Exploratory Study on the Applicability of the Public Service Motivation Concept to South Korea

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Abstract

Recently, a group of scholars has explored the possible variations in public service motivation (PSM) according to sociocultural context. Despite the theoretical consensus on the interplay between social conditions and PSM, we still lack empirical research on how PSM can be applied to distinctive sociocultural contexts across the world. Bearing these points in mind, this research examines whether the concept of PSM can be applied to South Korea. Specifically, this study examines various motivational grounds for public service manifested in occupational meanings, whether the identified dimensions can be integrated into the concept of PSM, and how such motivational characteristics can be considered as particular dimensions of PSM in South Korea. In addition, various antecedents of PSM suggested in previous literature are reexamined.

Due to the nature of these research questions, this study used a mixed-methods approach to explore whether, and in what ways, PSM could be applied to South Korean society. The two methods used were personal interviews using the grounded-theory approach, and survey data analysis, by means of structural equation modeling (i.e., measurement models) and hierarchical regression analysis.

The overall findings of this study about Korean society supported the core of the conceptual definition of PSM. However, they also provided evidence that PSM can have

distinctive dimensions and different combinations of dimensions as a manifestation of social contexts (i.e., Confucian legacy, administrative tradition, shared perception of the desirable role of public servants and government). In particular, a critical aspect of Korean respondents' motivation for public service was based on their personal interests and on their need to have a certain level of "influence" on other people and on the society, in an attempt to "contribute to the development" of social progress. These empirical results revealed variability of rational and normative aspects of PSM in the Korean contexts; however, the affective aspects – self-sacrifice and compassion— could be applied across the board. With regard to the antecedents of PSM, the role of institutionalization in organizational settings (e.g., formation of social identity, value socialization) provided evidence in support of the previously suggested theoretical arguments.

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ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

This dissertation is the fruit of a longtime personal interest in the study of human resource management, organization theory, and cross-cultural studies. As an exploratory study, I have done my best to capture the diversity of public service motivation (PSM) as a manifestation of social and cultural characteristics. Throughout the course of my graduate studies and writing my dissertation, my greatest debt is to my mentor, Dr. Carolyn Ban who has constantly encouraged me to improve my academic knowledge, and more importantly, guided me while I was building my own identity, as an academic researcher. Her enduring passion for research and education has always inspired me and shed substantial light on the career path that I hope to follow. I am extremely grateful for her help, patience, and constructive advice for my research.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

1.1.1 Government Reform and "Bureaucrats"

In the long history of the government reform movement, various diagnoses and prescriptions have been suggested to enhance government performance. Despite arduous attempts to reframe organizational structures and redesign administrative behaviors by employing different managerial techniques, it remains difficult to ensure that such efforts attain the intended results (J. Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003; Downs & Larkey, 1986; Kettl, 2005).

In the course of these suggested government reforms, "bureaucrats" and "bureaucracy" have consistently been depicted as the very symbols of inefficient and dysfunctional public organization (T. E. Hall, 2002; Hummel, 1994; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999a). Many have believed it to be conventional wisdom that bureaucratic organizations have a strong internal inertia that enables them to resist changes more effectively than private companies (Carnevale, 1995; Goodsell, 2004; Kelman, 2005). Moreover, bureaucrats have a so-called bureaucratic personality that enhances resistance to change and focuses on predetermined standardized operating procedures (Bozeman & Rainey, 1998). In a case study of procurement service reform, Kelman (2005) stated that, "in popular discourse, bureaucracy has come to be a vituperation, usually referring to people and organizations devoted more to red tape .... [Thus] calls to reduce bureaucracy in organizations have become common during the past several decades" (p. 13). Therefore, in many countries it seems natural to view bureaucracy and bureaucrats as the obvious targets of government reform.

Recent movements to contract out and thereby reduce the functions of bureaucrats, as well as change the structure of the incentive systems through enhanced "objective" performance

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evaluation and pay-for-performance, have been accelerated in the name of New Public Management (NPM) (Ban, 2006; Frederickson, 2000, 2005; T. E. Hall, 2002; Kettl, 2005; Radin, 2006). Although it is difficult to pigeonhole the various arguments put forth by NPM theorists, the most salient phenomenon is that government agencies are trying harder to incorporate market mechanisms by redesigning performance management approaches and raising organizational efficiency. Consequently, the notion of "customers" has replaced that of "citizens," and the meaning of public service is now expected to be more like what private corporations offer (Barzelay, 1992; Kettl, 1993; Savas, 1987). The new definition tends to focus on "service for "efficiency," rather than raising a serious concern about "service for what values" (Bozeman, 2002; J. Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003; Pollitt, 2007).

This phenomenon is not exclusive to the U.S.; many other countries have also adopted this perspective. In the last two decades, many developed and developing countries such as New Zealand, Australia, the U.K., and South Korea have shown increased attention to the idea and effectiveness of government reform by emulating and adjusting the principles of NPM to their own contexts (Kettl, 2005). Interestingly, in these countries, the shared picture in reformers' minds is that the image of "bureaucratic organizations" and "bureaucrats" is the starting point from which government reform should develop.

How has this line of thinking become so popular that it is now the dominant approach to government reform in many countries? In order to examine the underlying theoretical grounds of such a perspective, it is worth briefly reviewing the assumptions behind the terms "bureaucrats" and "public servants," as well as the perceived lack of performance and inefficiency in public organizations.

1.1.2 Assumptions of Bureaucratic Behavior

When we look into the history of government reform, it becomes clear that government has been struggling with serious financial challenges; as a result, efficiency has become a central value that elected officials seek to achieve through government reform (Frederickson, 1996; Rainey, 2003). In the process of improving efficiency in government, economic-based theories—rational choice theory, public-choice theory, and principal-agent theory—have been gradually and extensively explored to explain the causes of government inefficiency (Meier & Hill, 2007).

Furthermore, economic theories have also presented various measures for ameliorating bureaucratic behaviors (Andersen, 2009; Dobel, 2007; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Wise, 2000). Thus, market or economic-based theory has been regarded as a more advanced field than theoretical arguments on public values such as justice, equity, and democracy, because the government failure model, market failure model, and other economic theories provide seemingly clear analytic tools (e.g., benefit-cost analysis) and prediction models with simple assumptions (Bozeman, 2002). These widely discussed theoretical arguments on government efficiency and bureaucrats' behavior can be summarized as follows:

- Humans are basically rational self-interested maximizers, whether they are elected officials, bureaucrats (public administrators), political lobbyists, or members of interest groups. These self-interest-oriented actors and groups compete or compromise with each other so as to maximize each actor's gains. Mueller (2003), a leading public choice theorist, argues that "the bureaucrat, like everyone else, can be assumed to be a selfish utility maximizer" (p. 363).

- Given the assumption of self-interested maximizers, the relationships among actors (e.g., congressmen, bureaucrats, interest groups) become transactional relationships. Therefore, individuals must design incentive and monitoring systems to achieve the intended results. In order to attain the goals of the system, "performance specification" and "specification of outcome" of government and contractors are required (Dobel, 2007, p. 163).

- In such transactional relationships, the monitoring costs surge due to asymmetric information conditions between principal and agents, increasing the probability of adverse selection, agents' moral hazards, and difficulties in monitoring performance due to the goal ambiguity of public organizations (Jensen & Meckling, 1976; Kettl, 1993; Mahler & Regan, 2005).

- Consequently, the lack of linkage between performance and financial incentives in government organizations inhibits bureaucrats' motivation to improve their performance as well as increase the efficiency of their organizations. In addition, the non-market nature of government organizations and their outputs has exacerbated government inefficiency by increasing the difficulty of monetizing outputs and offering financial rewards to bureaucrats. Given the conditions of insufficient financial incentives for improving individual performance, bureaucrats are less likely to increase their performance and more likely to seek other benefits such as budget maximizing and "perquisites of the office … power, patronage, ease in managing the bureau" (Niskanen, 1971, p. 38).

- Thus, the overall condition is that "*the public bureaucracy is characterized by weak external control on efficiency and weak internal incentives*" (Mueller, 2003, p. 363; italics added).

As summarized thus far, the assumption of self-interest-maximizing individuals has served as the underlying theoretical explanation for the following phenomena: the government's lack of performance and efficiency; the importance of a financial incentive system; the increase in monitoring costs; and the general direction of government reform to enhance efficiency and performance (Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999a). Indeed, recent performance management appears to be more dependent on the transactional relationships between work performance and financial incentives in either rewarding or punishing public employees according to these explanations (Kellough & Lu, 1993; Perry & Wise, 1990; Wise, 2000). As claimed, "a belief that extrinsic rewards and punishments are the primary sources of work motivation may underlie the popular perception of the lazy bureaucrat" (Frank & Lewis, 2004, p. 39). Similarly, Wise (2000) states

that "public management practices seem to be increasingly grounded in the assumption that monetary rewards, rather than purposive or social rewards, are the principal incentives for organizational membership and job performance among government employees" (p. 342).

It is difficult to assess how such theoretical assumptions, along with those of managerial approaches, improve the government's performance and efficiency. Yet we can at least acknowledge that such approaches have had negative effects on public sectors. Reforms based on theoretical arguments related to government inertia have demoralized public employees (Ban, 1995; Moon, 2000); increased the use of managerial tools widely employed in the private sector, with insufficient consideration of congruence with the public sector—e.g., difficulties with pay-for-performance, multiple goals, and goal ambiguities (Ban, 2006; Chun & Rainey, 2005a, 2005b; Kellough & Lu, 1993); and further increased the discrepancy between theoretical suggestion and practical operation in managing public organizations and their tasks (Meier & O'Toole, 2009; Radin, 2006). Finally, the negative images of government—referred to as "bureaucracy"—have weakened the general trust and confidence in government as a whole (Carnevale, 1995; Naff & Crum, 1999; Perry & Wise, 1990).

At this point, we need to call into question the dominant assumption of government reform in the last three decades. Whether we call them "bureaucrats" or "public servants," do we not need to revise or extend the assumption of humans' economic rationality and self-interest-oriented selfishness? In addition, do we need to create more pecuniary incentive systems to motivate public servants to work harder? Do we need to suggest that the government employ more sophisticated contractual terms or performance evaluation forms in order to monitor public servants' behavior? Do we have to advance such techniques further to match financial rewards with the performance of individuals? These questions do not imply that public organizations do

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not require continuous managerial improvement; rather, they suggest that attention to the distinctive characteristics of public servants should not be allowed to limit consideration of diverse approaches to increasing government effectiveness and performance. In other words, although economics-based theoretical explanations help us understand why the nature of bureaucrats and bureaucratic organizations has sometimes led to undesirable results, they tell us little about how and why certain individuals dedicate their precious time, energy, and even their lives to public service. As Herbert A. Simon (1997) argued, "we cannot simply chuck psychology overboard and place the theory of organization on an economic foundation" (p. xxviii).

1.1.3 Origin of PSM theory

In contrast to the scholars who rely on the assumption of self-interested human nature, a group of researchers in public administration has developed a distinctive theory—termed *public service motivation* (PSM)—from their awareness of empirical findings that do not fit the rational economic model and explanations of public employees' motivations. In fact, many studies focus on comparing the private and public sectors, in lieu of conducting behavioral studies of factors such as commitment, satisfaction, and involvement.

Rainey's (1982) finding that public servants value "the meaning of work" and "engagement in public service" (p. 293) more than financial rewards draws attention to a distinctive aspect of public servants' careers and motivation. He found that public servants attach relatively higher importance to their work itself than to other types of rewards. He carefully interprets this result, stating that "many public sector employees value a sense of worthwhile service to clients, and/or a broader community or society…. the nature and role of the public

sector makes it particularly important to public managers" (pp. 296-300). In fact, Rainey's study is not the first or the only one to come up with such findings. Before Rainey discovered the distinctive characteristics of public employees, Kilpatrick et al. (1964) and Rawls et al. (1976) presented similar findings to the effect that federal managers rate financial compensation lower as a career goal than performing work that is helpful and worthwhile to society, in contrast to private sector managers.

In response to these repeated findings, Frederickson and Hart (1985) asserted that a significant reason why people enter the public service is because of feelings of patriotism, commitment to the democratic values of their nation, and a genuine love for its people. They point to civil servants' moral obligation to uphold a "patriotism of benevolence: an extensive love of all people within our political boundaries and the imperative that they must be protected in all of the basic rights granted to them by the enabling documents" (p. 549). Moreover, they claim that "public servants must be both moral philosophers and moral activists, which would require: first, an understanding of, and belief in, the American regime values; and, second, a sense of extensive benevolence for the people of the nation" (p. 551).

Similarly, Perry and Wise (1990) raise critical questions based on these empirical findings and the autobiographies of former public servants: "Does a public servant have a distinguishing motivation? Do specific motives associated with public service exist, [and] if there are, what are they?" In this study, pointing out the limits of monetary incentive in public organizations, Perry and Wise attempt to theorize about public servants' motivationally distinct characteristics.

Perry and Wise also propose that public servants choose public service because, first, they have a strong desire to participate in policy formulation; second, they seek public programs

due to a personal identification with the programs; and third, they wish to serve the public interest. These motives are primarily based on individuals' values and norms, although participation in policy formulation may also be in individuals' interests. Perry (1996, 1997, 2000) subsequently integrates associated arguments into the public service motivation theory. Since the publication of Perry and Wise's (1990) theoretical proposition, a number of empirical studies (G. A. Brewer & Selden, 1998; G. A. Brewer, Selden, & Facer, 2000; Crewson, 1997; Naff & Crum, 1999), using diverse sources and types of survey data, have demonstrated that public-sector employees place a greater value on service and the meaning of their tasks than on financial rewards.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENTS

As previously discussed, the notion of PSM was systemically defined by Perry and Wise (1990), who defined it as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (p. 368). Since then, many scholars have examined both the theoretical and managerial implications of public management by conducting extensive empirical analyses of the effect of PSM on other motivational and behavioral characteristics.

As the interest in the antecedents and outcomes of PSM has recently surged, controversy has also increased regarding the theoretical framework for the origins of PSM, its dimensions, the refinement of its measurement, and the practical implications for the public and non-profit sectors. In particular, recent studies have pointed out that PSM can have distinctive dimensions according to variances among sociohistorical contexts Although the general construct of PSM has been widely observed in many countries, close examinations of its dimensions in Belgium,

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the U.K., Germany, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, China, and South Korea present evidence that its dimensions can vary according to sociohistorical contexts (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007; Horton, 2006; S. M. Kim, 2006, 2009b; G. Lee, 2005a, 2005b; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Liu, Tang, & Zhu, 2008; Ritz, 2009; Vandenabeele, Hondeghem, & Steen, 2004; Vandenabeele, Scheepers, & Hondeghem, 2006). In turn, such identified dimensional differences raise additional concerns about measurement refinement in order to reflect particular sociohistorical and cultural contexts and improve measurement validity (Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Vandenabeele, 2008a).

The increasing interest in dimensional and measurement issues has recently become an important stream in the study of PSM, because more reliable empirical studies can be conducted based on more valid measurement scales and dimensions. In this vein, the aim of the current study is to address both theoretical and empirical controversies by examining certain East Asian societies—particularly, South Korea. As an exploratory study, this research focuses specifically on the following questions:

1. What are the motivational grounds for public service in South Korea?
2. Can such motivational grounds be integrated into the PSM concept?
3. If there are distinctive dimensions of PSM, how have these been shaped in the sociocultural context?
4. What would be the critical antecedents of PSM in the case of South Korea?

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

The significance of this study is two-fold: (1) the use of theoretical exploration and elaboration by considering contextual validity, and (2) measurement refinement through application of a mixed-methods approach. First, theoretically, the study of PSM itself stimulates us to reconsider our assumptions and extend our knowledge related to the motivations of public servants. As Scott (2008) emphasizes, we need "more pragmatic and psychologically realistic models" of motivation rather than "naïve utilitarian assumptions" (p. 4) in organizational settings. As discussed above, the dominant perspective of public servants' behavior and motivation has been summarized as "homo economicus" (i.e., individuals who tend to avoid unnecessary labor unless they are economically compensated) (Andersen, 2009, p. 83). By realizing the limits of the assumption of economically rational, self-interested actors, a study of PSM can cast light on public servants' non-pecuniary motivations, such as altruistic and normative motives for the public interest. As a result, this study of PSM is expected to establish a stream of analysis that could help public administrators and scholars maintain a balanced perspective and recognize the multiple aspects of motivation.

In particular, the significance of this study relies upon the theoretical exploration and elaboration of the antecedents of PSM by incorporating cultural aspects (e.g., Confucianism, administrative tradition) into the theoretical framework. Although this study is not being conducted solely for the sake of generalizability, it does aim to examine commonalities with, and differences from, Euro-American models regarding the antecedents of PSM. In the stream of PSM studies on Asian societies (S. M. Kim, 2009a; Liu et al., 2008), the deductive approach has dominated, in the sense that little consideration has been given to the distinctive social context of East Asia and South Korea. Such a deductive approach has not addressed how PSM dimensions

and measurement scales developed in relation to cases in U.S. society can be applied to different social contexts. Although cultural psychologists have reported for more than two decades that cultural heritage and institutional characteristics influence individuals' self-identity, cognitive reasoning, preferences, values, and motivations (D'Andrade, 2008; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Kitayama & Cohen, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2003; Nisbett, 2003; Peng, Nisbett, & Wong, 1997), it is surprising to note that these psychologists' arguments have rarely been discussed as a path to the theoretical improvement of the study of PSM. In light of this concern, the present study is expected to provide theoretical clues by taking sociocultural aspects into account when examining the antecedents of PSM, as well as its theoretical applicability to different cultural contexts. Although this study relies primarily on in-depth analyses of South Korean society, this case—given its place within Northeast Asian societies—offers an opportunity to examine the ways in which cultural and institutional traditions serve as antecedents of PSM.

Second, to achieve the stated theoretical goal, this study uses a mixed-methods approach when dealing with dimension identification and measurement refinement. Although growing arguments have emerged regarding the importance of context in shaping the dimensions of PSM, the methodological orientation to-date in this area seems to have made limited theoretical progress for the last decade. As will be discussed in the theoretical review section, studies on the antecedents of PSM have relied primarily on correlational evidence based on the relationship between individuals' socio-demographic variables and their level of PSM. Even though sequential quantitative methods obviously demonstrate whether a relationship exists and is statistically meaningful, such analyses have not offered a sufficient explanation of how the identified antecedents influence the PSM of individuals. Furthermore, when statistical results

were inconsistent among scholars' researches, it was difficult to explain why they obtained different findings. In particular, studies on measurement scales have not offered a theoretical explanation for why or why not they are valid as well as reliable. Yet, given the characteristics of individuals' motivations and perceptions about being public servants and working for in the public interest, additional field research and methods are necessary in order to explore how and why PSM has been shaped. In this regard, the grounded theory approach for analyzing qualitative data is expected to fill the knowledge gap related to the antecedents of PSM and the contextual validity of the measurement scale.

1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

This research consists of nine chapters that, together, seek to answer the general questions stated in the problem statement section above. The introductory chapter discusses the theoretical development process and managerial implications of PSM for the public sector. Specifically, Chapter 1 introduces how the theory of PSM has been established, explains how empirical evidence has corroborated the construct of PSM, and goes on to justify why the study of PSM offers a meaningful perspective on the motivations of public employees. Finally, the problem statements are articulated.

Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical foundations that underlie the PSM theory. While many scholars have relied upon the institutional and self-determination theories to advance the theoretical foundations for PSM, little attention has been paid to the cultural issues that are meaningful in the case of East Asian societies. In this light, the second chapter attempts to synthesize the theoretical arguments suggested by other fields of science—cultural psychology, social psychology, organizational behavior, and institutional theory—in order to examine how

cultural components can influence motivational characteristics, and to build a conceptual framework.

Chapter 3 presents the outline of the research method. Specifically, it describes the characteristics of the individuals participating in personal interviews and surveys, the overall process of data collection as conducted in different stages, and the analytical methods applied to the collected data. Additionally, there is a brief explanation of the back-translation process.

