-Williams, Mostafa & Bottomley, 2013; Hsu & Sun, 2014). Also, increased bias and decreased validity may result from surveys administered in a “mandatory” or unsafe environment that compromises regular survey procedures (Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang & Yu, 2011, p. 193). At the same time, the “universal” PSM scale has to cater to different country contexts.

In response to such concerns, Kim, et. al. (2013) created a new four-dimensional 16-

item measure and examined data collected from 12 countries. They conclude that PSM researchers should exercise caution in making direct comparisons or correlations across populations. Kim (2009b) revised the “attraction to policymaking” sub-dimension of Perry’s (1996) scale to include positively worded items about politics and politicians. However, further tests are required to replicate, validate and confirm these scales (Liu, Tang & Zhu, 2008; Kim, et. al., 2013), particularly in populations with shared cultural backgrounds (hence, the above suggestion about countries with a shared Confucian tradition).

Third, all studies have highlighted practical and analytical problems associated with using cross-sectional data. At the same time, such data were the data of choice in almost all of the studied articles. All researchers have indicated a need to employ longitudinal research designs to address the causality of the hypothesised relationships within PSM research (Kim, 2005, 2006; Liu, Tang & Zhu, 2008; Liu, 2009; Liu & Tang, 2011; Gould-Williams, Mostafa & Bottomley, 2013), especially if one wants to capture a dynamic concept such as PSM (Liu & Perry, 2014). Obviously, this issue affects PSM research as a whole, not just non-Western PSM research. This line of reasoning harks back to Wright and Grant (2010, p. 693), who advocate clearer disentanglement of variables and more use of field experiments and quasi experiments, while suggesting that “to determine the degree to which PSM is an antecedent or a consequence of employee job decisions, scholars must make greater use of longitudinal designs that allow the independent variable – whether it is PSM or employment sector choice – to be measured at multiple points in time or prior to observing a change in the dependent variable.” Furthermore, Kim (2006, 2012) and Jang (2012) have observed that self-reported data might have played a part in inflating the stated levels of PSM and most likely are a result of common method biases. Chen and Hsieh (2014) make a similar argument about social desirability bias.

Overall, this review is not without its limitations. It has only covered journal articles published in English, so it may not have captured PSM research in the native languages of non-Western countries. For instance, it was surprised not to find any primary research on PSM in Japan, though such research may have been published in Japanese language journals. Indeed, the number of studies in English may significantly understate the volume of research that has been conducted in non-Western countries. The field would greatly benefit from non-Western scholars who have published in English bringing the non-English literature from the “shadows” (eg., by translating abstracts of non-English publications), making it accessible to scholars globally. Moreover, the number of articles included in this review is rather small and might not be entirely representative of forthcoming PSM research in non-Western contexts. Nevertheless, the review has been useful in taking stock of non-Western PSM research.

A research agenda for non-Western PSM scholarship: three interest areas

Based on the review, three key interest areas are identified for the development of non-Western PSM scholarship. They include cultural values and societal disposition; the distribution and interplay between different types of motivators; and the relations between PSM, public service ethos and institutions in developing political economies.

The influence of cultural values and societal disposition on PSM

Many studies in the dataset emphasised the importance of taking into account cultural and administrative values and dispositions to help explain motives of public officials and to conceptualise PSM in particular national settings. For instance, Kim (2006, 2009a,b)

emphasises differences between the values and culture of American society and Korean society. He observes that working relationships among Korean employees are underscored by a strong “we-spirit” that is premised on the affiliation with values such as equality and solidarity, quality inter-personal relationships, and a harmony-oriented culture (Kim, 2006, p. 724). Besides a collectivist culture, he highlights that “the structure of PSM in Korea is influenced by Confucian values”, which are deeply ingrained within Korean society; hence, normative and affective motives of PSM are more related to Korean’s administrative and societal culture than rational motives (Kim, 2009a, p. 841).

The distinctiveness of culture and the influence of Confucianism were similarly observed in the Chinese context. Liu (2009, p. 361) notes that “Commitment to the public interest and self-sacrifice in Chinese administrative attitudes, ethics, and behaviours can be traced to the Confucian principle of self-discipline, which stresses the importance of individual character for employees in administrative and public sectors”. Yung (2014b) adds that Confucianism underscores the importance of being “other-regarding” and “acting for the sake of the people, rather than serving the self-regarding ends, such as self-enjoyment of excitement, assertion of self-importance, and so forth, in public policy making”. As such, Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang and Yu (2011) believe that the normative motives espoused by Perry and Wise (1990) are most relevant for conceptualising PSM in the Chinese context.