Chapter 4 mainly reviews the social contexts of South Korea: its cultural legacy (i.e., Confucianism), its administrative tradition (i.e., government centrality), and linguistic issues (i.e., public servants vs. public officers). In addition, it provides a brief analysis of the respondents' sentiments about the long period of preparation for national exams and   why it is tolerated.

Chapter 5 begins by exploring the subjective meanings of public service as a career, identifying diverse grounds for motivational orientation. The central focus here is on the diverse layers and aspects of occupational meaning that are related to respondents' career choices and motivational orientation. The findings draw mainly on the results of coded transcripts of the personal interviews.

Chapter 6 can be viewed as a follow-up chapter with two purposes. The first is to refine the measurement instruments based on the results of Chapter 5. To this end, the contents of the measurement scales (questionnaires) are extracted from the coded transcripts (i.e., open and axial coding). The second purpose is to attempt to examine empirically whether the identified dimensions can be integrated into PSM by performing a series of statistical analyses (namely, exploratory factor analysis, parallel analysis, first-order and second-order confirmatory factor analysis). For this purpose survey data were collected from five headquarters of central government agencies in South Korea. Compared to Chapter 5, this chapter focuses more on the

identified dimensions and their measurement scales, in order to examine the applicability of the PSM concept, using the survey method for data collection.

Chapter 7 examines the linkages between the social contexts and the identified PSM dimensions discussed in Chapter 6. Although the findings of Chapters 5 and 6 provide evidence for newly identified dimensions of PSM at the individual level, the discussions and findings of this chapter move up to the levels of cultural legacy, administrative tradition, and socially perceived government roles. These findings, therefore, serve to provide explanations of the linkages among different levels of social phenomena: the macro level (i.e., culture and tradition, the pattern of interactions between governments and citizens), the middle-range level (i.e., the socially constructed and perceived roles of public servants), and the micro level (i.e., social identity, public service motivation).

Previous chapters were designed to shed light on the applicability and variability of PSM dimensions, on the measurement instruments used (i.e., Chapters 5 and 6), and on the specificity of social contexts that can influence individual motivation (i.e., Chapter 7). Extending these findings, Chapter 8 examines the various sources of PSM antecedents, by integrating the results of the interviews and a series of regression analyses. For this analysis diverse antecedents are divided into two categories: outside governmental organizations (i.e., socio-demographic factors such as career choice considerations), and inside governmental organizations (e.g., organizational demographics, formation of social identity, organizational socialization, awareness of work outcomes, leadership). This chapter also performs a series of regression analyses to examine the influences of these antecedents on PSM.

The final chapter, Chapter 9, presents the discussions and conclusions in their theoretical, methodological, and managerial aspects. In addition, it reviews the limits of this study.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter takes a few steps toward improving the understanding of PSM by (1) looking at the relationship between individuals' cognition and motivation; (2) reviewing theoretical explanations of the relationship between the social context (institutional and cultural) and individuals' motivation; and (3) building a conceptual framework that guides empirical analysis.

Before reviewing the literature it is necessary at the outset to clarify this study's stance on the relationship of social context with human behavior and motivation, because there are distinguishing approaches to and perspectives on this issue. This study mainly draws on the theoretical perspective that individuals' motivations and perceptions not only exist in "built-in" form, but many of them are, by and large, shaped and constructed through interactions with the social environment (Geertz, 1973; Heine, 2007; Jahoda, 1982; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2003; Nisbett, 2003). This theoretical perspective is more plausible for a PSM study, because one cannot simply assume that individuals are either selfish or altruistic in nature, and rational or emotional; neither can one assume that motivation and perception are inflexibly "hardwired" (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Schein, 1980). Although this study does not take a deterministic perspective on individuals' perception and motivation, it does regard social contexts as exogenous elements to PSM, thereby leading to distinctive forms of PSM in different social contexts.

In reviewing the literature, the greatest challenging work is to disentangle and integrate immense multiple theoretical perspectives and empirical findings into a conceptual framework. To that end, this study takes a multilevel approach: it examines individuals' internal processes (i.e., at the micro-level, motivation and the cognitive process), interpersonal processes (i.e., at the

meso-level, the role of social institutions and institutionalization within institutions), and broad social contexts (i.e., at the macro-level, cultural heritage, shared meaning structure) to suggest the conceptual framework for this study (Georgia T. Chao, 2000; Rousseau, 1985).

Before discussing the particulars of each theoretical argument, the first section focuses on the study of PSM in general, asking such questions as what is the conceptual definition of PSM, what are its dimensions, and what are its identified antecedents? The following sections review theoretical and empirical findings on the relationship between motivation theory and cognitive process, and explore the influences of institutional and cultural contexts on individuals' motivation. The end of this chapter presents the conceptual framework that guided the field research in South Korea.

2.1 PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION THEORY

2.1.1 Conceptual Definition

As stated briefly in the introduction, the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM) was first defined by Perry and Wise (1990) as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (p. 368). Since then, there have been growing attempts to refine this definition in order to integrate multiple aspects of PSM and make it more comprehensive. Drawing on Perry and Wise's (1990) definition, Brewer and Selden (1998) underscored individuals' disposition as the motivating force of PSM, describing it as "the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service" (p. 417).

Rainey and Steinbauer (1999b) defined PSM as "a general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or mankind" (p. 23). In this line of thought, Wise (2000) also pointed to altruistic motives as the core of PSM, describing PSM as such "individuals may have such strong needs to perform acts of public service and to contribute to the advancement of the quality of life in society that they may choose a career of public service" (p. 343). Comparing PSM to previously suggested conceptual constructs in empirical studies, Vandenabeele (2007) offered the broadest definition of PSM as "the beliefs, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest or organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate" (p. 547).

From the very rough notion of PSM that existed in the early 1990s, PSM theorists have shed meaningful light on the multiple aspects of PSM with various emphases—preference (disposition to public institution), motives (motivation for meaningful public service), need (altruistic and spiritual), value system (belief and values) and the direction of individuals' actions (to do good for others and shape the well-being of society). As conceptually distinct aspects were more emphasized in the previous studies, Perry and Hondeghem (2008) attempted to present a comprehensive conceptual definition to encapsulate these diverse components. Accordingly, they defined PSM as "an individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society" (p. vii).

As mentioned above, scholars' definitions of the concept of PSM have revealed somewhat different emphases on conceptual components as the purpose of their studies varied, but they commonly point out that PSM lies in individuals' altruistic motives, intentions, and actions for the public interest and well-being of society as opposed to self-serving interests. In

addition, such a motivational characteristic unavoidably becomes a multidimensional construct. Based on the commonalities of conceptual components, this study takes Perry and Wise's (1990) and Perry and Hondeghem's (2008) definition of PSM as individuals' predisposition to public institutions based on their orientation to delivering public services to people with the purpose of doing good for others and society.

2.1.2 Dimensions and Motives of PSM

The discrepancies between researchers' perceptions of the conceptual components raise the question of how PSM can consist of such diverse aspects. To this question, Perry (1996) responds that PSM is a multidimensional construct, drawing on Knoke and Wright-Isak's (1982) argument that individuals' voluntary actions are derived from their rational, normative, and affective motives: "Rational choice, normative conformity, and affective bonding processes. Each by itself is incomplete as an explanation for individual decisions to contribute personal resources to the collectivity, but together the three motivations form a synthesized model" (p. 209).

Even if these three motives are suggested as the basis for individuals' volunteerism, Perry (1996) argues that they can equally well be applied to the study of PSM, furthermore serving as the ground for empirical examination of the dimensions of PSM. More sophisticated explanations for these motives are suggested later by Brewer and Selden's (1998) work:

> First, rational motives are grounded in *individual utility maximization*, and they are operative when individuals want to participate in the policy process, are committed to a public program because of personal identification with it, and serve as advocates for a special or private interest. Second, norm-based motives are grounded in a *desire to pursue the common good and further the public interest*, however one perceives it.

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These motives include patriotism, duty, and loyalty to the government. Third, affective motives are grounded in *human emotion, and they are characterized by a desire and willingness to help others* (p. 415).

Based on these categories of motives, Perry (1996) hypothesizes that PSM consists of six dimensions which belong to different motivational categories as illustrated in Figure 1. The result of confirmatory factor analysis, however, demonstrates that PSM is comprised of *four* dimensions—attraction to public policy making, commitment to the public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice. Two other dimensions (i.e., 'democracy' and 'social justice') are not identified as part of PSM.
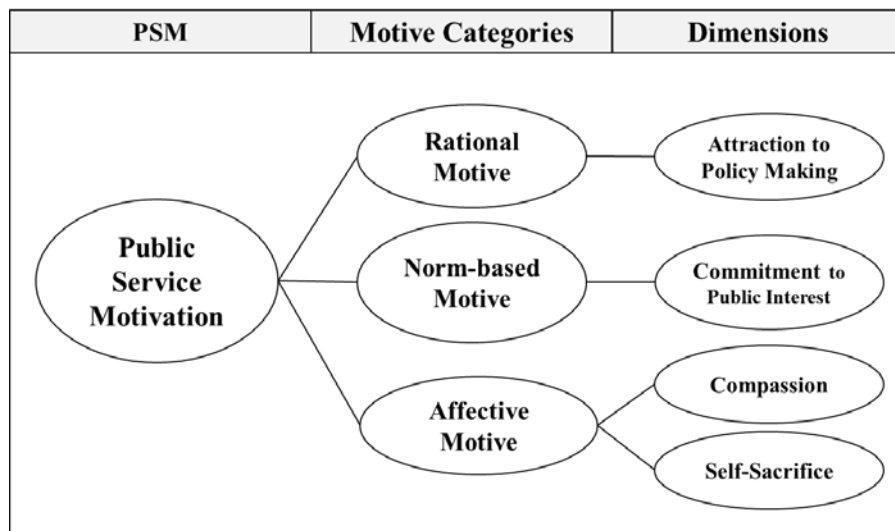
Figure 1. Types of Motives and PSM Dimensions

In his concluding interpretation of the analysis results, Perry (1996) states that individuals rationally view policy making as interesting; that they have relatively higher-level normative motives to serve the public interest such as wanting to contribute to society as their civic duty;

and that affective aspects, such as compassion and a willingness to self-sacrifice, are higher than in employees in the private sector.

Recent studies demonstrate that social contexts different from those in the United States can lead to dimensions and measurement scales of PSM that differ from Perry's (1996) findings. The meaning of 'commitment to public interest,' for example, can be constructed differently by individuals in different social contexts. In this manner, when there is no strong sense of 'citizenship' in a certain social history or culture, the concept of civic duty can be manifested in different types of motivation (W. O. Lee, 2004). Vandenabeele et al. (2008a; 2006), in an attempt to demonstrate this idea, further explore commonalities and differences in the dimensions of PSM in the case of European countries (e.g., United Kingdom., Germany, Belgium). In their series of studies, they argue that social context can have a significant bearing on the dimensions and measurement scales of PSM, because measurement items can convey different images and meanings to respondents; thus, terms used for each measurement scale and dimension tend to encapsulate the political and historical meanings of public service in their social contexts. In the European countries, for example, the concept of community has different meanings from those in U.S. society (Vandenabeele, 2008a). Raising the issue of social sensitivity to the dimension of PSM, Vandenabeele (2008a) states that "some words may refer to social contexts which are present in the US, but which are far less dominant in the smaller and older European nation states" (p. 146).

2.1.3 Antecedents of PSM

There have been only a small number of systematic studies on the antecedents of PSM. Indeed, the most challenging puzzle to PSM theorists is the question of how PSM is shaped. In other

words, do individuals have PSM before entering an organization, or does their PSM level change after working as public servants? So far, the majority of studies have examined socio-demographic variables (e.g., age, gender, education) as antecedents of PSM. In addition, there have been insufficient studies taking a comprehensive approach to examine these antecedents. Table 1 reports a summary of empirical researches that have been done to-date.

Table 1. Antecedents of Public Service Motivation

Sphere	Factors of Antecedents	Study	Findings
Society (Socio-demographic and Social Institutions)	Age	Houston, 2000; G. Lee, 2005a; Pandey & Stazyk, 2008a; Perry, 1997; Steijn & Leisink, 2006	Positive
	Gender	Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2006; Perry, 1997	Inconsistent
	Having Children	Camilleri, 2006	Positive
	Education	Bright, 2005; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999; Perry, 1997	Positive
	Religious Activities	Perry, 1997; Perry, Brudney, Coursey, & Littlepage, 2008	Inconsistent
	Parental Closeness	Perry,1997	Positive
	Parental Modeling	Perry, 1997; Perry, Brudney, Coursey, & Littlepage, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2011	Positive
	Volunteer Experience	Perry, 2000	Positive
Public Organization	Variable Reward	Stazyk, 2012	Inconsistent
	Length of Service	Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; G. Lee, 2005	Inconsistent
	Goal Clarity	Jung & Rainey, 2011	Positive
	Bureaucratic Red Tape	Moynihan & Pandey, 2007	Negative
	Organizational Commitment	Camilleri, 2006 ; Castaing, 2006	Inconsistent
	Organizational Culture	DiIulio & DiIulio, 1994; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007	Inconsistent

At first glance, we can see that there have been numerous studies aimed at understanding the antecedents of PSM. These studies, however, have employed many antecedents as control

variables in examining the influence of PSM on other behavioral and attitudinal variables. As a result, researchers have difficulty presenting theoretically plausible explanations for the inconsistent findings (e.g., related to gender, religious activities, or organizational culture). Religious activity, for example, is negatively related to PSM in Perry's (1997) study. With regard to this finding, Perry states that the negative meaning of the measurement scale may lead to negative impressions of the questionnaire, such that respondents may answer the questions in an inconsistent manner. Later, Perry et al. (2008) revised the measurement instruments to examine the influences of religious activities on individuals' PSM level. In that study, the results of the analysis support his proposition that religious activities emphasizing altruistic values and self-sacrificing behavior raise individuals' PSM level. Additionally, organizational culture has been hypothesized to be one the most critical antecedents study. However, in the empirical study reports, no significant relationships were found to exist between the organizational culture and PSM. Regarding the null relationship, Moynihan and Pandey (2007) point to the difficulties with measuring organizational culture in a survey.

As presented in Table 1, systematic study on the issue of the antecedents of PSM has been conducted by only a handful of scholars. At the beginning of the study of PSM, Perry (1996, 1997, 2000) played a dominant role in explicating the antecedents of PSM through a fairly extensive literature review. Even if his work cast a significant light on diverse types of antecedents (i.e., social experiences, the socialization process, professional life), his work did not conclude with an integrated theoretical framework, as Brewer and Selden (2000) pointed out when they asked, "To what extent are individuals genetically predisposed to perform public service, and to what extent are their levels of PSM environmentally induced, that is, created by socialization and culture?" (p. 261)

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As concerns about social context have increased, PSM scholars have recently paid more attention to institutional and diverse social theories to build more sound theoretical grounds for identifying the antecedents of PSM. In this process, Vandenabeele (2007) extended the theoretical framework by taking institutional theory into account in explaining the dynamic interaction between social institutions (e.g., family, organization, education) and individuals. Vandenabeele's (2007) approach extended the scope of studies from a small number of public servants' sociodemographic factors to the broader social institutions and contexts. In particular, Vandenabeele's work empirically demonstrates that a study of the antecedents of PSM needs to incorporate the social contexts (i.e., national, regional, historical, and institutional). In the examination of the antecedents and dimensions of PSM in the United Kingdom and Germany, for instance, Vandenabeele et al. (2006) found that "beliefs and attitudes [the predispositions to behave in a particular way] concerning public service are not the same in both countries" (p. 27). Along the same lines, PSM theorists recently asserted that the direction of PSM study should reflect the particularity of society as well as characteristics of public organizations (S. M. Kim et al., 2013; Perry, 2011).

2.1.4 Outcomes of PSM: Managerial Aspects

There have been ongoing efforts to identify the managerial implications and evidence of effects on individuals' performance. As discussed in the introduction, the gist of the managerial implications of PSM is reconsideration of the managerial approach in the public sector based primarily on economic theories, as in the comment that "instilling market-based incentives and values in the public sector will inspire market-like efficiencies and improved effectiveness" (Crewson, 1997, p. 499). Within the framework of the trade-off relationship between extrinsic

and intrinsic motivation, the accelerating emphasis on extrinsic and externally generated rewards (i.e., merit-based cash awards) can diminish intrinsically generated motivations such as PSM (Bright, 2009; Deci & Ryan, 2004).

The managerial implications of PSM have been central pillars in recent PSM research. When the concept of PSM was introduced to the field of public management in 1990, Perry and Wise (1990) suggested the proposition on the positive influences of PSM on public employees' performance. This proposition led to a growing number of empirical studies on the relationship between PSM and performance-related attitudes and behaviors: organizational commitment, individuals' self-reported performance, organizational citizenship behavior, psychological contracts, public service ethics in relation to whistle blowing, and job satisfaction with the work.

Table 2. Relationship with Behavioral Characteristics

Variables (Outcomes of PSM)	Studies	Findings
Organizational Commitment	Vandenabeele, 2009; Ritz, 2009 ; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Taylor, 2008; Castaing, 2006; Camilleri, 2006; Camilleri & Van der Heijden, 2007; Steijn & Leisink, 2006; Crewson, 1997	Positive
Organizational Citizenship Behaviors	Pandey, Wright, & Moynihan, 2008; S. M. Kim, 2006	Positive
Individuals' Performance	Vandenabeele, 2009; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Bright, 2007; Lee, 2005b; Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 1998	Positive
Turn Over	Bright, 2008	Negative
Job Satisfaction	Vandenabeele, 2009; Ritz, 2009; Taylor, 2008; Liu, 2008	Positive
Psychological Contract	Castaing, 2006	Positive
Willingness to exert effort	Leisink & Steijn, 2009	Positive
Prosocial Behaviors	Houston, 2006	Positive
Whistle Blowing	Brewer & Selden, 1998	Positive

As seen in Table 2, numerous scholars over the last decade have attempted to examine the relation of PSM to other behavioral variables. First of all, a group of scholars has persistently examined the influences of PSM on public servants' organizational commitment in different social contexts. For example, Castaing (2006) examined the influences of PSM on the organizational commitment of French public servants; likewise, Leisink and Steijn (2009) tested the effect of each PSM dimension on organizational commitment. In addition, Taylor (2008) and Vandenabeele (2009) re-applied the same analytical framework to the Austrian and Belgian governments, leading to findings consistent with those of other previous studies. This stream of studies is based on the behavioral assumption that the higher the level of organizational commitment public servants show in their attitudes toward the organizations where they work, the higher the performance they can be expected to achieve. So far, such empirical studies have corroborated Perry and Wise's proposition in 1990.

In addition to ongoing studies of organizational commitment, diverse aspects of individuals' performance have been investigated by other empirical studies. Although these scholars do not deny the importance of organizational commitment as a proxy variable of individuals' performance, current studies also examine the effects of PSM on organizational citizenship behavior, job satisfaction, fulfillment of the psychological contract, willingness to exert effort, and public service ethics regarding whistle blowing in an organization. As presented above, PSM is frequently used to explain diverse attitudinal, behavioral, and performance-related variables; indeed, the results of analyses show positive correlations with those aspects of behavior and attitude.

2.2 MOTIVATION THEORY

PSM has been considered as a type of 'need' motivation with four distinctive dimensions. PSM theorists have implicitly proposed that PSM can change over the course of a life-span through interactions with social contexts (e.g., religious intuitions, educational institutions), and organizational context (e.g., government organizations) (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry et al., 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007, 2011). Although the institutional approach based on self-determinacy theory has recently been incorporated into the theoretical framework to explain the effects of social contexts on PSM, there should still be further exploration of how social contexts relate to PSM and in what ways. In this vein, this study focuses on the interplay of motivation and cognition at the individual level.

2.2.1 Motivation and Cognition

While the concept of motivation has been an attention-drawing construct in the study of employee behavior, interest in many types of motivation theories has declined in the field of organizational behavior as well as in public administration research (Kleinginna & Kleinginna, 1981; Landy & Becker, 1987; Latham, 2007). Nonetheless, motivational issues have continued to be widely discussed in relation to individuals' behavioral characteristics, because motivation "initiate[s] behavior and determine[s] its form, direction, intensity, and duration" (R. B. Denhardt, Denhardt, & Aristigueta, 2002, p. 157)

Motivation theories can be broadly grouped into two categories according to the focus of study. Substance-oriented theory, on the one hand, places more emphasis on the motivational factor (e.g., need hierarchy theory, intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, hygiene factors). This group of studies stresses those contents of a motivator that provoke individuals to display a

certain behavior in certain contexts. Therefore, theorists with this perspective have explored and empirically examined diverse motivational components. In relation to need motivation, however, Locke (2000) asserts that it would be unrealistic to assume that individuals have 'built-in' needs. This is because people are likely to build or rebuild their needs according to their values, which have been shaped by their experiences with society. Latham (2007) supports the idea that, while the need motivation taxonomy presents multitudinous types of need, the substance of need motivations still lacks theoretical ground for explaining their origin, changes, and effects on individuals' behavior, stating that, "although need-based theories explain why a person must act, they do not explain why specific actions are chosen" (p. 317).

Process-oriented theory, on the other hand, stresses individuals' cognitive aspects in order to understand the phenomenon wherein individuals adjust their motivation and behavior (i.e., expectancy theory, expectancy-value theory, goal-setting theory). This group of studies found that the substance of motivation did not always lead to predictable behaviors. Instead, individuals' motivations were related to their cognitive processes in relation to subjective judgments on personal evaluation of their own capacities, calculation of the probabilities of goal attainment, self-assessment of the personal values of the attained goals, and examination of changing situations (Latham, 2007; Vroom, 1964).

These two streams provide a theoretically meaningful insight into PSM study, in the sense that many aspects of individuals' motivation are not necessarily "inborn" as in the case of physiological needs and motivations (e.g., hunger); instead, many individual needs can be shaped by the cognitive process. Suggesting the incorporation of cognitive aspects into the study of motivation, Landy and Becker (1987) argue that individuals' motivation is not only a result of internally built motivation, but also has a significant interaction with cognitive aspects (e.g.,

reasoning, interpreting), which in turn interplay with environmental factors. In this vein, Latham (2007) stresses that, in the study of work motivation, social contexts, and the understanding of motivational characteristics, it is necessary to consider individuals' work values and their interactions with given contexts, stating that, "because context affects the extent to which needs are met and values are fulfilled, societal culture, job design characteristics, and person-context fit must be examined" (p. 128).

More directly, a group of cultural psychologists have argued that individuals' motivation does not exist solely in their psyche, but can derive from significant interactions with social environments. Specifically, interaction with social context (e.g., meanings and symbolic structures) over the course of one's lifespan leads to continuous cognitive reasoning, whether rational or habitual (e.g., knowledge, perception, common knowledge), which can shape, modify, and enhance individuals' motivational orientations (D'Andrade, 1992; Munro, 1997; Nisbett, 2003; Peng et al., 1997; Sorrentino & Yamaguchi, 2008; C. Strauss, 1992). McInerney (1995) and Tripathi and Cervone (2008), for example, show that an individual's achievement motivation, though indicating an equivalent motivational strength, is influenced by the different meanings of "achievement" *per se* in different cultural contexts (i.e., social culture, organizational culture). As to individuals' work motivation, Shamir (1991) also points to the importance of symbolic meanings attributed to a certain task, occupation, or career, stating that, "excluding the term 'meaning' from the vocabulary of motives, and limiting this vocabulary to 'needs,' 'incentives,' 'rewards,' 'outcomes,' and 'satisfactions,' reflects the view of the person as an entity disconnected from society, without larger concerns than the satisfaction of individual needs" (Shamir, 1991, p. 409).

This section briefly reviewed theoretical perspectives on the interaction of motivation with cognition, in order to shed light on how motivational characteristics can have interactions with various types of social contexts. The following sections more specifically address how social intuitions and culture can have meaningful interactions with an individual's motivation.

2.3 INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

PSM theorists have recently shown increasing attention to institutional influences in their search for the antecedents of PSM, relying on the presumption that much of PSM can be shaped over one's lifespan through interactions with one's social environment. In this line of thought, Vandenabeele (2007, 2008) has suggested a theoretical ground based on the "institutional approach." Even though this theoretical approach illuminates the importance of the institutional context, we still need to specify the nature of the institution. In this vein, the following section attempts to explore the concept and the scope of *institution* for this study, reviewing how *institution* can have a significant relationship with individuals' motivations.

2.3.1 Boundaries of the Concept Institution

When we look into the definition of *institution*, we can easily find that definitions vary according to the focus and the level of study. Ostrom (2005), for example, suggests that "institutions are prescriptions that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive and structured interactions, including those within families, neighborhoods, markets, firms, sports leagues, churches, private associations, and governments at all scales" (p. 3). Before Ostrom (2005) weighed the aspect of "prescription," as a rule for the direction of collective action, she (1990) incorporated both

institutional systems (i.e., rules, laws, agreements, etc.) and organized entities (i.e., various types of social organizations) into her definition of *institution*. As such, Ostrom defined (1990) *institution* as "many different types of entities, including *organizations*, and the *rules* that are used to structure patterns of interaction within and across organizations" (p. 36).

As a political scientist, Peters (1999) underscores social institutions such as political, economic, and social systems with the following definition: "a formal or informal, structural, societal or political phenomenon that transcends the individual level, that is based on more or less common values, has a certain degree of stability and influences behavior" (p. 18). Compared to Ostrom's and Peters's perspective, Scott (2001, 2008) embarked on his institutional study from observations that he made at the organizational level. Scott attempts to explore institutional characteristics of social organizations (or institutions) such as schools, hospitals, and health care organizations. As a result, the theoretical and empirical study incorporates the regular patterns of structures, rules, and organizational culture into the institutional components that enable an organization to maintain and achieve its intended goals.

As revealed in the diverse streams (i.e., Economics, Politics, Sociology) of institutional study, the term *institution* itself further blurs the boundaries of the concept of an institution for the study of PSM. Perhaps "the only idea common to all usages of the term 'institution' is that of some sort of establishment of relative permanence of a distinctly social sort" (Zucker, 1977, p. 726). Due to the diversity of the levels of analysis and definition, when we examine institutional influences or take an institutional approach, it is essential to reconsider the meaning of the terms *institution* and *institutional approach* as well as the institution's level.

In this study, therefore, the boundaries of the institution, at least, need to be clarified for further empirical studies. In this regard, this study attempts to delineate the type of institution

and its levels based on the arguments in institutional studies put forth by Ostrom (1990, 2005), Peters (1999), and Scott (2003, 2008). Particularly, Scott's work presents a relatively extensive review and taxonomy of institutional research, which is highly applicable to this study. Drawing on Scott's (2008) work, this study distinguishes between two types and levels of institutions. The first group of studies focuses on the collective governing rules, prescriptions, and laws (e.g., civil service system, political system, government systems), while the second group of studies investigates social organizations (e.g., families, religious organizations, educational organizations, private associations, government organizations).

Table 3. Institution Types and Levels

Types of Institutions	Level	Examples
Institutional System (Ostrom, 1990, 2005; Peters, 1999)	Societal	constitutional law, common law, rules, governing system (e.g., political system and economic system)
Social Organizations (Scott, 2008)	Organizational	school, family, church, private association, private company, government organization, nonprofit organization

In relation to the study of PSM, social organizations can play more important roles than the institution itself, because, as we can see when we examine the interactions between institutions and individuals' motivation, individuals cannot interact directly with democratic political, ethical, or normative values of constitutional law. Instead, diverse social values are transmitted in the social organization setting through interactions and communication with "significant others" (M. B. Brewer & Yuki, 2007, p. 310). Compared to the level of the institutional system, social organizations, in this vein, can be viewed as the dominant carriers of the abstract values and norms inherent in multiple layers of institutional systems.

2.3.2 Institution and Motivation

The most salient role of an institution is defining what behavior or action is appropriate in a given situation. This is because institutional systems embody the underlying "moral fabric" (Ostrom, 2005, p. 17) of a society or an organization, as well as provide incentive tools to discourage the violation of the institutional rules (i.e., penalty and reward). In addition, once individuals becomes more familiar with the desired behavior in the given contexts, they do not cognitively reexamine why and how the extant institutional system was developed and prescribed their behavior (March & Olsen, 1989).

In this process, individuals are likely to internalize the underlying implicit and explicit values presented by institutional systems and social organizations. As part of this argument, we can raise the question: How do people internalize the values of the institutional systems or organizations? Vandenabeele (2007) points out that institutional theory has not provided a theoretical explanation for how institution-level values become individual-level values. Institutional studies, indeed, treat institutions as an exogenous variable, focusing on changes in institutions based on the assumption that individuals internalize the values and norms as the basic grammar of behavior. This is possible because the violations of such a grammar of behavior tend to be penalized by diverse incentive systems (Ostrom, 1990, 2005).

In addition to the emphasis on external incentives, Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) theoretically underscore the role of cognition (i.e., identity and self) which is built upon, shaped, and reshaped through the process of institutionalization in diverse contexts. This approach implies that individuals tend to form PSM through a cognitive process in which their self-identity interacts with the institutional context. In other words, in the process of transmission from institution to individual, the underlying moral obligations, values and desirable behaviors are

mediated by individuals' concepts of self and identity. Therefore, institutional logic is not merely transmitted to individuals, as there is still room for filtering out the imposed values when such values are counter to those espoused by individuals (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007).

In relation to the study of PSM, Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) suggest that there is an "institutional logic" (p. 59) at the social organizational level. Here, the logic indicates the appropriate behavior based on the institutional norms, values, and beliefs. In particular, these authors indicate that social organizations play a critical role as individuals develop the concept of "moral obligation" and "the desirable" (p. 58). Religious bodies (e.g., churches, temples), for example, have long been regarded as the salient social organizations that inspire their members to internalize a sense of altruism as well as compassion for other members of society (Wuthnow, 1987). In addition, the result of Perry's (1997) study offers evidence for this line of thought, as his findings reveal that different types of socialization (e.g., parental, political, religious, professional, or educational) serve as the antecedents of PSM or some of its dimensions. Like Perry (1997, 2007), Pandey and Stazyk (2008b) support the idea that social organizations "can shape the development of public service motivation, namely, the family, religion, and the professions" (p. 104).

This section briefly reviews institutional studies, suggesting the need to distinguish between types of institutions and their influences on individuals' motivation. While institutional study has a long history in various fields of social science and with diverse levels of analysis, many of the theoretical arguments on the influences of institutional systems and social organizations on individuals' motivation and behaviors rely on the presumption that individuals internalize the values of the institution (Vandenabeele, 2007). Indeed, much of this theoretical

ground relies on knowledge put forth by sociology in terms of socialization and the internalization process. As a result, the literature presented in this section reveals a paucity of relevant theories.

2.4 CULTURE THEORY

Over the years PSM scholars have conjectured that social contexts, particularly at the cultural level, are relevant to the variability of PSM (Castaing, 2006; S. M. Kim et al., 2013; Ritz, 2009; Vandenabeele, 2008a; Wright, 2008). Although growing attention has been paid to the significance of social culture in the variability of PSM, there has been insufficient discussion about how cultural context can influence individuals' motivation. Thus, this section focuses on these cultural components and the relation of culture to an individual's motivation. Due to the limited discussion in prior PSM studies, this section has to draw on theoretical and logical grounds presented in the broader areas of the social sciences.

2.4.1 Components of Culture

While, on the surface level, the definition and components of culture may be considered a trivial issue, the multiple aspects and definitions of culture *per se* make it difficult to build analytical frameworks for empirical studies without taking culture into account (J. R. Hall & Neitz, 1993). In fact, when we discuss the linkages between culture and individuals' motivation, the most formidable challenge is defining what culture is and specifying which aspects of cultural components should be examined.

Although there are distinctive perspectives on the definition of culture, much of the literature commonly points out that the most salient aspects of culture lie in accumulated and shared meanings, along with their structure. For example, Geertz (1973, p. 5) defines *culture* as "webs of meaning." More specifically, Sorrentino and Yamaguchi (2008) define it as "a unique meaning and information system, shared by a group and transmitted across generations, that allows the group to transmit successful social behaviors, to pursue happiness and well-being and to derive meaning from life" (p. 542). Therefore, these scholars tend to conclude that social culture can be empirically examined through the meaning system that is commonly shared in a certain society. Specifically, Smircich (1985) refers to "culture as webs of meaning, organized in terms of symbols and representations," and suggests examining why and how "things, events and interactions come to be meaningful" (p. 63). Similarly, Triandis (1989) also suggests investigating the common knowledge shared by individuals within certain cultural boundaries and accumulated in individuals' memory throughout history.

Scholars tend to believe not only that the role of culture is not limited to meaning structure and socially accumulated knowledge, but that it also serves as a very fundamental frame for the norms, values, and beliefs of its members. Hofstede (2001) states that culture manifests a "system of societal norms consisting of the value systems shared by major groups in the population" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 11). Similarly, culture is claimed to provide the "shared cognitive frames and schemas, which, if not explicitly religious, have a moral or spiritual character (Schultz, 1994, p. 81). This value-oriented social norm is taken for granted by the people within certain boundaries of culture, so that it becomes difficult to even sense their existence and underlying logic.

Culture, therefore, can be defined as meanings and ideas manifested by various types of

symbols (e.g., language, art) and actions (e.g., a certain pattern of interactions among actors in a given situation), and serving as cognitive frames (e.g., beliefs, interpretations, perceptions, common knowledge).

2.4.2 Culture and Motivation

Many cultural psychologists have stated that individuals' behavioral and psychological inclinations are basically grounded in culture (M. B. Brewer & Yuki, 2007; Heine, 2007; Kitayama & Cohen, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Nisbett, 2003). Specifically, Brewer and Yuki (2007) have stated that "the basic elements of human psychology—cognition, motivation and emotion—would be attuned to the structural requirements of social groups and social coordination." In an extensive review of previous research, particularly comparative studies of North America (i.e., the U.S., and Canada) and East Asia (i.e., China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea), a group of scholars has underscored that historical and cultural legacies shape distinctive perceptions and motivational orientations according to the cultural contents (Heine, 2001; Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Grenholtz, 2002; Nisbett, 2003).

Such theoretical arguments have been backed up by a considerable body of empirical studies, where cultural differences were found to result in variations in diverse aspects of human psychology: individuals' cognitive orientation (i.e., matching and interpreting) (Nisbett, 2003; Peng et al., 1997); personality (Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001); self-schema (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; C. Strauss, 1992); achievement motivation (McInerney, 1995; Tripathi & Cervone, 2008); and moral reasoning in various types of social relations (Munro, Schumaker, & Carr, 1997). Detailed discussion of these empirical findings is probably beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, these studies offer meaningful evidence that culture, albeit an abstract and

seemingly immeasurable construct, can lead to numerous psychologically identifiable differences in motivation.

In a similar vein, PSM scholars have also begun to pay greater attention to the variability of PSM as a manifestation of cultural context. For example, Koehler and Rainey (2008) stated that "public service motives and behavior will vary across societies, cultures, and nations … unique cultural traditions may have a strong effect on the influences of public service motivation" (p.51). Most recently, Kim et al. (2012) also stated that there should be further consideration of the relationship between cultural legacy and the diverse domains of PSM.

Despite steadily growing attention to the interaction of social cultures with individual motivation, scholars have presented relatively less discussion about how culture can affect various aspects of individual psychology as well as motivation. As to the detailed process of the relationship between cultural heritage and motivation, D'Andrade (1992) suggested that an individual's hierarchical schema plays a critical role as an interpretative system in shaping emotion as well as motivation. In particular, a schema, as a generalized memory and interpretative frame, mediates social meanings.

> … to understand people, one needs to understand what leads them to act as they do, and to understand what leads them to act as they do, one needs to know their goals, and to understand their goals one must understand their overall interpretive system, part of which constitutes and interrelates these goals, and to understand their interpretive system—their schemas—one must understand something about the hierarchical relations among these schemas (p.31).

D'Andrade (1992) further stated that people could develop their motivations, drives, and needs through interactions with social institutions and cultures. In particular, people tended to build a 'package of memory,' consisting of a high-level schema (i.e., values, norms, beliefs) and

a low-level schema (i.e., instruments, strategies) in a given social context. Such hierarchical schemas essentially served to shape the basic pattern of cognitive reasoning (e.g., memory, meaning structure, expectation, identity), playing a critical role in building and shaping motivational and behavioral characteristics.

In his recent comparative study (on the U.S., Japan, and Vietnam), D'Andrade (2008) stated that motivation was derived from the complicated interactions between cognitive processes (e.g., memory, meaning, thought) and motives, by and large anchored by social values embedded in one's cultural heritage (see Figure 2). He further explained that such cultural heritage and ideas, through the internalization process, played a critical role when individuals developed certain types of motivation in the society. Some years before D'Andrade's comparative study, Strauss (1992) also stressed that accumulated knowledge and memory at the societal level played an important role in shaping individuals' desires and preferences and in defining the general value of 'rightness' and 'wrongness' (e.g., morality, duty).
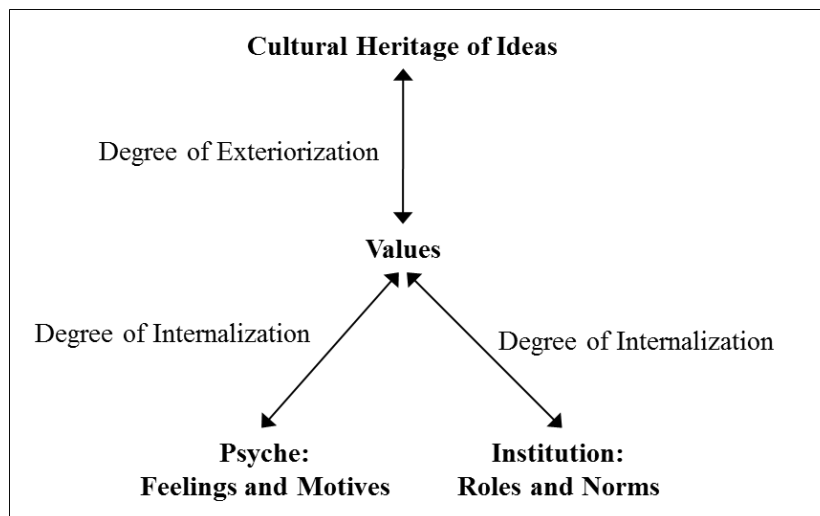
Source: D'Andrade (2008, p. 140). A study of personal and cultural values: American, Japanese, and Vietnamese. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave MacMillan.