In the same vein, Gould-Williams, Mostafa and Bottomley (2013) note that the Egyptian culture is also highly collectivistic and strongly influenced by Islamic work values. To advance research in the relationship between PSM and cultural values and disposition, they suggest that future studies should “disentangle the unique contributions of PSM vis-à-vis collectivism, which appears to have synergistic effects in the Egyptian public sector” (Gould-

Williams, Mostafa & Bottomley, 2013, p. 19).

Dur and Zoutenbier (2014, p. 153) suggest that a new direction for non-Western PSM research would be to examine how “*cultural differences* affect the supply and sorting of motivated workers”. In addition to culture, political and social environments can also affect PSM levels.

Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang and Yu (2011) emphasise that the Chinese emphasis on *guanxi* (relationship) and social capital are instrumental in successful job search and career development. Jahan and Shahan (2012) highlight that, in Bangladesh, the political-social context, particularly the “bureau bashing” by politicians and the public, have adversely affected the image of Bangladesh’s bureaucrats and their PSM levels.

Distribution and interplay between different types of motivators

Many PSM scholars have proposed ways to relate more clearly individual PSM dispositions to rational motives and extrinsic drivers underpinning public sector employment (eg., Kim, 2009a, b; Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010; Kim, et. al., 2013; Perry, 2014; Van der Wal, 2013). Several studies in the dataset reiterated the importance of rational motives as significant incentives for joining the public sector, especially in the Chinese and Korean context. Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang and Yu (2011) found that the attraction to the public sector in China could also be related to job security, relatively high wages, and power and prestige that come with policymaking in Chinese public administration; although Liu and Perry (2014) nuance the importance of job security vis-à-vis PSM in a more recent study in China, while Chen and Hsieh (2014) observe that job security is positively related to PSM. Liu and Tang (2011) also

identified “love of money” as an important mediating factor in the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction.

At the same time, authors in Confucian settings stress collectivism and the urge to be “other-regarding” and “people-oriented” (cf., Van der Wal & Yang, forthcoming). These seemingly counterintuitive findings suggest the need for more clarity on the relative weight of PSM dimensions, rational motives, and other intrinsic and extrinsic drivers for public sector employment in non-Western countries, instead of simply dichotomizing public service motivation and public sector motivation (cf., Van der Wal, 2013, p. 751).

Public service ethos, PSM and institutions in developing contexts

There is a need to examine more closely how public service ethos – including both motivations and values (Rayner, Williams, Lawton & Allinson, 2011) – is shaped by institutions in less developed countries. While Houston (2014, p. 16) argues that having a strong public service ethos is most important in such countries, the existence of such an ethos is far from self-evident in “tough governance settings” with considerable corruption issues, volatile and unsafe political dynamics, and capacity problems in the public sectors. Still, motivations and values making up a strong public service ethos may well be a decisive factor in improving capacity and mitigating corruption, and thus in the success of administrative and institutional reforms in such settings other than those that seek to implement universalistic management models (cf., Andrews, 2013; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011; Xue & Zhong, 2012).

The role of individual values, motivations and conduct in the context of public sector reform has been overlooked by scholars and by international donors pushing such reforms. In

their critique of the progress of PSM scholarship, Bozeman and Su (2014, p. 8) emphasise the need for more verification of the broad role of PSM in the behaviour of public sector employees as “a precondition for PSM’s improved explanatory power”.

Concluding comments

The scholarly community may well have to exhibit a healthy skepticism towards the existence and institutional potential of PSM in “tough governance settings” given the inherent positivism and optimism, or even “aspirational bias” (Bozeman & Su, 2014, p. 1), displayed by most PSM research so far (cf., Ritz, Brewer & Neumann 2013). Particularly in these settings, it is questionable whether PSM in its current form can be measured in a robust way, and expressed by individuals within their institutions in a beneficial rather than harmful manner. More generally, more robust baseline data ought to be acquired on different types of motivators characterising public workers in developing settings in order to develop measures that fit such settings. Given the emergence of high-quality non-Western PSM scholarship, there is reason to be confident that such measures will be developed, resulting in meaningful research that will influence Western PSM scholarship, rather than just the other way around.