Figure 2. Interplay of Culture and Motives

2.5 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Based on the literature review, this study presents a conceptual framework, but one that does not offer the power of predictability or of an analytical model; instead, it delineates and synthesizes various sets of related theoretical pieces, thereby helping to explain the big picture of relevant theories as well as guide the direction of field research (Ostrom, 2005). Due to the scope and aim of this study, the literature review inevitably requires integrating diverse theoretical levels of arguments presented by many social sciences. Furthermore, it appears to be very difficult to incorporate all the theoretical details into a single framework; moreover, each level of study has developed and presented theoretical arguments in its own field, such that a theoretical explanation involving all the levels has rarely been suggested. Nonetheless, a multilevel approach seems to be a meaningful approach for this exploratory study.
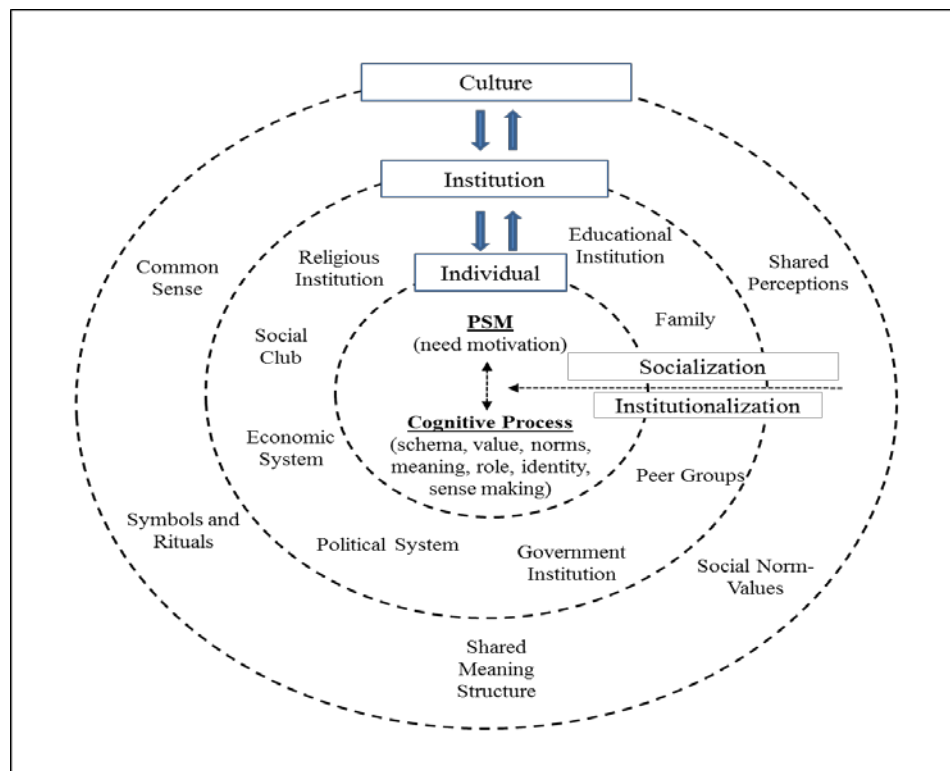
Figure 3. Research Framework

In this vein, this literature review takes a multilevel approach, focusing on motivation and cognition at the individual level, and social contexts at the institutional and cultural levels. The center of this literature review draws on the perspective that individuals' motivation can be shaped through interactions with diverse types of social environments. As such, the dimensions and measurement scales of PSM can also reveal characteristics distinct from the previously suggested model based solely upon the United States. The literature review indicated that motivations can be built and revised through individuals' cognition aspects, which encapsulate conscious and unconscious learning, accumulated memories, and societal meaning systems, as well as individuals' hierarchical interpretive systems (i.e., schemas). In relation to PSM, this cognitive aspect also enables individuals to internalize normative values, or at least to sense, through the socialization process, what values are desirable in the sociocultural context. Furthermore, the significance of the cognition process appears to shed light on current institutional approaches, in the sense that not only do individuals' values serve as the intrinsic or need motivation of PSM, but the values imposed by significant others can also increase the intrinsic motivation in different cultural contexts (i.e., Eastern culture).

Such arguments can be applied to the study of PSM in that the image of the public servant, the role of government, and the cultural heritage (e.g., Confucianism) can encapsulate and manifest certain values associated with public service.

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 MIXED-METHODS APPROACH

As stated above, this study aims to explore the motivational grounds for public service in South Korea and examine whether the identified motivational grounds can be integrated into the PSM concept. In addition, this study also explores the linkages of the South Korean social context to the specificity of PSM dimensions. Finally, various types of antecedents are also empirically examined.

Given the nature of these research questions, it is necessary to take a mixed-methods approach in order to answer both exploratory and confirmatory questions (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). As mentioned earlier, PSM has been described as a multidimensional construct that can be influenced by embedded social context (Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2007; Vandenabeele et al., 2006). Particularly, it has been pointed out that individuals' socialization processes and institutional contexts play an important role as antecedents of PSM (Horton, 2006; S. M. Kim, 2009a; Perry, 1997; Perry et al., 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007, 2008a).

Despite numerous scholars' emphasis on the interaction of PSM with social contexts, a lack of methodological diversity has been pointed out as a barrier to improvement of the theory. For example, Wright (2008) argues that the "limitations in our current understanding of public service motivation are a reflection of the research method challenges…. Qualitative studies may be particularly helpful in this regard as they produce richer data allowing for greater depth interpretation" (pp. 80-90). In other social science fields, it has also been pointed out that a single method—either quantitative or qualitative—may not be effective in providing a full understanding of a complicated social phenomenon (Greene & Caracelli, 1997). Recently,

Wright and Grant (2010) reemphasized the methodological weakness in the stream of PSM studies, stating that "we have focused heavily on quantitative methods, as we believe the most important unanswered questions about PSM pertain to understanding its emergence and effects … [but] qualitative methods can be quite powerful in providing rich examples, creating contextual realism to make research findings more credible" (p. 697). Wright and Grant (2010), therefore, recommend that researchers consider diverse methods to examine whether the extent of PSM is stable or changeable, and, if changeable, under what conditions individuals' PSM can be more greatly influenced.

Based upon the methodological discussion above, this study adopts sequential processes: (1) qualitative exploration about the dimensions and identification of the constructs of each dimension and measurement of PSM (2) statistical examination of the validity of the identified dimensions and measurements; (3) qualitative examination of how the identified dimensions can be manifested as dimensions of PSM; and (4) examination of the effects of antecedents on PSM by integrating the findings of personal interviews and those of survey data analysis. A brief schematic illustration of the research design is shown in Figure 4.

Stage (Chapter)	Aim of Research	Specific Contents of Research	Method(s)
Stage 1 (Ch. 5)	Exploration of Motivational Grounds for Public Service	Identification of Motives, Dimensions, and Contents	Personal Interviews, Grounded-Theory Approach
Stage 2 (Ch. 6)	Examination of PSM Dimensions with Additionally Identified Dimensions	Statistical Test of PSM Dimensions and Measurement Items	Survey Method, EFA, Parallel Analysis, First-order and Second-order CFA
Stage3 (Ch. 7)	Exploration of the Linkages between Social Contexts and Identified Dimensions	Interpretation about the Linkages between Social Contexts and Motivational Orientation	Personal Interviews
Stage 4 (Ch .8)	Exploration of Antecedents of Public Service Motivation	Exploration of Antecedents and Follow-up Statistical Tests for the Effects of Antecedents on PSM	Personal Interviews, Survey Method, Hierarchical Multiple Regression

Figure 4. Flow of Research Questions and Methods

3.2 ANALYTICAL METHOD

3.2.1 Personal Interviews and Grounded-Theory Approach

Of the many qualitative approaches to analysis, this study uses grounded theory, which has been suggested as an inductive method aimed at building theoretical frameworks and examining the validity of concepts. One of the most salient aspects of grounded theory is that it encourages researchers to find theoretical explanations and conceptual constructs in the collected data (e.g., interview data), rather than deductively imposing preconceived theoretical explanations on the subject under study (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The grounded theory method, therefore, underscores the flexibility of the research method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) , and is essential to this study for exploring the influences of embedded contexts

on individuals' PSM, as well as interactions between the motivational and cognitive processes in which individuals develop perceptions about being public servants in South Korean society.

In the overall process of narrative data collection, conversations between the researcher and the interviewees have been recorded by a digital voice recorder to provide rich narrative data, given the interviewees' consent (see Appendixes A and B). This ensures the accuracy of the narrative data and transcripts, which served as the raw data for analysis. Narrative data were analyzed through three stages of coding (i.e., open coding, axial coding, core coding) and the analysis process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Stage 1: Open Coding

In this stage, the transcripts were analyzed line by line in order to produce conceptual codes that fit the data. Open codes comprised key words, phrases or sentences, and the codes had to be grouped and constantly compared in order to generate a conceptual code.

Stage 2: Axial Coding

This was an intense analysis of each code identified in the process of open coding. Each was analyzed individually to see which code categories were closely related to other code categories and construct properties. Compared to open coding, analysis in this stage aimed to explore and identify a higher level of abstraction. Once a concept was identified, its attributes could be explored in greater depth and its characteristics dimensionalized.

Stage 3: Core Coding

The identified construct and dimensional categories in Axial Coding then served as a construct

for higher abstraction in core coding. This stage involved a selective coding process in the sense that the identified codes accounted for most variation in any pattern of concept and dimensions. Core codes, therefore, were expected to be relevant to all other categories, to integrate theory, and to render it dense and saturated as relationships between concepts were discovered.

3.2.2 Exploratory Factor Analysis and Parallel Analysis

Before specifying the dimensions of PSM, this study examined the factor structures by conducting exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and parallel analysis (PA). Since this study aimed to explore the applicability of PSM concepts to the South Korean case, exploratory factor analysis without "a priori specifications and restrictions" (Brown, 2006, p. 14) was an appropriate approach. In EFA, additional dimensions identified from the results of personal interviews were also examined within the previously suggested four dimensions. As a follow-up analysis, this study performed a parallel analysis (PA). The aim of PA is to reduce the problems of over-extraction and under-extraction of factor dimensions (Zwick & Velicer, 1986). Since EFA does not specify the number of factor dimensions, PA is suggested to increase the accuracy of factor extraction (Brown, 2006; Glorfeld, 1995).

3.2.3 First-order and Second-order Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) has been widely utilized in many of the social sciences to examine various types of construct validity in terms of the underlying covariance structure. In statistical terms, factor analysis is a procedure used to determine the extent to which measurement overlap (i.e., shared variance) exists among a set of variables. Factor analysis is performed to assess whether the number of variables can be reduced by determining which of

them cluster together, and, therefore, identifying common entities or constructs. In other words, its underlying methodological purpose is to "determine if measures for different variables are, in fact, measuring something in common" (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005, p. 249). Specifically, first-order and second-order CFA is utilized to examine convergent validity as a construct (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2001). The results of these two CFAs present evidence as to whether the identified dimensions and measurement items suggested from the qualitative analysis can be considered as dimensions of PSM.

The survey data were analyzed using Mplus 6.12. Figure 5 illustrates the schematic process by which the observed construct and underlying dimensions (latent variable) were hierarchically examined.
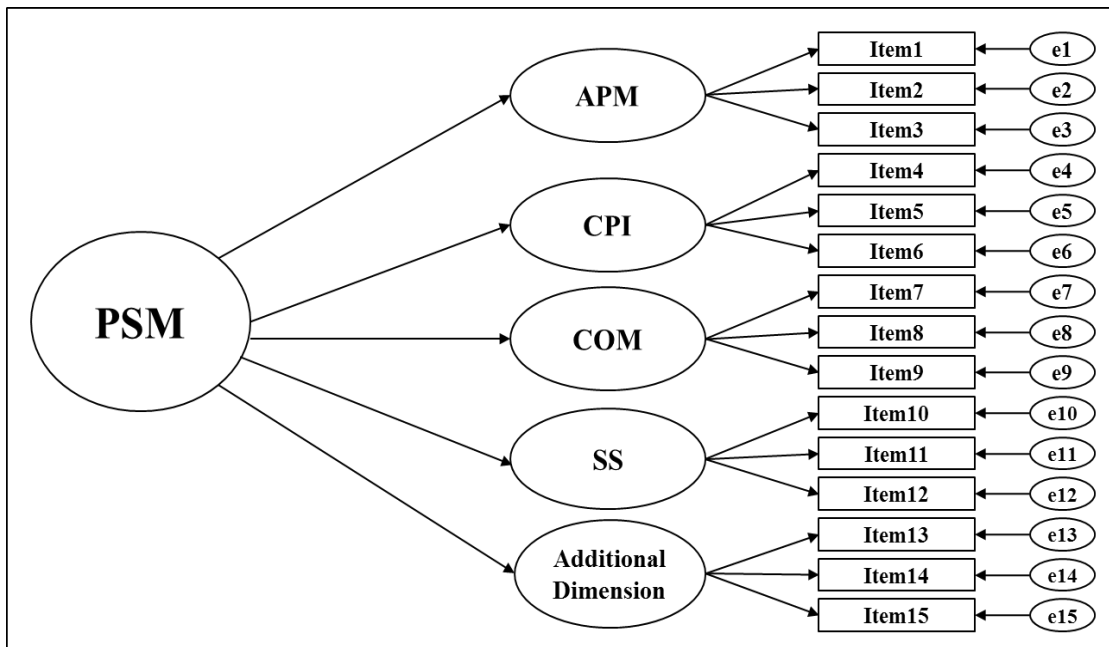
Note: 1) APM: attraction to policy making, 2) CPI: commitment to public interest, 3) COM: compassion, 4) SS: self-sacrifice, 5) Additional Dimension: additionally identified dimensions from the results of personal interviews

Figure 5. Second-order CFA model

3.2.4 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis

This analytical method is based on the ordinary least squared (OLS) model, which sequentially includes the groups of variables according to a conceptual order. The benefit of this approach is that the researcher can examine a change in statistical significance by adding more variables in an equation, so that researchers can examine the change of the explanatory power (R^2) and the model significance by looking into F-value changes (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). In this study, this OLS approach was used particularly to examine the change of coefficients, as different antecedents are included in the model, which provided theoretical implications regarding to the relative importance of antecedents in and out of public organizations. In particular, this method was designed to examine the four groups of antecedents—socioeconomic characteristics, major concerns regarding to career choice, and organizational demographic factors—of PSM. The graphical illustration is featured in Figure 6.
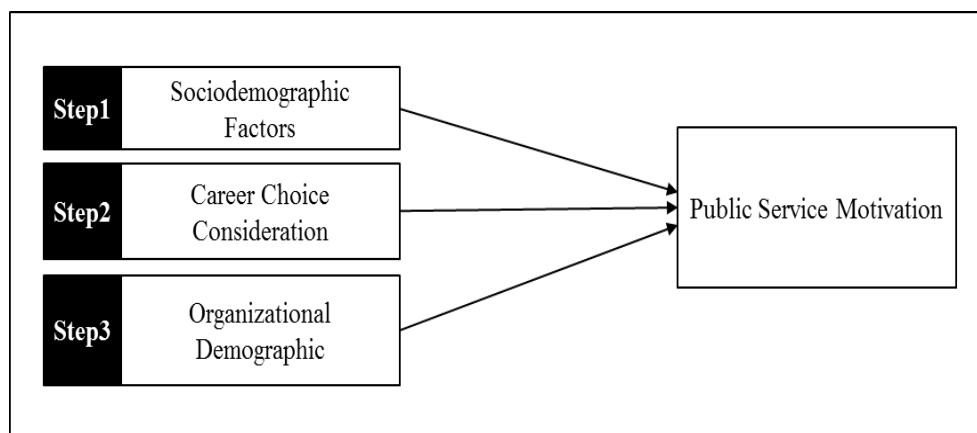
Figure 6. Hierarchical Multiple Regression

3.3 UNIT OF ANALYSIS AND DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the individual in South Korean society. Here, individuals fall into one of two groups: applicants who are preparing for the national exam to become public servants in the central government, and current public servants already in the central government. Specifically, this study is limited to individuals who are applying to the 7th and 5th classes, and 'general national public servants' who are currently working at the headquarters of central government agencies. As will be discussed in detail later, there are different types of public servants, and different entrance points into government organizations, but this study focuses on this particular group of people, because the type of work that this group of public servants handles, contrary to that of street-level bureaucrats, consists primarily of policy making and coordination at the central-government level (Yu & Im, 2007) [1]. The commonality of this group of people is that they are required to pass the national exam, which generally necessitates four years or more of preparation. This study does not include military and police officers, prosecutors, judges, assistant employees, or non-career public servants in its analysis in order to focus on the PSM of the aforementioned individuals.

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[1] Due to the strong legacy of centralized government throughout Korea's long history, the role of central government, even after the democratization of local government in 1996, remains dominant in outlining the majority of government policies. Even if local government and elected officials (e.g., mayors, provincial governors) have authority to change policy priorities and develop new policy initiatives for their level of government, the function of planning and the outline of policy initiatives are still required to fit within the policy outlines determined by the central government (Cho et al., 2010). Therefore, the relationship between local and central governments is not independent and autonomous, but rather is an extension of the hierarchical structure, and the function of local government is depicted as a "mimic of central government" (Im, 2007, p. 123).

3.3.2 Data Collection

Since this study adopts a mixed-methods approach, there were two different data collection phases. First, the narrative data were collected through face-to-face interviews with public servants in central government agencies and applicants to the central government. Second, survey data were collected from public servants at the central government agencies. More detailed information is presented in the following sections.

3.3.2.1 Narrative Data Collection: Semi-Structured Personal Interviews

Within the narrative data collection process, there were two different phases. In the initial one, the researcher chose respondents based on categorical information such as current status (applicants or public servants), hometown (metropolitan or rural), gender, educational level, religion, tenure period, and types of government. The researcher then conducted interviews with 7 individuals who agreed to participate. During the search for suitable respondents, diverse informants (e.g., professors at universities, public management analysts in research institutions, program coordinators in training centers, lecturers at private institutes for national preparation) suggested numerous potential respondents. Among those, 7 were selected based on the "maximal variation" (Flick, 2002, p. 73) criterion in the categorical information. Maximal variation has been suggested as a basis for the initial interview because, although the sample size is small, increasing the categorical variation may enable the researcher to grasp the diversity of the population. Information about these respondents is included in Table 4.

Table 4. List of Respondents

Last Name	Current Status	Hometown	Gender	Age	Education Level	Religion	Year of Preparation
1H	Applicants	Rural (Gong-Ju, Choong-chung Province)	Female	23	Undergraduate (Public Admin.)	Protestant	2 years
2K	Applicants	Rural (Non-San, North Chura Province)	Male	32	Master (Public Admin)	-	7 years
P1	Applicants	Metropolitan (Seoul)	Female	29	Master (Economics)	-	3 years
S1	Public servants	Rural (Sok-Cho, Gangwon Province)	Male	37	Master (English)	-	9 years Central Government, 4th grade
H1	Public Servants	Rural (Mok-Po, South Chura Province)	Male	55	Undergraduate (Agriculture)	-	24 years Central Government, 4th grade
O1	Public Servants	Metropolitan (Dae-gu, North Gyungsang Province)	Male	40	Undergraduate (Public Admin)	Buddhist	6 years Local Government, 6th grade
J1	Public Servants	Metropolitan (Seoul)	Female	31	Undergraduate (Political Science)	None	2 years Central Government, 7th grade

After finishing the interviews with these 7 individuals, the researcher adopted a theoretical sampling so as to explore the identified properties of the dimensions and the construct more deeply. The purpose of theoretical sampling is "the process of data collection … whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them" (B. Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45). Compared to the conventional sampling method, the characteristic of theoretical sampling is cumulative and responsive, in the sense that additional narrative data was collected based on the dimensions and constructs identified in the first set of interviews. As such, the interview protocol could also be revised, to a certain degree, during the sampling process in order to reflect the dimensions and constructs identified. This approach was suggested to "maximize opportunities to develop concepts in terms of their

properties and dimensions, uncover variations, and identify relationships between concepts" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 143).

Additional interviews were arranged according to the intensity of the interesting features such as personal socialization and experiences related to public service. As a result of the initial interviews, this study ended up with personal interviews with a total of 46 individuals. Detailed information about respondents' personal backgrounds is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Characteristics of Interviewees

Characteristics		Number of Interviews (%)
Recruitment Status	Public Servant	25 (54.3%)
	Applicant	21 (45.7%)
Gender	Male	30 (65.2%)
	Female	16 (34.8%)
Age	20s	11 (23.9%)
	30s	24 (52.2%)
	40s	7 (15.2%)
	50s	4 (8.7%)
Education	SKY University[2]	14 (30.4%)
	Non-SKY University	32 (69.6%)
Major	Public Administration	18 (39.1%)
	Other Majors	25 (54.3%)
	N/A	3 (6.5%)
Religion	Christianity	12 (26.1%)
	Buddhism	10 (21.7%)
	No Religion	24 (52.2%)
Length of Public Service	0 – 9 years	14 (56.0%)
	10 – 19 years	7 (28.0%)
	20 – 30 years	4 (16.0%)
Position in the Organization	Director General (2nd - 3rd grade)	3 (12.%)
	Division Director (4th grade)	8 (32%)
	Deputy Director (5th grade)	8 (32%)
	Officer (6th - 7th grade)	6 (24%)
Region of Hometown	Urban	17 (37.0%)
	Rural	29 (63.0%)

[2] Seoul National University(S), Korea University (K), and Yonsei University (Y) are the best universities in South Korea. Taking the first letter of these three universities, Korean people refer to these universities as "SKY University."

3.3.2.2 Survey Data Collection

Drawing on the results of qualitative analysis, this study developed a measurement scale and examined whether the identified dimensions could be considered as dimensions of PSM. For this purpose, this study also conducted a follow-up survey with public servants in South Korea. Here, the targeted population of public servants was limited only to those who were national public servants at headquarters of central government agencies. As shown in Table 6, the total number of national public servants was 142,396 as of 2011.

National public servants are divided into three different types: general public servant, special public servant, and assistant public servant—all of who are on the legally tenured career path. When it comes to their career paths, applicants who passed the national examination are required to enroll in training programs, at which point they can declare their preferred central government organizations, but if the number of applicants is more than the number of positions in certain organizations, then the scores of the national examination and the results of training programs play significant roles in the hiring process (Yu & Im, 2007). Therefore, we can see that these national public servants begin on a very similar career path.

Table 6. Sub-typology of Public Servant

Public Servants	General State Public Servants	Police/Fire Public Servants	Education Public Servants	Local Government Public Servants	Sub-Total
Number	142, 396	134,484	356,475	341,421	974,776

Source: MOPAS (2011). Section 3: Number of Civil Servants in Active Service, *2011 Statistics Yearbook* (p p. 88-116). Seoul, South Korea: Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS).

Table 7. Typology of Civil Servant

	Category	Example
Career Public Servants (Legally Tenured)	General Public Servant	general public servant (policy design, internal management, intergovernmental coordination, etc.)
	Special Public Servant	police officer, fire fighter, soldier, judge, prosecutor, constitutional law researcher
	Assistant Public Servant	personal secretary, other functional task labor force except government administration
Non-Career Public Servants	Politically Elected or Appointed Public Servant	minister, vice minister, President, Prime Minister, administrator, mayor
	Policy Staff/Advisor	policy assistant, advisor, committee member at a commission
	Contracted Public Servant	individuals who have specialized skills, knowledge, experiences of administrative and policy issues
	Specialists	Policy Analysts and Evaluators
	Assistant Labor	Building Maintenance

Source: National Public Servant Law, Chapter1, Article 2

Even though survey data were collected at the individual level, the conventional method of random sampling of all national public servants was not feasible due to the difficulties of preparing a sampling frame and receiving official permission from individuals, respectively. Instead, this study prepared a sampling frame at the organizational level and then collected survey data from the members of organizations. This approach increased the feasibility of data collection by receiving consent from each organization.

As of 2011, there were 48 central government organizations in South Korea: 16 ministries; 12 commissions; and 20 agencies, administrations, offices, and services. Among these

organizations, 8 organizations[3] and 12 commissions were excluded from the sampling frame. The remaining 28 organizations were divided into four different functions, drawing on Kim's (2008) categories. Based on a comparative study on government reform in the U.S., the U.K., German, French, and Japanese governments, and an historical review of the five eras of government reform in South Korea, Kim (2008) suggested five distinctive government functions: (1) apex of decision-making; (2) government planning, coordination and administration; (3) social maintenance and international affairs; (4) economy and industry; and (5) education, culture, and social welfare.[4] More detailed information about the functional categories and names of the various agencies are included in Appendix E.

For the survey, this study selected one or two organizations from each functional category; as a result, five public agencies were chosen out of twenty-eight. In the selection process, the researcher considered the feasibility of data collection, the costs of delivery and collection, the length of the collection period, and response rates. Table 8 reports information about the functional categories and the names of public agencies.

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[3] The names of the 8 organizations are (1) National Police Agency, (2) Prosecution Service, (3) Ministry of Justice, (4) President's Office, (5) Prime Minister's Office, (6) Defense Acquisition Program Administration, (7) Military Manpower Administration, and (8) Ministry of Government Legislation.

[4] (1) The apex of decision-making includes the Blue House, Office of the President, and Office of the Prime Minister. Organizations in this group work primarily for the President and Prime Minister as administrative support, managing classified information for critical government decisions; (2) The government-planning function underscores the central role of government in coordinating government functions and finance to design and implement public policy at the national level; (3) The government's social maintenance function takes the form of external interactions and internal physical management; in other words, this group of government organizations is expected to interact and negotiate with external social entities (e.g., foreign countries, international organizations, North Korea) and to maintain the territory of Korea; (4) Economy and Industrial Affairs is related to the government's role in regulating and supporting economic development, including the agricultural, industrial, and service industries; government organizations in this category have regulative and supportive policy tools to maintain economic growth; (5) The Education, Culture, and Social Welfare function stresses the quality of life of Korean social policies relevant to citizens (Kim, 2008).

Table 8. List of Organizations

	Functional Category	Name of Organization
1	Government Planning, Coordination, and Administration	Ministry of Public Administration and Security
2	Social Maintenance and International Affairs	Ministry of Environment
3	Economy and Industry Affairs	Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs
4	Education, Culture, and Social Welfare	Ministry of Gender Equality and Family[5], Ministry for Education, Science, and Technology

Based on the permission of public agencies, each public servant (e.g., position, name of office and address, and phone number) was coded into a sampling frame. In order to perform a random sampling at the individual level in each organization, unique ID numbers were assigned to the public servants, and five sets of random numbers were generated to select individuals from the sampling framework prepared for each organization. Considering the number of public servants in each organization, this study attempted to collect balanced numbers of public servants in each category. Overall, 1,850 surveys were distributed to these five organizations; more detailed information is included in Table 9. Based on the generated random numbers, survey questionnaires were distributed to the respondents. The survey was conducted over about three weeks from mid-July to the beginning of August in 2011.

The size of the survey distribution was chosen in accordance with the size of each organization. The numbers of surveys distributed to each organization covered from 35.0 to 44.8 percent of public servants in the organizations, respectively (see Table 9).

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[5] The sample size of this agency is relatively smaller than other organizations, so that the Ministry for Education, Science, and Technology was additionally selected so as to balance the number of potential respondents.

Table 9. Name of Organization

Category	Name of Organization	Number of public servants at headquarters	Surveys Distributed	Percentage
1	Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS)	1,325	500	37.7%
2	Ministry of Environment (MOE)	781	350	44.8%
3	Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs (MOLTMA)	1,430	500	35.0%
4	Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MOEST)	921	400	43.4%
	Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF)	234	100	42.7%
Total		**4590**	**1850**	**40.3%**

Based on the sampling, 1850 respondents were randomly selected, which was around 40.3% of public servants in these five headquarters of central government. Out of the 1850 solicited, 428 respondents participated, for a response rate of 23.14%.

3.3.3 Descriptive Statistics

Table 10 reports the descriptive statistics for the variables used in this study. As is shown by the table, female public servants accounted for 32.5 percent of all respondents, and more than 95 percent of all respondents were college-educated. In addition, 23.4 percent of respondents had obtained an advanced degree. It should also be noted that the majority of respondents came from three grades (i.e., 5th, 6th, and 7th grade). In addition, 73.8 percent of respondents reported that their tasks were primarily associated with policy making and implementation. Respondents' average age was roughly 41 years old, ranging from 28 57 years of age at the time of the survey.

They had been in service around 14 years on average, with their length of service ranging from 0 to 37 years.

Table 10. Descriptive Statistics of Survey Respondents

Variables	n	%	Variable	n	%
Gender			**Education**		
Male	287	67.1	Less than High School	3	0.7
Female	139	32.5	High School	15	3.5
Missing	2	0.5	College Graduate	308	72.0
			Master's Degree	90	21.0
Grade			Ph.D. Degree	10	2.3
3rd grade	3	0.7	Missing	2	0.5
4th grade	25	5.8			
5th grade	150	35.0	**Current Position**		
6th grade	145	33.9	Assistant Administrator/	2	0.5
7th grade	75	17.5	Division/Office Director	36	8.4
8th grade	19	4.4	Deputy Director/Employee	386	90.2
9th grade	9	2.1	Missing	4	0.9
Missing	2	0.5			
			Types of Assigned Task		
Career Path			Policy Making	218	50.9
Admin.	255	59.6	Policy Implementation	98	22.9
Tech.	138	32.2	Administrative Support	108	25.2
Assistant	32	7.4	Missing	4	0.9
Missing	3	0.7			

To assess the level of representativeness of survey participants, social and organizational demographic characteristics were compared with the overall population of public servants. First, with regard to the respondents' gender, female public servants were found to account for 40.6 percent of the overall population. In particular, females represented 28.8% of all public servants at central government agencies (MOPAS, 2011). Generally, in many agencies roughly one third of all civil servants are female; thus, the 32.5 percent response rate of female public officials can be viewed as similar in proportion to the population of female public servants in central government. A more detailed comparison by agency is provided in Table 11.

In the MOLTMA, female public servants occupy a very small proportion (i.e., 13.64%)

of all public servants. Due to the small number of females in MOLTMA, this study also possessed a small number of female respondents (i.e., 19.1%). By contrast, in the MOGEF, females constitute over half (i.e., 56.59%) of all public servants in the headquarters of the ministry. Due to this high ratio of female to male public servants in MOGEF, the response rate of females (i.e., 42.23%) is higher than that of other agencies. Nevertheless, although the response rate tended to reflect the characteristics of the population, there are still noticeable difference between the sample and the total population.

Table 11. Characteristics of Survey Respondents: Comparison by Gender

Organization \ Gender		Male	Female	Total
MOPAS	Population	1779	597	2376
		74.87%	25.13%	100.00%
	Sample	51	21	72
		70.8%	29.2%	100.0%
MOE	Population	1155	488	1643
		70.30%	29.70%	100.00%
	Sample	67	24	91
		73.6%	26.4%	100.0%
MOLTMA	Population	3914	618	4532
		86.36%	13.64%	100.00%
	Sample	114	27	141
		80.9%	19.1%	100.0%
MOEST	Population	3850	1445	5295
		72.71%	27.29%	100.00%
	Sample	25	45	70
		35.7%	64.3%	100.0%
MOGEF	Population	89	116	205
		43.41%	56.59%	100.00%
	Sample	30	22	52
		57.7%	42.3%	100.0%
TOTAL	Population	10787	3264	14051
		76.77%	23.23%	100.00%
	Sample	287	139	426
		67.4%	32.6%	100.0%

Source: MOPAS (2011). Section 3: Number of Civil Servants in Active Service, *2011 Statistics Yearbook* (pp.108-109). Seoul, South Korea: Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS).

When we look at the respondents' grades, the majority came from the three middle grades (i.e., grades 5, 6, and 7), whereas the remaining respondents belonged to other grades. Although we generally assume a pyramid shape in government organizations, the distribution of public servants at the central level of government uncovered by this study does indeed reveal different hierarchical arrangements at agency headquarters. For example, in the MOEST, over 71 percent of the public servants belong to these three grades. Similarly, MOGEF also reports the highest density in these three grades, with over 78 percent of their public servants belonging to these three classes (MOPAS, 2011). A more detailed comparison is reported in Table 12.

While public servants at these three grades constitute a majority of the population at the central level of government, these three grades are still overrepresented in the sample used by this study. More specifically, respondents from these three grades constituted roughly 87 percent of all respondents, although, for five particular agencies, only 71 percent of public servants belonged to these grades. In the MOE, these three grades made up only 54.2 percent of the overall population. However, this study showed that 88 percent of the participants came from these grades, which in turn resulted in underrepresentation of other grades. In particular, the higher level (grades 1 to 2, or SCS) and lower level grades (8th and 9th) tended to be underrepresented.

From this comparison of the characteristics of research participants to those of the population found in all agencies, we can sense that there might be an issue of over- and under-representation in this study's survey sample. Despite the random sampling approach designed to increase the representativeness of the population, it may be premature to conclude that the data obtained accurately represent the characteristics of all five agencies. One reason for the disparity found between the sample and the population is that public servants were encouraged to

participate in the survey voluntarily over a short period of time, without repeated appeals, thereby leading to the possibility that the survey sample was less representative of the overall population. Bearing these points in mind, the sampling method and the representativeness of the sample can be considered as limitations of this study.

Table 12. Characteristics of Survey Respondents: Comparison by Grade

Grade / Organization		SCS	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	Research Officers	Researcher	TOTAL
MOPAS	Population	63	41	307	617	587	298	138	35	86	204	2376
		2.65%	1.73%	12.92%	25.97%	24.71%	12.54%	5.81%	1.47%	3.62%	8.59%	100.00%
	Sample	N/A	0	4	28	25	9	5	1	N/A	N/A	72
		N/A	0.00%	5.60%	38.90%	34.70%	12.50%	6.90%	1.40%	N/A	N/A	100.00%
MOE	Population	33	14	120	303	350	238	144	79	131	231	1643
		2.01%	0.85%	7.30%	18.44%	21.30%	14.49%	8.76%	4.81%	7.97%	14.06%	100.00%
	Sample	N/A	1	5	35	35	10	3	2	N/A	N/A	91
		N/A	1.10%	5.50%	38.50%	38.50%	11.00%	3.30%	2.20%	N/A	N/A	100.00%
MOLTMA	Population	65	40	338	765	1491	1168	500	134	3	28	4532
		1.43%	0.88%	7.46%	16.88%	32.90%	25.77%	11.03%	2.96%	0.07%	0.62%	100.00%
	Sample	N/A	2	10	53	43	26	5	3	N/A	N/A	142
		N/A	1.40%	7.00%	37.30%	30.30%	18.30%	3.50%	2.10%	N/A	N/A	100.00%
MOEST	Population	78	46	334	839	2122	1107	478	168	39	84	5295
		1.47%	0.87%	6.31%	15.85%	40.08%	20.91%	9.03%	3.17%	0.74%	1.59%	100.00%
	Sample	N/A	0	4	24	23	16	3	0	N/A	N/A	70
		N/A	0.00%	5.70%	34.30%	32.90%	22.90%	4.30%	0.00%	N/A	N/A	100.00%
MOGEF	Population	7	5	32	75	56	26	2	1	0	1	205
		3.41%	2.44%	15.61%	36.59%	27.32%	12.68%	0.98%	0.49%	0.00%	0.49%	100.00%
	Sample	N/A	0	2	10	19	14	3	3	N/A	N/A	51
		N/A	0.00%	3.90%	19.60%	37.30%	27.50%	5.90%	5.90%	N/A	N/A	100.00%
TOTAL	Population	246	146	1131	2599	4606	2837	1262	417	259	548	14051
		1.75%	1.04%	8.05%	18.50%	32.78%	20.19%	8.98%	2.97%	1.84%	3.90%	100.00%
	Sample	N/A	3	25	150	145	75	19	9	N/A	N/A	426
		N/A	0.70%	5.90%	35.20%	34.00%	17.60%	4.50%	2.10%	N/A	N/A	100.00%

Source: MOPAS (2011). Section 3: Number of Civil Servants in Active Service, *2011 Statistics Yearbook* (pp.99-101). Seoul, South Korea: Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS).

3.4. TRANSLATION: BACK TRANSLATION

Drawing on Hambleton and Patsula's (1998) discussion, as well as that of Sireci et al. (2006), related to translation in cross-cultural studies, this study conducted the back-translation when translating Perry's (1996) measurement and interview protocol, which consists translation from English to Korean and then back to English. Translators shared each other's translated terms and discussed what terms would be appropriate. After back-translation, a discussion ensued about the clarity and ambiguity of terms used in each question, and about the overall content of the questions, in order to examine semantic equivalences and discrepancies. In this study, two bilingual Korean and American Ph.D. students participated in the process.

3.5 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The overall process of data collection and sequential analyses can be summarized as follow: (1) research questions → (2) narrative data collection through personal interviews → (3) analysis of coded scripts and additional interviews → (4) identification of dimensions and development of measurement items → (5) collection of survey data at the headquarters of public agencies→ (6) exploratory factor analysis and parallel analysis → (7) first-order and second-order confirmatory factor analysis → (8) analysis of coded scripts to explore the linkages between identified dimensions and social contexts (i.e., administrative tradition, socially constructed roles of public servants) → (9) hierarchical multiple regression to examine the relation of antecedents to PSM.

4.0 CASE DESCRIPTION: SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SOUTH KOREA

In describing the context of any society, the most formidable challenge faced by any researcher is to determine appropriate boundaries for the social contexts of a specific study. In this case, it is necessary to consider diverse dimensions of social contexts to provide extensive explanations of the results of interviews and statistical analysis. This research, in particular, aims to explore the specificity of cultural and social influences on the patterns of inclinations, attitudes, and behaviors for the study of PSM. As such, an explanation of the observed phenomena requires a sufficient level of understanding of the various ranges of social contexts (Hofstede, 2001; Jahoda, 1982). Nonetheless, providing overly detailed information regarding the historical, political, and social contexts may be rather redundant; therefore, this section focuses on the brief history of South Korea, its administrative tradition (political and administrative institutions), and the cultural heritage of Confucianism in regard to public administration.

4.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF SOUTH KOREA

The history of South Korea can be divided into diverse chronological orders according to the purpose of the study. Following Lee and Jung (2010), this study suggests five phases in chronological order: (1) the Chosun Dynasty, (2) the Japanese colonization, (3) the nation-building stage, (4) the state developmental state stage, and (5) the democratic stage, in order to focus on the changes in administrative functions and political regimes (Y. W. Han, 2007; S. Y. Lee & Jung, 2010).

Time Line	1392 ----------1909------------1945------------------1961------------------1993------------Present			
Governance	Chosun Dynasty	Japanese occupation	Chaotic period, Nation building, Korean War	Military dictatorship, Developmental state	Political transition to democracy, Political and administrative devolution
Political Ideology	Confucianism	Japanese imperialism	Anti-communism & democracy	Limited democracy	Democracy
Political System	Hierarchical feudalism	Colonial system	Burgeoning period of democratic values	Social movement toward democracy	Democratic system
Governing Actors	Scholarly bureaucrats	Japanese police bureaucrats	Military and police bureaucrats/ U.S. military regime	Military bureaucrats & civil servants[6]	Civil servants
Administrative Centrality	Centralized authority based on hierarchical social class	Japanese military government	Political and administrative turmoil	Centralized military government	Decentralization and devolution process
Recruitment	National exam	Pro-Japan & field experiences	Skills and spoil system	Military personnel & national exam	National exam
Economy	1st Industry (labor-intensive agriculture)	Introduction of modernized agricultural technology		Government-directed developmental policy: 2nd industry	Service and high-tech industry

Figure 7. Summary of Social Context

The fundamental social structure and cultural ground of South Korea begin with the Chosun Dynasty, which lasted over five hundred years from the end of the 14th century. The principles of Confucianism fully permeated both the political and social aspects of Chosun society. Even nowadays, scholars tend to search for the origins of present social values and social structures in the legacy of Confucianism (Ahn, 2008; S. B. Cheng, 2002; S. B. Han, 1993). Based on Confucian principles, the Chosun era is characterized as a hierarchically stratified society with five social classes and an authoritarian political structure (Kwon & O'Donnell,

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[6] Here, 'civil servants' refers to the non-military public servants who were recruited through national exams or other merit-based recruitment methods.

2001).

The Chosun dynasty ended in 1909 as a result of Japanese colonization. The Japanese government expanded its imperialism and control over East Asian societies by initiating numerous wars in this area. In order to expand its influence, Japan viewed the Korean peninsula, its closest neighbor, as the first step toward mastery of the Asian continent by exploiting diverse types of resources for the ongoing and upcoming wars in the Northeast areas. From 1909 to the end of World War II in 1945, the Japanese military and police force controlled the Korean peninsula. In this colonial period, when coercive control intensified, the function of public administration was typically to strengthen the "suppressing functions" of public administration for the imperial order (Rho & Lee, 2010, p. 331).