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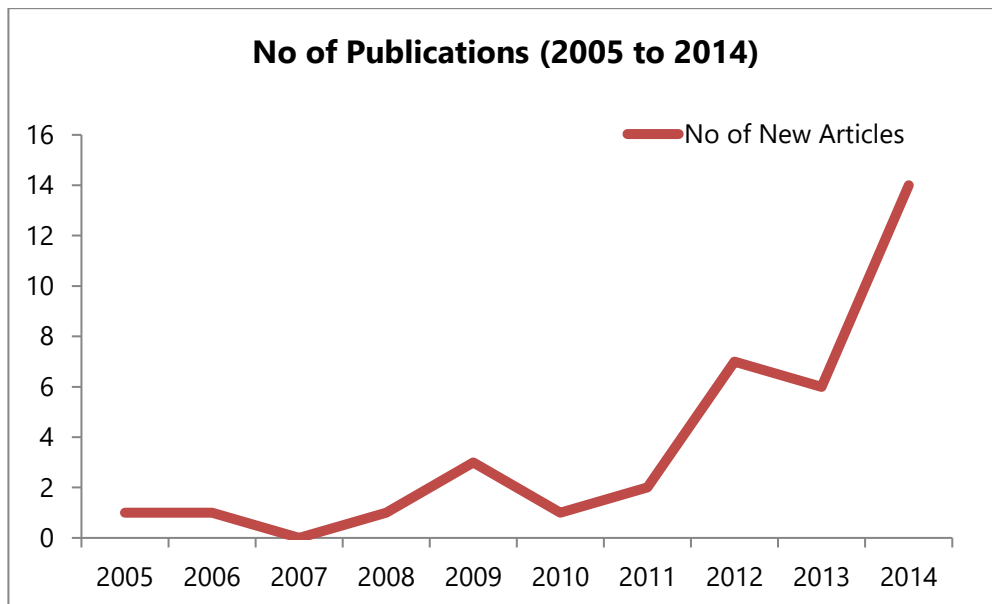


Figure 1. Number of new publications annually, 2005 to 2014 (n=36).

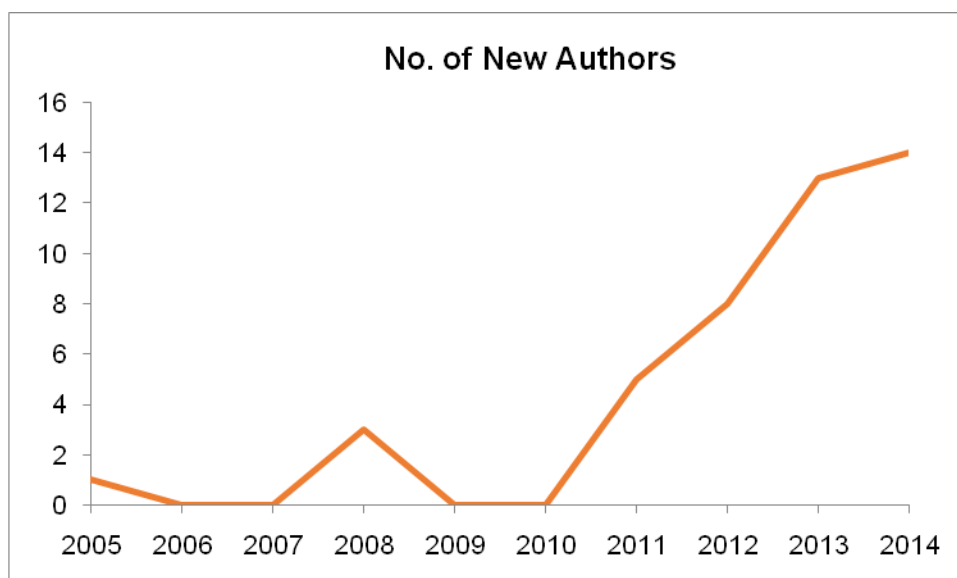


Figure 2. Number of new authors annually, 2005 to 2014.

Table 1. Distribution of underlying theories

Underlying Theory ^a	Frequency	% ^b
General theories of motivation	31	22.63%
Job choice theories	24	17.51%
Institutions	17	12.41%
Socialisation	14	10.22%
Ethics, values, religion, culture	12	8.76%
Attitudes and organizational behavior and psychology	12	8.76%
Public administration	12	8.76%
Organizational culture	6	4.38%
Rational choice	6	4.38%
Organizational performance	3	2.19%
Total	137	100.00%

^a Multiple classifications per study were possible.

^b Percentages are displayed as the share of the total number of times theories were used.

Table 2. Geographical distribution of the origins of empirical data used.

Countries^a	Frequency	%^b	Regions^a	Frequency	%^b
China	15	13.33%	Northeast Asia	38	33.92%
South Korea	11	10.48%	Eastern Europe and Central Asia	27	24.11%
Taiwan	7	5.71%	Africa	14	12.50%
Bulgaria, Egypt, India, Japan, Russia and Slovenia	7	2.86%	Latin America	14	12.50%
Andorra, Argentina, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Ethiopia, Georgia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Moldova, Peru, Romania, Rwanda, Serbia, South Africa, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Ukraine, Uruguay, Vietnam and Zambia	2	1.90%	Southeast Asia	8	7.14%
Bangladesh, Czech Republic, Hong Kong, Hungary, Israel and Latvia	2	0.95%	Middle East	7	6.25%
			South Asia	4	3.58%
Total	112		Total	112	

^a Multiple classifications per study were possible.