The Republic of Korea (ROK), so-called "South Korea," was established in 1948, three years after liberation from Japan in 1945. At that time, the postcolonial Korean peninsula was in extreme social chaos, politically and economically. In many ways, the Korean peninsula became a battlefield for political and social ideologies. As the level of social conflict (i.e., political wrangling and continuous street demonstrations) rose between the two pillars of political ideology (the democratic state and the social state), two independent Korean governments were established based on these disparate ideologies. Later, in 1950, the two Koreas entered into the Korean War, which lasted for 3 years; as a result, the Korean peninsula was divided into two Koreas along the 38th parallel (S. Y. Lee & Jung, 2010).

After the truce between the two Koreas, the South Korean government had to cope with seemingly insurmountable challenges: maintaining public order (i.e., preventing the pro-Communist movement and terrorism in the southern areas of South Korea), boosting economic conditions, and eliminating economic poverty. Among such diverse social problems, the

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economic condition was the most serious. In fact, the Korean masses struggled to overcome an extremely high level of poverty, with an annual per capita GNP of less than $100. At the outbreak of the Korean War, the economic conditions had reached an all-time low; as a result, the majority of Koreans were suffering from malnutrition (T. B. Im & Park, 2010; S. Y. Lee & Jung, 2010).

In this chaotic period, the military generals seized the opportunity to take administrative and political power with the promise of economic development, social stability, and eradication of communism. Thus military officers occupied the majority of the critical positions in the public sector. This period can be characterized as rapid economic development at the cost of democratic development. In regard to the economy, the method of development relied on the government's economic development plan, in which public servants became the central players guiding the general direction of economic development as well as other social spheres; at the same time, social stability was bolstered by employing oppressive control through police and military forces. Although driven in many ways by private companies, rapid economic development was primarily guided by government intervention and planned investment, based on the centralized authority of the government.

This dominance by the military lasted for thirty years, from the beginning of the 1960s to the end of the '80s, until the non-military politician Young-Sam Kim was elected president of South Korea in 1992. Driven by criticisms that injustices were being perpetuated for the sake of economic growth, particularly coming from the underprivileged and trade union movements, dissatisfaction with the high-handed manner of the government and social demands for democratic society grew rapidly from the mid-1980s. As a result of social demands for and pressure toward democracy, there was a systematic political transition to democratic society after

the regime of President Young-Sam Kim. The devolution of centralized administrative power at the central government level was also conducted as of 1996. By 2011, South Korea was regarded by diverse international institutions as a democratic society. According to a report by the British magazine *The Economist*, Korean society had been categorized as a fully democratic society since 2008, based on an assortment of democracy indices (ECI, 2010).

4.2 CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ADMINISTRATIVE TRADITION

A group of scholars has argued that administrative tradition and cultural heritage have a persistent influence on various aspects of public administration and governance (Bezes, 2010; Painter & Peters, 2010b; Yesilkagit, 2010). Although inclusion of all aspects of the cultural heritage of South Korea would exceed the scope of this research, we need to review cultural contexts based on Confucianism and salient aspects of administrative tradition representing the social context of South Korea for rich understanding and explanation of public administration in South Korea.

4.2.1 The Legacy of Confucianism

The geographical context of South Korea can be characterized by its proximity to China and Japan. Due to its location between these two countries, the Korean peninsula has served as a bridge for cultural exchange in the area. Such geographical characteristics have also led Korean society to share cultural, political, social, and economic characteristics with these neighboring countries. Recent studies demonstrate that much of Korea's cultural legacy still shows commonalities with other cultures in the region (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Kitayama & Cohen,

2007). In this vein, Heine (2001) states that this area can be considered as a cultural bloc distinct from that of Western society, noting that "China, Japan, and Korea share a number of cultural elements that provide a theoretically meaningful contrast with North American societies" (Heine, 2001, p. 885).

To understand the essence of South Korea's cultural heritage, it is necessary to acknowledge the persistent, dominant influence of Confucianism on Korean society from the 14th century on. Although it is hard to enumerate all the effects of Confucian culture on present-day South Korea, we need to pay attention to how Confucianism defined the social structures and the fundamental relationship of government to the people (or citizens). All human relations of Confucianism are based on the characteristics of the relationship between oneself and others, according to the roles people fill. In contrast to individualism, founded in the freedom from restraints established by others, Confucian society starts by establishing an individual identity's in the context of the social order (Keum, 2000, pp. 22-24). Specifically, Confucianism distinguishes among five different cardinal orders (or kinds) of human relations: parent and child, superior and subordinate, husband and wife, brothers and sisters, and friends in general. These relationships, which are claimed to be the very core of social relations, can be applied to other types of such relationships.

Indeed, Confucianism defines the relationship between government (executive branch) and citizens as an extension of the relationship between parents and children (Littlejohn, 2011). As such, the underlying logic in defining diverse types of relationships between governments and citizens begins with the familial logic in which parents have the duty of caring for their children, and children are required to follow the parents' rules. More sophisticated ethical codes, required roles, and social values enhance the fundamental idea of government for the people in Confucian

culture (Ahn, 2003, 2008; Littlejohn, 2011). As depicted by Frederickson (2002), the relationship

between the ruler and the people implicitly accepts a hierarchical structure based on the morality

of the rulers.

> [There is a] Central Confucian concept of leaders' moral obligations to the people and the people's moral obligations to the leaders.... The leaders or rulers of the state have a moral obligation to ensure peace, prosperity, and justice so that the people will be happy and able to live full lives. The people have a moral obligation to support their leaders so long as those leaders are meeting their moral obligations to them. The word 'contract' is not used [to define the relationships of social entities], but the idea of reciprocity is central to Confucianism.... The authority for action is not found in law or in delegation from the ruler; it is found in the individual bureaucrat's personal morality (Frederickson, 2002, pp. 613-616).

More detailed accounts of the Confucian administrative tradition—the underlying

structure of the desirable methods for governance, social structure, and social values—are

presented by Frederickson (2002), with a clear comparison of public administrative traditions in

the West and the East (i.e., Confucius society).

Table 13. Comparison of Administrative Traditions

Subject	Western Thought	Confucian or East Asian Thought
Instrument of Governance	Constitutions, laws, regulation	Man, judgment
Structure	Fluid, loosely coupled, ambiguous	Hierarchical, clear
Rulers and Roles	Ambiguous	Clear
Power	From authority, from position	From morality, from position, by example [of previous cases, elites, and kings]
Purpose	Efficiency, effectiveness, equity	Understanding, to do good
Aspirations	To serve, to lead	To do good
Processes	Good management, total quality, scientific, decision making	Moral conventions, intuitive judgement, moral action
Values	Neutrality, policy advocacy	Virtue
Education	Knowledge, skills	Understanding, virtue
Qualities	Competence, judgment	Virtue, judgment
Standards	Constitutions, laws, regulations, codes of ethics	Moral conventions, self-cultivation, virtue

Source: Reorganized from the table presented by Frederickson (2002, p. 623)

First, it is important to notice the differences in terms of "instrument of governance." As shown, in defining the ethical and ideological concepts of good governance, Confucian thought emphasizes the morality and virtue of human beings as the ground for better governance, not for better institutional or legal systems. This principle fundamentally relies on the belief that an ethically complete person's judgment, following the principles and values of Confucianism, is a more effective way to make a stable and harmonious society. Based on this belief, Confucianism developed diverse sets of ethical values, detailed descriptions of appropriate roles, and desirable values for public officials (A. B. L. Cheng, 2010).

Secondly, Confucian principles also suggest very sophisticated social principles and rules for the desirable conduct of each stratum of society. Such principles also include a clear

hierarchical order and position within the social strata. For example, Confucianism in South Korea suggests appropriate roles according to a strict distinction among social classes based on type of occupation and social class: *Sa* (mandarins, gentlemen, scholarly bureaucrats), *Nong* (farmers), *Gong* (craftsmen), *Sang* (merchants), and *Nobi* (slave labor forces). Painter and Peter (2010) stated, "Confucian doctrines of statecraft hold that 'ritual' – [that is] a proper understanding and continuous reaffirmation of each person's place in the hierarchy of roles and duties" (p.27). In this social class system, scholarly bureaucrats (i.e., public officials), who are placed as the highest social class, are depicted as the ideal in a society with civilized ethics and moral values; they are required to abide by complicated ethical codes in their lives in order to be exemplary of Confucian doctrines.

Third, Confucian thought does not stem from a logic of "serving" but rather of "doing good." While seemingly simple, this reflects a belief that public officials, as the highest social class, should do good for the society as a whole, rather than perform as servants of the people. Therefore, (1) less attention has been paid to technical efficiency and effectiveness than to morality and ethical purity, which are considered as the central matters of governing actors, (2) desirable roles and required duties are defined socially, and (3) decision making and consensus building through the democratic participation of a wide range of social actors and spheres are less emphasized in Confucian thought, but ruling classes (i.e., the scholarly bureaucrats) are deemed responsible for making "wise" decisions for the unenlightened people. While the work of governing actors may lead to the same positive results for the public through their efforts, the motivation is different from that of the democratic values of Western societies. As such, greater emphasis is placed on the virtuous ruling class than on the development of social institutions to protect the governed from the governing class.

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4.2.2 Strong Government Centrality and Civil Society

South Korea has been depicted as a centralized, strong administrative authority in much of the relevant literature. Particularly, the period of its developmental-state stage has been defined as an authoritarian regime (Ahn, 2008; S. Cho & Im, 2010; H. B. Im, 1987). Since the establishment of the modern state in 1948, a centralized, strong government has been regarded as appropriate for coping with urgent social challenges (e.g., poverty, rapid economic development, political instability). Particularly in the developmental-state period from the 1960s to the '90s, the executive branches, which were dominated by the military, showed a highly centralized form of government as noted by Lah (2010):

> The policy-making process in Korea was limited to an inner government circle, which included only related ministries and offices, and the Blue House[7]. The national emphasis on economic development and the strong-government tradition and political system effectively excluded the participation of noticeably underdeveloped political entities (2010, p. 357).

Although the form of the political system has been similar to that of many other democratic states, which stresses the separation of power among three independent political authorities (i.e., legislative, judicial, and executive branches), the executive branch in Korea has been at the apex of the political power system. At the center of government, influenced by the long tradition of Confucianism, which gives the highest authority and legitimacy to the executive branch, Korean society is a paternalistic one. Even recently, such a high level of presidential power has led the president to be called an "imperial president" (Ryu & Lee, 2010, p. 111), and the legitimacy of the executive branch making critical decisions for the society has been

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[7] The Blue House is the official residence and principal workplace of the president of South Korea. This name comes from the color of its roof, which was built according to traditional methods of house construction.

portrayed by Ahn (2003) as follows: "it is fair to say that two extremes—overlordship and servants for the people—exist in parallel, with no prospect of moderation into a bureaucratic ethic that conditions bureaucrats to serve the people in genuine concern for their interests" (p.65).
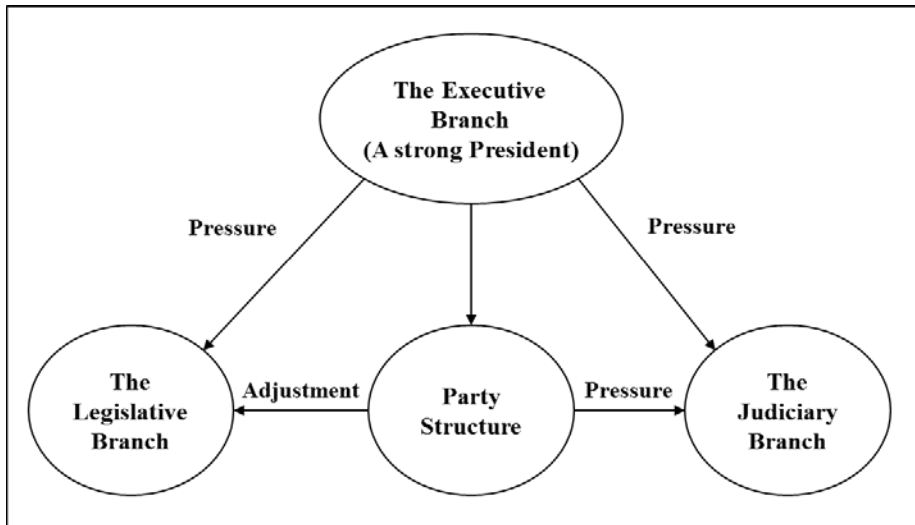
Source: Ahn (2003) *Elites and political power in South Korea*. Northampton, MA
        Edward Elgar Publishing (p.12).

Figure 8. Relationship of Government Branches in South Korea

Due to the strength of the government, it has been taken for granted that public service should be delivered by public sector bodies, not by the nonprofit or the private sectors. In addition, the overpowering bureaucracy and the tradition of an authoritarian state result in a lack of civil society and provide local governments with very limited autonomy. Compared to the active involvement of civil society and nonprofit sectors in the policymaking process and delivery of public service in U.S. society (Kettl, 2002; Salamon, 2002), the executive branch in Korea has been regarded as the major player in designing and implementing public policy, and in providing the majority of public and social services; however, such tradition has been gradually changing since the local elections in 1995. The concept of devolution and decentralized

democracy was introduced from academia, and the newly elected presidents supported the transfer of administrative power to the local governments along with the independence of local authorities.[8]

4.2.3 Linguistic Issue: Public Servants vs. Public Officials

One of the most common errors in a study on different social contexts stems from the terms and expressions used for analysis. Although this study uses 'public service' and 'public servant' to describe the Korean case, the implicit meanings attached to the terms may not necessarily be identical to what is commonly understood in the Unites States or other societies. As suggested by social constructivists, the implicit meanings of certain terms tend to reflect the sociohistorical context, so translating a term into a different language may cause confusion or misunderstanding and dilute the implicit meaning of the term (Eglene & Dawes, 2006; Young & Collin, 2004). Therefore, this study now examines the meanings of 'public servant' and 'public service.'

Linguistically, the meaning of 'public servant' in Korean is closer to 'public official.' When the terms *gongmuwon* and *gongjik* are written in Korean, their explicit meanings are derived from traditional Chinese characters that translate to "individuals who are in charge of *public duty*"; *gongjik* also indicates "public work." It is interesting to note that the term 'service' is new to Korean society. Although the linguistic expression of service (*bongsa*) has existed in the Korean language, this term has rarely been used to depict public service or delivery of public service. Instead, the term 'service' is more widely used by private companies to mean "customer service." Even now, Koreans do not commonly translate the Korean term *bongsa* by "service,"

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[8] In 1995, the heads of local governments (i.e. governors, mayors) and council members were elected. At this election, both executive heads and council members of local governments were elected by local citizens. Before then, local autonomy per se was not very much. This decentralization of political and administrative authority has been considered as a pivotal event in the progress of democracy (C. L. Cho, Hong, & Wright, 2010).

but rather employ the sound of the English term to denote the concept of service by saying *seoviseu* (service).

Therefore, when the concept of "public service motivation" was introduced to the field of public administration in South Korea, the term "service" itself raised the conceptual debate in the study of PSM. When the concept of PSM was first introduced to the field of public administration in Korea, it was translated as *gongjikdonggi*, which can be translated back into English as "public work motivation" (S. Kim, Joe, & Park, 2010; Ko & Park, 2010; G. Lee, 2005b). Since the concept of 'public service' is a relatively new concept to Korean society and government reform, and since the concept of public servants is close to the concept of public officials in Korea, PSM seems to be drawing an increasing amount of attention in terms of its applicability, its validity, and the elements of motivation.

It is difficult to understand where such notional differences came from without understanding the differences in social contexts. To this end, Frederickson's (2002) comparative study points out well that there is a different philosophical ground of public administration and public service. When the social context in East Asia is considered, it seems difficult to accept that the concept of public service, which is "serving"-oriented, existed widely in these societies. Basically, Confucian culture based its philosophy on the acceptance of a hierarchical structure in social and political aspects and on the importance of following one's role and duty according to the morality and ethics attached to those roles and social strata. In addition, linguistically, the concept of "public" is frequently used not only to distinguish the public realm from that of the personal and the family, but also to indicate "ethical rightness." As such, the concept of "private" indicates individuals' relatively distorted conditions of personal need and ethical immaturity. (H. Jung, 2005; S. Y. Lee & Jung, 2010).

4.2.4 Civil Service System: Bureaucratic Elites and Meritocracy

Even in modern Asian states, bureaucratic culture has been viewed as a legacy of the Confucian ideology in many aspects (Frederickson, 2002). As discussed, the strong-state traditional and political dominance of the executive branch has resulted in a condition where, over the centuries, the bureaucratic elites have become the most influential social group in South Korea. In particular, "social reliance on a bureaucracy" (Cheung, 2005, p. 263) was very salient in the developmental state period (1960s-'80s) in which a bureaucratic leadership was put in place devoted to national development at the cost of deferring democratic development.

Although bureaucratic elites have had a high proportion of authority and discretion, the method of recruitment has been based on the ideas of meritocracy in order to ensure the quality of the bureaucrats (T. B. Im & Park, 2010) and to prevent nepotism and corruption.[9] As with the modern recruitment method, exam-based recruitment has long been regarded as the most reliable and socially just way by giving people fair opportunities to be recruited and promoted to higher social status. Traditionally, the national exam is viewed as the best way to achieve social prestige; thus, education and learning have become important values in society. This tradition value is still salient in Korea today (T. Kim & Bae, 2004).

As revealed in Table 14, the most recent channel of recruitment is still primarily based on the applicants' scores on the national exams, a procedure that is firmly based on the ideas of rank-in-person and closed systems. Thus promotion within the organization is the only way to move upward on the career ladder to a higher rank. In addition, based on the rank-in-person system, individuals tend to build up knowledge of general skills and tasks, as opposed to

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[9] Historically, high-ranking officials are recruited by national exams, a tradition that dates back to the 9th century, before the establishment of the Chosun dynasty. The fundamental idea of meritocracy can be traced back to the ideal model of "scholarly bureaucrats" (Y. W. Han, 2007).

professional knowledge. Resulting from the combination of the closed and rank-in-person systems, the career path of most public servants spirals upward from the bottom or middle level to the top of the hierarchical organization.[10] While there are ongoing efforts to transform public organizations into an open system, in which more specialized public servants can be recruited according to their professional experience and technical skills, the public still shows resistance to changing to an open system.

Table 14. Public Personnel System

Rank (Grade)	Position		Channel of Recruitment	Legally Defined Promotion Year (Actual Year)
1st	Secretary General	Senior Civil Service (SCS)		
2nd	Director General			
3rd				
4th	Division Director			5 (8)
5th	Deputy Director		Higher Officer National Exam (*Gosi*)	5 (8)
6th	Officer		-	4 (9)
7th			National Civil Service Exam	3 (7)
8th			-	3 (5)
9th			National Civil Service Exam	2 (3)

Source: Revised from Rho and Lee (2010)

The Korean government and the public believe that the entrance exam, even though different types of testing methods have been tried out, is the fairest method for hiring public servants. Such attitudes are firmly rooted in people's fear that other recruitment methods may lead to diverse types of unanticipated corruption, due to the subjectivity of recruiters as well as

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[10] Public servants, by and large, experience job rotations within their organization every two years or less. The intention of such frequent rotation is to enhance public servants' experiences with various types of tasks and policy programs, in order to help them to build the managerial skills required as they are gradually promoted to higher positions (Yu & Im, 2007).

the possibility of nepotism. Indeed, when recruitment methods became a social issue due to criticisms about the lack of public servants' specialized skills, such sentiments prevented further debates over alternate methods of recruitment. While government organizations may recruit some public employees without exam scores in cases where an organization needs specialized manpower, the majority of these are hired as contractors, or as non-tenured track employees.

4.3 SOCIAL SENTIMENT AND HOW TO BECOME A PUBLIC SERVANT

We have reviewed the social contexts based on the previous literature; now, we need to turn to how the public views public service and government in contemporary society. Exploring current sentiment toward public service should help build a more accurate understanding of present conditions; thus it comprises the first step of the field research. Furthermore, the process of becoming a public servant is under-discussed in previous studies, though it is important to understand individuals' motivations for undertaking this route to employment. Thus, this section explores how the public views public service, and what sort of process applicants experience to become public servants.

At the beginning of the interview, the researcher asked participants for their ideas about how the public generally views governmental service in the executive branch. The respondents frequently used the words "double standard" and "paradox" to depict people's ambivalence about the public sector and public servants.

We [public servants] cannot anticipate all outcomes of our work, or of government policy, except for when the outcome of work is dismissing people. People are likely to criticize us harshly and question what we are actually doing. These days, we are appraised harshly and criticized more. This is the recent social climate. [27KP:34]

There is an expression: soulless public servants. From the citizens' perspective, public servants may be viewed as people who only abide by rules and procedures or follow commands from the top.... even if they [public servants] don't want to do such things, they should do them.... So, I believe citizens may feel the public sector is in stasis [11OA:200]

People often speak ill of public servants and government, but at the same time have a strong desire to become public servants themselves, or for their children to become public servants. There appears to be a sort of double standard related to how citizens view their servants and the government. [4LA:173]

In movies and soap operas, public servants at the level of local government have been portrayed as unskilled and unnecessary…. Nonetheless, Korean parents have a strong tendency to persuade their children to become public servants. [8CA:188]

As such, envy and criticism toward public servants coexist in our society. [36KP:15]

These comments reveal similarities with previous findings in that the public tends to hold more of a negative, impressionistic image of dysfunctional bureaucrats: red tape, inefficiency, and organizational inertia (DeHart-Davis & Pandey, 2005; Goodsell, 2004; Hummel, 1994). In particular, as in the case of the United States, the mass media have been paying more attention to incidents (i.e., scandal, corruption) that can draw public attention, which has led the public to form a negative image of government, unless they have real experiences with governmental employees (Goodsell, 2004). In addition, it is hard to deny that such negative sentiments, in part, have resulted from the experience of an authoritarian state ruled by a military

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regime in which a high-handed manner of government-directed economic development shaped these negative images.

In contrast to the negative sentiments commonly held toward the collective image of government, Korean people show a desire to become public servants at the individual level. At this point, we may ask why and how the Korean people tend to censure public servants, and at the same time, wish to become public servants themselves. Moreover, Korean parents show a very positive attitude toward their children becoming public servants. Logically speaking, if individuals have such a negative image about the dysfunctional aspects of the public sector and servants therein—"the public sector is viewed as a group of people who do useless work" [33L:38]—then it may be more reasonable to assume that people may build somewhat pessimistic attitudes about public service as a career for themselves; similarly, Korean parents should not be firmly recommending that their children work in the public sector. However, as demonstrated by respondents' statements, there is generally a strong desire to work in this field. Furthermore, this ambivalence holds not only in the case of South Korea; such attitudes have also been reported in other East Asian societies (Miller, 2008).

Albeit interesting, it seems difficult to attribute such paradoxical attitudes to a single element or dimension; indeed, numerous respondents' comments demonstrated that we need to explore multiple layers of meaning structures attached to public service. For example, a large portion of respondents' discourse is devoted to what the respondents expect from public service, the image of occupational characteristics, and the role of government that has been shaped historically. As more information is gathered concerning respondents' views, it becomes clearer that there should be more in-depth analysis, because social and historical contexts as well as personal motivation seem to interact in a complex way, thereby leading to ambivalent attitudes.

The other aspect, rarely discussed in previous studies, relates to how much time most applicants spend preparing for the national examination and what sort of process they experience during the preparation period. To begin our inquiry, it has been helpful to see how much time and effort applicants are spending, and current public servants used to spend, on the national exam.

Table 15. Examination Preparation Period

Preparation Period	Public Servants (22)	Applicants (22)
Average	3 years and 10 months	3 years and 10 months
Minimum	2 years	1 year
Maximum	7 years	6 years

Note: Two research participants did not estimate the time they spent on examination preparation.

The interviewees, now public servants, spend, on average, 3 years and 10 months preparing for the national exam; those who are now applicants to the public service show a similar period of preparation. Although a few of the applicant respondents have been preparing for over 5 years, they tended to see that as a quite normal period of preparation. Thus, working to pass the national exam in 3 years does not mean that applicants are spending too much time on the exam. During such a long period of preparation, these respondents think of themselves as "full-time exam preparers," who do not participate in any other type of social or economic activities (i.e., working in other jobs).

Turning to the odds of success in passing the exam, we look at the level of competitiveness over the decades. Figure 9 illustrates the level of competitiveness from 1977 to 2010. In the case of the 7th grade national exam, the level of competitiveness was the highest in 1997: only one individual was hired out of two hundred and three applicants. In the case of the

5th grade national exam, the level of competitiveness was highest in the mid-'80s and late-'90s, when only one individual out of more than one hundred applicants was hired. On average, one individual out of seventy was hired through the 5th grade national exam, and one individual out of eighty-two was hired through the 7th grade national exam over the last three decades.
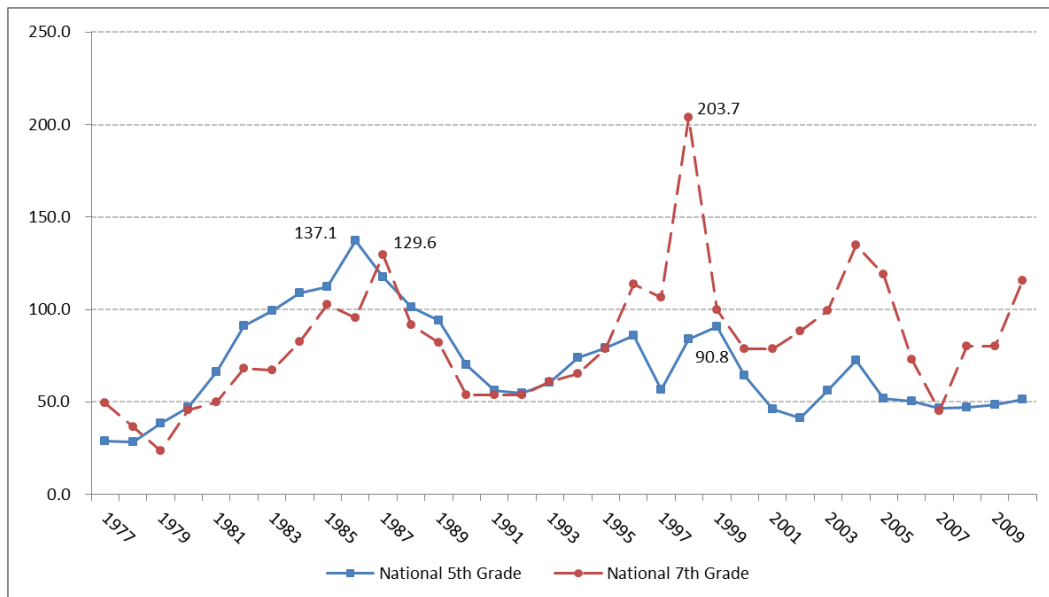
Figure 9. Level of Competitiveness

We can also obtain the odds of success by inverting the ratio of applicants to the number of individuals who became public servants (see Figure 10). Over the last three decades, the odds of success have been, on average, 1.7% in the case of the 5th grade national exam, and 1.4% in the case of the 7th grade national exam. The 7th grade exam shows a relatively higher level of competiveness and a lower level of the odds of success compared to those of the 5th grade exam. This is because of the level of difficulty in passing the exams. The processes and the contents of the 7th grade national exam have been regarded as simpler than those of the 5th grade exam. In the case of the latter, applicants are required to pass three different stages (i.e., a multiple choice

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exam, an essay exam, and interviews), but at the 7th grade level applicants are required only to pass the multiple choice exam. Therefore, many applicants easily begin to prepare for the 7th grade exam regardless of their undergraduate majors and previous job experiences.
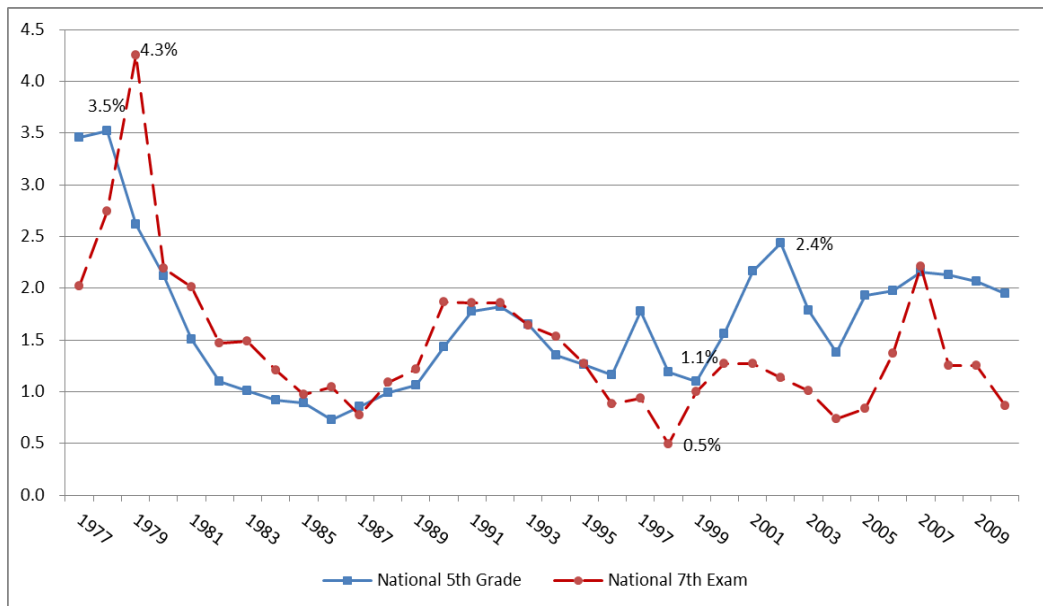
Figure 10. Odds of Success

During this long period, they often struggle with a sense of "helplessness" and "loneliness." This is because they are, by and large, dependent on parental support (e.g., for housing, rent, food, tuition for private educational institutions). They also intentionally isolate themselves from society by moving to certain areas of Seoul named *gosi chon*, the closest translation of which is "village of higher officer national exam" (e.g., *Silimdong*, *Noryangin*), where numerous educational institutions, especially private ones, offer classes in diverse subjects and regular practice tests. Due to people's high demand for housing in these specific areas, they are densely populated, and residents stay in small efficiency apartments (60 ft^2) that barely allow room for a small desk, a chair, and a single bed. When applicants move to this area, they tend to

be driven by the belief that they must focus only on the exam; therefore, they attempt to "disconnect" themselves from "all others."

> My friends often call me to meet, but I say no. Perhaps I don't need to do so. But I have a feeling, like an obligation, that I have to cut everything out. Although I have a very broad and diverse set of interests … I need to be a single-minded person to concentrate more on exam preparation. That's the hardest part for me. [7SA:78]

> I didn't speak even a word last weekend, again. I habitually go to the reading room alone regardless of whether I am studying much, or well. That's the hardest part … feeling lonely. Even if I do see friends, I become anxious and tend to feel a sense of guilt. [32KA:58-59]

> Although my close friends are building their careers, I have never been involved in any social organizations, so I am neither a social member nor a student…. I don't have a sense of belonging…. That makes me [feel] really anxious. [13CP:86]

These three respondents' comments represent typical daily feelings of applicants during their several years of preparation. These respondents address substantive concerns about their personal lives, such as "falling behind in one's normal life cycle." They seem to be dealing with social pressures regarding marriage, a sense of instability in comparison with their peers, and deep gratitude and guilt regarding their parents' sacrifice for their exam preparation period. Under these stressful and rather painful conditions, applicants continue to prepare for the exam with little certainty as to whether they can pass it or not, which is often depicted as "gambling with your youth."

This period resembles a rite of passage in the sense that the applicants seclude themselves from their community (e.g., moving to *Silimdong*, *Noryangin*, etc.) and people close

to them (e.g., family or friends). Respondents tended to believe that, after they passed the national exam, they could rejoin society, which would accept them as valuable members, because passing the national exam *per se* serves as an indicator that they have endured a painful preparation period.

At this point we can raise a series of questions: Why do they tolerate several years of preparation? What kind of meanings do respondents attribute to the public service and to becoming a public servant? Is PSM an important factor in their decision to endure a long period of exam preparation? To answer these questions, the following chapter further examines the personal meanings attached to public service and the motivational orientations of the individuals concerned.

5.0 MEANINGS OF "BECOMING A PUBLIC SERVANT" AND MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATION

PSM has become one of the most popular theories for explaining individuals' motivation toward public service; however, previous studies generally lack explanations of the origins of such motivational characteristics. Moreover, such a theoretical vacuum makes it more difficult to examine the variability of PSM in different social contexts. Although methodological diversity and qualitative methods have been suggested as ways of theoretical improvement (Ritz, 2011; Wright, 2008), little research attention has been given to this question: How can we explore the motivational ground for public service? Which aspects of the motivational grounds are most worthy of examination for PSM?

This study, with the objective of exploring the contents of individual motivations, draws on two areas of the social sciences: cognitive psychology and occupational psychology. First, cognitive psychologists have argued that individuals' motivational characteristics result not only from their innate needs, but also from their cognitive and schematic structures (i.e., memory and meaning), which generally interplay with social contexts (D'Andrade, 1992, 2008; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Dimaggio, 1997). In this vein, Shamir (1991) emphasizes that "excluding the term 'meaning' from the vocabulary of motives, and limiting this vocabulary to 'needs,' 'incentives,' 'rewards,' 'outcomes,' and 'satisfactions,' reflects a view of the person as an entity disconnected from society" (p. 409).

Second, numerous occupational psychologists have also continuously presented a theoretical and empirical argument that the "meaning of work" has a deep relationship with individuals' work motivations (Brief & Nord, 1990a; Kahn, 2007; T. G. Kim, 1999; Rosso, Dekas, & Wrzesniewski, 2010). Rosso et al. (2010) suggest that there can be different layers of

meaning ranging from very tangible rewards (e.g., salary) to very subjective interpretations of career success (e.g., self-achievement). In regard to the importance of occupational meanings to personal motivation, Hall and Chandler (2005) have also stated that people inevitably search for the intrinsic meaning of work, at some point in their careers, and tend to question what they want to achieve through their careers besides earning a living. In this line of thought, a "subjective, self-relevant view of meaning" (Dobrow, 2004, p. 20), "meaningfulness in career" (Rosso et al., p. 92), and a sense of personal calling are regarded as important factors in understanding individuals' motivational characteristics.

This stream of studies stresses that the importance of "meaningfulness" of work is its relation to motivational dispositions. Individuals' important work motivations cannot be driven solely by "instrumental goal seeking" (D. T. Hall & Chandler, 2005, p. 160) such as job stability, social reputation, increase of salary, and opportunities of promotion; rather, intrinsic motivations are amplified when individuals have a clear sense of why they see their careers as meaningful; as a result, individuals are likely to show a high level of psychological engagement in their careers.

As briefly reviewed, these two theoretical streams commonly point out the importance of meaning in elucidating individuals' motivation. Specifically, a group of occupational psychologists have elucidated the relation of subjectively attributed meanings to motivation. Based on literature from two fields of social sciences, this study has explored the subjective meanings attached to public service so as to examine the contents of PSM.

5.1 JOB STABILITY: "IRON RICE BOWL"

Research participants frequently pointed out that the greatest advantages of public service, as a type of occupation, were its job security and steady income.[11] As with the U.S. personnel system, most public servants in the Korean government are required to maintain political neutrality (Yu & Im, 2007). For this purpose, the retirement age of public servants is set by the Law of National Public Servant. Due to the legal protection of retirement age, job security has been highlighted as the greatest benefit of public service. Such benefits have become even more meaningful to applicants as well as to current incumbents in the recent economic downturn.

> The Korean people seem to have a strong stereotype of public service. That is 'Iron Rice Bowl.'… I believe that it [this perception] still strongly exists in our society. [29SA:48]

> If you go to the private companies, you have to sing and dance no matter what the weather at the company; however, public servants seem to be less influenced by such [work] climates. Public servants seem more required to do what they have to do, and they seem to be promoted to a certain level of position as their seniority increases. [10LA:254]

> If you say that you are a public servant, the recent image is 'middle class' in economic terms. And people's response to your job may be somewhat envious. [11OA:152]

Respondents often used the metaphorical expression of the "Iron rice bowl" to highlight job and economic security, along with a stable income. Rice has long been the staple of East Asians, and is viewed as a necessity for living; thus, the iron rice bowl can be interpreted as the source of stable income that cannot be broken. This concept also implies that, although public

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[11] Many other fringe benefits (e.g., pension, welfare program) are also discussed, but among such benefits, respondents center on stability as primary.

servants are not rich, they firmly believe that becoming a public servant is a way of stabilizing their economic status as a part of the middle class. Interestingly, this metaphor of the "Iron rice bowl" is also found in Chinese cultural areas characterizing job security and employees' tendency (i.e., employees' mentality) to seek a stable position in the organization or similar occupational types (Kao & Hong, 1997).

In addition to job stability, respondents talked about the stability of public service in other aspects, that is, the political aspects within the organization. In comparison with employees of private companies, public servants are viewed as somewhat immune to the politics of organizations, due to their protection from arbitrary lay-offs. While respondents did not specify the names of private companies, they revealed their negative impressions and some stories they had heard from close friends in regard to organizational politics. These contrasted with stories about the iron rice bowl in regard to the legal protection of public servants.[12]

5.2 SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT: "A DRAGON FROM A SMALL BROOK"

In addition to the meanings of job stability and economic stability, respondents also enumerated rather abstract meanings that reflect the symbolic meaning of "working for the government" in Korean society. Such symbolic meanings are the manifestation of the socially constructed and accumulated images that later have a critical relation to the sense of social advancement, as well as to individuals' psychological aspects. While these symbolic meanings are so diverse that it is hard to enumerate all their components, they seem to function as an invisible social reward to

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[12] Although the level of job security was viewed higher than in other occupations, respondents tended to note that the level of salary was lower than that in private corporations. Indeed, all public servants had experienced their salaries as frozen for the three years 2008 to 2011. The predictability of their positions was also frequently pointed out as an advantage of public service [15CP:140].

public servants and applicants to the public sector.

In the interviews, respondents often used an interesting expression—"a dragon from a small brook"—to epitomize the meaning of becoming a public servant. A dragon has traditionally been symbolic of the highest authority of the kingdom and the highest honor available to individuals in the society. In this expression, the brook represents individuals' environmental conditions (e.g., social, economic, political) that are so poor that people doubt their ability to achieve greatness because of such constraints. Thus, the expression of "a dragon from a small brook" is used in daily conversation to depict individuals who overcame challenging obstacles and became very honorable, influential people in society, regardless of their ancestry. Although this expression is not used solely to depict those who become public servants (it is also used to emphasize individuals' great success through their own efforts), respondents frequently use it to emphasize the meaning of becoming a public servant in Korean society.

> Our government still recruits most public servants based on their national exam scores…. So it is still viewed as the only way to become a dragon from a small brook. That's why the recent debates over the changes in recruitment methods attract national attention. [36KP:45]

This expression is more frequently used to refer to individuals who pass the higher official national exam for the 5th grade ("higher official exam") or who are promoted to a similar or higher position in government organizations. From the 5th grade to the 1st grade, the expression *gwan* (public official) is also attached to the grade name as a suffix, so as to distinguish its holders from the lower echelons of employees and indicate an honorific position in the governmental organization. Although it depends on the level of grade, becoming a public

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servant generally renders to the individual a sense of personal success, due to the difficulty of the exam subjects and the high level of competitiveness.