^b In case of multiple countries in a row, values are for each country.

Table 3. Distribution of analytical methods used.

Analytical Methods ^a	Frequency	% ^b
Univariate / descriptive statistics	26	30.23%
Bivariate/Multivariate Analysis: Measures of Association or Tests of Differences	17	19.76%
Multivariate: Factor Analysis	16	18.60%
Multivariate: Structural Equation Modeling (SEM)	7	8.13%
Multivariate: Logistic Regression	6	6.98%
Multivariate: Ordinary/Partial Least Squares Method	6	6.98%
Multivariate: Hierarchical Regression	4	4.65%
Qualitative	3	3.48%
Multivariate: Probit	1	1.09%
Total	86	100.00%

^a Multiple classifications per study were possible.

^b Percentages are displayed as the share of the total number of times methods were used.

Table 4. Distribution of lines of study

Lines of Study ^a	Frequency	% ^b
Correlating PSM with outcome variables	24	27.90%
Further Development of measurement instruments	16	18.60%
Implications for HRM/Managerial Practice	11	12.79%
Correlating antecedents with PSM	10	11.63%
Theoretical conceptualization, definition of motives, and dimensions, integration with other theories	10	11.63%
International Comparison of the Construct	9	10.47%
Comparing PSM across the public/private/non-profit sectors	3	3.49%
Review study / research overview	3	3.49%
Total	86	100.00%

^a Multiple classifications per study were possible.

^b Percentages are displayed as the share of the total number of lines of study.

Table 5. Distribution of antecedents of PSM

Antecedents ^a	Frequency	% ^b	+ ^c	/ ^c	- ^c
Gender (Female = 0, Male = 1)	13	16.05%	0	8	5
Age	12	14.81%	6	4	2
Education	6	7.41%	1	5	0
Job Grade / Rank / Management Level	5	6.17%	1	4	0
Job Tenure or Public Sector Experience	5	6.17%	0	5	0
Job attributes / Roles / Categories	5	6.17%	3	2	0
Employee-Leader relations	4	4.94%	4	0	0
Salary/Income	3	3.70%	1	1	1
Relationship with Co-Workers	3	3.70%	2	1	0
Private Sector Experience	3	3.70%	1	2	0
Job Security	3	2.47%	2	1	0
Place of Work (Public vs. Private)	2	2.47%	0	2	0
Relationship/Interaction with Citizens	2	2.47%	2	0	0
Organizational culture	2	2.47%	0	1	1
Characteristics of Public Sector (e.g., level of corruption, size of public sector, nature of public sector, regime type, etc.)	2	2.47%	0	2	0
Personality Traits	2	2.47%	1	1	0
Religiousness	1	1.23%	1	0	0
Professional and Organizational identification / Development	2	2.47%	0	2	0
Volunteering	1	1.23%	0	1	0
Social Desirability	1	1.23%	0	1	0
Negative life events	1	1.23%	0	0	1
Size of Private Sector	1	1.23%	0	0	1
Confidence in Political Parties	1	1.23%	1	0	0
Pay Satisfaction	1	1.23%	1	0	0
Total	81	100.00%	27	41	11

^a Multiple classifications per study were possible.

^b Percentages as the share of the total number of antecedents.

^c Number of times each predominantly statistically significant positive, neutral/mixed and negative associations with PSM were found.

Table 6. Distribution of outcomes of PSM

Outcomes ^a	Frequency	% ^b	+ ^c	/ ^c	- ^c
Occupation/Sector Choice	9	27.27%	5	4	0
Job Satisfaction	9	27.27%	7	2	0
Organizational Citizenship Behavior	3	9.09%	3	0	0
Organizational Compatibility (Person-Organization Fit)	3	9.09%	3	0	0
Turnover intention	2	6.06%	0	1	1
Corruption Permissiveness	2	6.06%	0	1	1
Community Citizenship Behaviour	2	6.06%	1	1	0
Organizational Performance	1	3.03%	1	0	0
Organizational Commitment	1	3.03%	1	0	0
Policy Diffusion	1	3.03%	0	1	0
Total	33	100.00%	21	10	2

^a Multiple classifications per study were possible.

^b Percentages as the share of the total number of outcomes.

^c Number of times each predominantly statistically significant positive, neutral/mixed and negative associations with PSM were found.