Respondents reported various implicit images and meanings of becoming public servants in the society, namely: "gaining social recognition," "getting a social certificate as a promising and smart person," "upward social mobility," "becoming part of the social elite," "becoming the target of admiration," "becoming a preferred spouse," and "increasing the value of one's face."[13] The following two respondents' perceptions represent implicit social meanings shared by many other respondents:

> You can gain a social reputation, and people expect you to assimilate into the so-called 'social elite' group of our society. From such a social reputation and sense of stability … you become the target of admiration…. I believe that this is also a good way of fulfilling your filial duty for your parents, lifting yourself in the world and winning fame…. [19KP:12]

> In Confucian culture, becoming a public servant, particularly above the 5th grade (*samugwan*), means more than merely having a job; it is not just a type of job. They [public servants], even in private life, in one's relationship with one's friends, in the community of alumni, will be the target of admiration. [4LA:172]

While it is difficult to pinpoint the exact origin of such perceptions, the Confucian tradition and the experience of the developmental state have constructed the image of public servants as shown by respondents' comments. As briefly discussed in the section on the administrative tradition and cultural heritage, public officials have long been seen as one of the

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[13] "Face" indicates an individual's degree of social value. In East Asian societies, there has been a salient tendency to emphasize one's "face" as the value of one's public self over one's private self. In such a cultural context, people can become highly motivated to maintain and enhance their face. What is prioritized is not how they think of themselves, but whether significant other people think they are doing well. If others grant face to an individual, he or she will enjoy all the benefits that come with the enhanced social status (Heine, 2007).

highest social classes in Korean society; Confucianism, in particular, offers the image of the scholarly bureaucrat as an ideal person who has the highest ethics. Thus, becoming a scholarly bureaucrat by passing the national exam is a way of increasing the social value of one's family.

In addition to cultural heritage, the centralized government's authority in the period of the developmental state also influenced the system of social reputation in the society. While it is hard to prove that such traditional values are still so central and dominant today, we can at least sense that such traditional values and the experiences of the developmental state persist in contemporary society and play an important role when individuals search for the socially significant meanings of becoming a public servant. Indeed, reports about the level of occupational prestige in many different types of occupation continuously indicate that public service is believed to be one of the most prestigious occupations in Korean society (Chang, 2007; T. G. Kim, 1999, p. 84).

When we look into how Korean parents respond to their children's choice of a career in the public sector, we can also sense how much social value is placed on it. Respondent 44K's family members' response exemplifies a general belief that public service is an honor to the whole family, though there is a difference of degree.

> While I was preparing for the national [civil service] exam, my grandfather was sick and later passed away. I was the only one who did not know that, even after his death. My whole family hid the fact in order not to disturb my studies for the national exam. Later, on the final day of the funeral ceremony, my mother called me and told me that my grandfather had passed away. So I was asked to come to the funeral because it was the last day of the ceremony. My family viewed my becoming a public servant as very honorable for the entire family. [44KP:14]

Many other respondents tend to link the meaning of civil service not merely to their personal achievement, but also to that of the entire family. Interestingly, some respondents firmly viewed becoming a public servant as one of the best ways to fulfill their filial duties.

Moreover, such social meaning has a great effect on an individual's psychology. Respondent 37A's experience reveals how he was able to enjoy psychological relief from a sense of inferiority in his youth and regain a sense of personal confidence by passing the higher official exam. Before becoming a public servant, respondent 37A had low self-esteem and even a "victim mentality" resulting from his poor socioeconomic background. This respondent often blamed himself for his low level of education and lack of professional experience, in comparison with those of his close friends who were students at renowned universities in metropolitan areas. Whenever he compared himself with others, he was daunted and tended toward self-criticism, which has a deep relationship to self-esteem and the sense of personal achievement.

> From the perspective of the public, as frequently broadcast by mass media, it [passing the national exam for the 5th grade public servant] means becoming a dragon [who emerges] from a small brook and upgrading your social status. In my case, I graduated from a university in a rural area; after passing the exam, I was able to regain self-confidence and escape my victim mentality [37AP:22]

As examined in this section, social advancement through becoming a public servant still has a wide range of subjective value for respondents, based on socially constructed symbolic meanings such as enhancement of self-esteem and self-achievement as well as social advancement. In addition, respondents mentioned the diverse effects of becoming a public servant on their social relations, imposing Confucius meanings (i.e., filial piety) by mentioning

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how their accomplishment satisfied their parents' expectations.[14] Furthermore, society itself offered social rewards such as marriage ("preferred spouse"), by gaining positive image of becoming a public servant.

5.3 OCCUPATIONAL CALLING: "INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY" AND "CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT"

With the emphasis on the meaning of work, a group of scholars has pointed out the importance of "occupational calling," when we explicate employees' work motivation and value having a significant relationship to attitudinal characteristics and various organizational behaviors (D. T. Hall & Chandler, 2005; Roberson, 1990; Rosso et al., 2010). Here, calling is not necessarily confined to the religious sense, but is more about why individuals perceive that a certain career is "intrinsically meaningful work" (Brief & Nord, 1990, p. 48) as an end in itself. Compared to tangible financial rewards, this occupational calling highly reflects employees' intrinsic values and intrinsic motivation (Brief & Nord, 1990a; Roberson, 1990).

In order to explore individuals' motivational orientation through the meaning of the occupational calling, the research asked interviewees why public service was meaningful to them. In revealing their personal perceptions, respondents' comments discussed (1) what they could accomplish or have accomplished as public servants in public organizations, (2) what the public sector had done in the developmental state as well as what it is doing in contemporary society, and (3) what were the desirable roles of government (i.e., the executive branch) in society.

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[14] Korean parents have been struck by a sort of education fever based on common beliefs about the relationship between education and becoming a better person. Education has served as both an instrument for individual success and a way to become a more desirable person.

In comments that included personal perceptions, experiences, and impressions, respondents, regardless of whether they were applicants or current public servants, revealed two central components—"influence" and "contribution"—as the central work values and personally perceived meaningful parts of public service.

In the case of applicants, when they considered their careers, they raised questions about what they could accomplish throughout their working lives. In particular, applicants tended to consider what kind of persons they could and would become through their careers and work, and their expectations of satisfaction in regard to how their labors were used. Put slightly differently, as applicants, they tended to pay attention to what their "possible selves" would be if they became public servants, and why it would be meaningful for them (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Markus & Nurius 1986, p. 954). In relation to work meaning and work motivation, Markus and Nurius (1986) stated that "possible selves are the ideal selves that we would very much like to become. They are also the selves we could become.... Instead of focusing on how individuals expect to perform on a certain task, on the type of proximal goals they set, or on the cognitive representation of the goal object ...   [they focused] more globally on what individuals hope to accomplish with their lives and what kind of people they would like to become, as the significant elements of motivation" (pp. 954-957).

The following comments from applicants regarding the public sector illustrate their expectations about the characteristics and outcomes of their work there.

> I believe that the greatest advantage, as public servants, is that they—whether designing a small policy or performing tasks—will have a ripple effect on many people. In a sense, my work may be a small portion, but it has a deep relation to our society, and it can change society little by little.... [Public servants] are in such positions." [5LA:163]

I do not think that there are many types of jobs that can have a positive influence on other people, even if such influence may not be much. [33LP:14]

I thought that, if I can become a public servant, I really want to be a person who can change something for the benefit of our society. [6CA:186]

As these statements illustrate, applicants disclosed their belief that a public service career would give them opportunities to have a more direct relationship to social issues than other occupations would and to gain a certain level of influence on such social issues as well as on the public. While talking about why they became interested in public service, applicants also revealed their personal interests in and experiences with various social problems that Korean society was facing along with their intention to join the public sector. Interestingly, they also showed a strong belief that the dominant role of the government (i.e., the executive branch) in resolving such problems was still valid and the most effective way to do so. Therefore, they seemed to believe that they had to go "there" (i.e., the public sector), if they had a certain awareness of social problems and wanted to do something about the causes in which they believed. From their comments, we sensed that these respondents' perceptions relied on the image and memory of governmental influences on society, which in turn characterized their general expectations about what their career would be like, and what types of selves were possible through their career.

Governments have been playing dominant roles in most social spheres.... Whenever social issues emerge, most of them are actually mediated and resolved via governmental influence, though there are other ways to resolve such issues, such as through formal procedures and other

structural approaches. So, I thought I would be able to do a lot of work
regarding such aspects if I went into the public sector. [25BA:18]

While public servants are working for central government, it is hard to assure that they all are involved in public policy making, which can have more concrete effects on the public and the social issues of personal interests. Thus, a follow-up question was asked of respondents to pinpoint their response to the view that not all public servants have opportunities to play a critical role in the policymaking process.

> I often heard that, once I enter the organization, I will find that there will
> not be many things I can do, which was different from my expectations….
> So I am well aware that my expectations will be very different from the
> real world. But there must be some parts I can change, though I will be a
> low-ranking employee in the organization. [24YA:46]

It is noteworthy that applicants tended still to view joining the public sector as meaningful for them, even though they might not become key decision makers on public policy. This is because they looked forward to having roles in influential sectors in diverse social spheres. In addition, according to the tradition of promotion based on seniority in the organizations, they expected to be promoted to certain levels as their seniority increased, so they would have more chances to be more directly involved in policy making in the future.

Compared to the applicant respondents, current public servants were more likely to talk about what they had done, what sorts of offices they used to work in, and which public programs they had been involved in throughout their career. Following such accounts, the researcher asked respondents about what parts of such experiences they found most meaningful and why.

When asked these questions, public servants tended to begin by describing the outcomes

of the projects in which they were involved. As the following three comments illustrate, these respondents tended to sense great satisfaction when they felt that their efforts actually led to changes in the social sector and had real impact on a certain policy area or public program. However, respondents did not think that such impacts were their own. Instead, they emphasized that they viewed themselves as part of the programs or the office; thus even after being rotated to a different office, they paid attention to the programs in which they had previously been involved. As such, when respondents happened to read newspaper articles or reports about these programs and their impacts, they tended to recall what they had done for their program, and news of positive changes became a great source of satisfaction and pride to them as public servants.

> I think that the greatest rewards to public servants come during the moments when they feel that their work somehow had a certain level of impact. Then they feel that they have more responsibility and receive subjective rewards. Although the level of economic rewards is not sufficient, when the beneficiaries of my work visit me and appreciate what I do for them, it gives me more subjective rewards. [27KP:36]

> There are many incidents that can be memorable to individual public servants and experiences that serve as critical points to them in 10 or 20 years of work…. I believe that many public servants may feel similarly. When I sense my work relates more directly to citizens' daily lives through public policies or my daily tasks, that is the most meaningful and pleasing part to me. And when I can see a tangible outcome, though the process can be challenging, it feels greatly rewarding. [34KA: 38]

> My colleagues, who changed their career path from the private sector, seem to be very satisfied with fixing problems and feeling that their efforts actually relate to the society. [26CP:39]

Table 16 is a collection of code segments from 46 respondents. When we closely examined the contents of these segments, the potential for an opportunity to "influence" society

(i.e., citizens, social problems, etc.) served as an underlying intrinsic value of public service to both applicants and public servants. As illustrated, respondents viewed the characteristics of public service as a job that had "a ripple effect on many people," and achieved "outcomes that have impacts on people's lives" and that "change the society." Respondents tended to place great value on these characteristics of public service, because it was more socially oriented, and the outcome of their efforts was directly and indirectly involved in others' lives.

Table 16. Code of "Influence on Society"

Axial Code	Open Code (selected)

Influence on society	"a ripple effect on many people"
	  "making impacts on people's daily lives"
	"the work relates more directly to citizens' daily lives through
	  public policies or my daily tasks"
	"involved in others' lives"
	"changing society"
	"framing the social values"
	"designing institutional systems for the people"

Individuals' need to have a certain level of influencing on other people's lives can be viewed as a type of power-seeking motivation. The expressions presented above implicitly include the conceptual components of power motivation. 'Power motivation' refers to individuals' motivational orientation toward increasing their impact on others (McClelland, 1975; Winter, 1973). However, power motivation is usually seen to have negative connotations because such power is for egoistic gains: "exercising power for its own sake, for the satisfaction they derive from having others as subordinates" (Bennett, 1988, p. 363).[15] As such, power motivation has

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[15] Bennett (1988) empirically examines the conceptual difference between the power motive and the influence motive. While Bennett's study shows the correlations between these two types of motive, the results of the analysis reveal that they are not conceptually identical to each other.

been depicted as a type of motive that is "associated primarily with assertive, aggressive, and reprehensible behaviors and outcomes" (Mageea & Langnerb, 2008, p. 1548).

However, do public servants actually choose the public sector based on their personal need for power? Indeed, a close examination of the goals and directions of personal influence reveals a second element of intrinsic values and motivation for public service. The following comments disclose the outcome intended by respondents as they exert their personal influence and effort. As illustrated, the goal and outcome of such influence are to improve social conditions (e.g., improvement of other people's lives, enhancement of public values such as equity and justice, and contribution to social and economic development), not to maximize self-serving interest. Thus, this study views that the other aspects of this occupational calling are based on the meaning of the "contribution" of public service.

> When I talk about the public good or public interest, I tend to feel that it is a bit abstract. But such abstract meanings obviously appeal to my heart. I do not have well-to-do family members....There is no professor, no CEO, but I desire to help the ordinary people around me become happy, smile more, and feel comfortable in their lives. [5LA: 159]

> I had an interest in contributing to the development of South Korea from a very young age…. I have been trying to find something I can do very well, and I thought that I could serve as something like a 'bridge' between other societies and Korean society … the government work that is related to diplomatic service seems to suit me. [9YA:44, 70]

> When I was an undergraduate, I thought, though abstract, that public servants are people who can contribute much to the common good of our society, compared to other jobs…. Basically, I placed greater value upon contributing something to society than making more money, and I also have a desire to be respected by others. [25BA:14]

> I had thought that my efforts, though they may only constitute a very

little part, can contribute to society … and I feel that my work [will] actually contribute to society [after I become a public servant]. [27KP:22]

Frankly speaking, I didn't have any specific expectation when I chose the public sector, but I do have a certain feeling that I will do something for our country, and such work is more meaningful because it is not for a specific individual, though it is abstract. [28EP:20]

Perhaps not all applicants to the public sector have the same thinking, that they want to make some contribution to society or a strong sense of pride as public servants … but in one's personal life as a public servant, they tend to have experiences that change their mindset: they should make a certain level of contribution … this seems to change naturally as they live as public servants. [12MP:42-46]

Table 17 presents the collection of code segments that manifest respondents' emphasis on the contribution of public service.

Table 17. Code of "Contribution to Social Development"

Axial Code	Open Code (selected)
Contribution to Social Development	"Working for many people, not for a specific interest group" "Harnessing my capacity to bridge our society to other societies" "Making new institutional systems that benefit people more" "Identifying and fixing problems for citizens' lives" "Generating positive outputs to help ordinary people" "Searching for a new way to increase the benefits for citizens" "Improving government's negotiation capacities to maximize national interest"

Although respondents disclosed their primary interests in "influence," such influence aimed to increase neither their own interests nor those of specific interest groups. In contrast, respondents viewed having a certain amount of influences as a "necessary condition" for them to

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achieve the purpose of serving others effectively. Therefore, influence served as a tool for contributing to and improving society; influence and contribution were seen to coexist as intrinsic aspects of meaningful work in the public sector.

5.4 SOCIALLY MEANINGFUL USE OF PERSONAL LABOR

Respondents revealed a preference for the public sector and public service as a career, which is characterized in PSM literature as a "predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions" (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 368); however, findings about the sense of occupational calling reported in Section 5.3 may raise the question of whether there could also be other types of occupations that allowed employees to gain a similar sense of occupational calling as that discussed in the previous section. For example, biomedical engineers in pharmaceutical companies can develop more effective medicines that can save or extend more people's lives, which similarly enables them to have a sense of personal influence on, and contribution to, people's lives.

To explore the bases of respondents' sectoral preference, the researcher asked respondents whether they had considered other careers or jobs that could also render meaningful work in terms of influence and contribution. To this question, recalling the underlying reasons for their career choice, respondents tended to raise the question of "meaningful use of labor" in society. While articulating the meaning of labor use in different occupations, respondents seemed to rely on premises about modern society: (1) people have to work for a living and are required to show a certain level of personal performance to keep their job; (2) people's labor in a large organization can be viewed as an "expendable commodity" [13C:94], whether they work in the

public or private sector; and (3) it might be difficult to see the "tangible effects of work" [17S:63], because their work would be a tiny part of the whole system or organization where multiple layers of subunits would be intertwined in a complicated manner.

Based on such perceptions, respondents compared a handful of career options, primarily when they were college students. Due to their limited experience and information at that stage, respondents seemed to face difficulties calculating the costs and benefits of the given options. Thus, they relied on a rather simplified comparison of the final outcomes of labor between the private and the public sectors.[16] In addition, respondents placed more emphasis on why they disliked a certain option than on why they liked it; then they tended to eliminate unfavorable options and choose the last option remaining.

> Regardless of the types of sector—whether I work at private companies or become a public servant—I will be an expendable commodity in the organizations…. First, when I thought about why I wanted to be a public servant, I thought that work in private companies seemed more wasteful in the sense that I would and should work only for the gains of the company owners and stakeholders. But I want my labor to be used for something more meaningful. [13CP:94]

> Perhaps I will have to spend the same amount of time, energy, and effort to show my performance whether I go to the private or the public sector. If I must work for my living, I do not want my personal performance to be expended only for making money for, and enriching, a small particular group of people. So I thought it would be better to work for something that contributes to the public. [27KP:12]

> Our society has a strong tendency toward [large] family-owned companies…. I dislike making money for them [a certain group of

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[16] In comparison, the non-profit sector was not discussed as a career option. The role of non-profit organizations (NPOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) is a relatively new phenomenon in Korean society. As such, non-profit organizations and careers therein are less often considered as a career option.

families who own conglomerates]. Even if our work is also part of the organization in the general sense, there is a big difference—we have a certain sense of ownership here [in a public organization]. Although we may be viewed as working for the minister or the director's office, there are no feeling of working for the interests of the company owner or their private interests. [28EP:10]

My undergraduate major is Economics. So I wanted to find jobs that were more directly related to my major. But, at some point, it does not seem to be valuable to me, living as an economics person. I started to doubt what it—collecting and analyzing information about each company, as a stock manager—means to me, except for earning my own salary for a living and making profits for someone else who already has a lot. For example, there is no difference from the tutoring job I used to do. It will be a good scenario only for the tutor and the student—payment for the tutor and opportunities for the student to have a better education—which, in contrast, will lead to unfairness to someone else [the student who cannot afford to have tutors]. That's just a zero-sum game. Someone will be the winner, and the others must be the losers in such a game. Working in a private company gives me the sense that I have to enter the world of zero-sum games.... But public administration is not such a world. In my view, fairness and objectivity are the central values that public administration has to pursue; however, there are little jobs that allow employees to pursue such values and make money for their living. [41OP:22][17]

As the four respondents quoted here illustrate, the most salient image of the private sector in South Korea begins with its negative aspects, in the sense that working for private companies incorporates the meaning of "making the rich families richer" [28EP:10]. Respondents see that they can possibly earn more income and achieve personal success in a different way, but the outcome of their labor would mostly be used to increase the gains of a certain family group and provide additional benefits to "winners in the game."

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[17] Respondent 15CP depicted her work as "at least, we are not working for Mr. President, but something for the goals of public interest." [15CP:82]

Indeed, this perception about the private sector is based on a long tradition, in which private companies have been viewed as the property of founders and family members, and the style of management has been viewed as that of family-controlled conglomerates. It has been pointed out that the concentration of wealth among a small number of private corporations (i.e., *chaebol*) is one of the origins of social disparity in economic terms. For example, the CEOs of Samsung conglomerates come from the Lee family, and the CEOs of the other major private companies (e.g., Chung's Hyundai and Kia, Koo's LG electronics) show a similar pattern. Therefore, working in the private sector can be viewed as somewhat "wasteful," if individuals consider public values and are searching for a way to use their labor to support their social concerns. Table 18 shows the comparisons that respondents, searching for a meaningful way to use their labor in society, made in their career choice.

Table 18. Sector Comparison between Private and Public Sectors

Subject	Private Sector	Public Sector
Final outcome of labor	"making the rich richer"	"doing something for society"
Rules of game	"zero-sum game" for profits, gains for winners	"working for the common interest"
Characteristics of outcomes and benefits	Clear, Fixed, Narrow: ("Family of Owners," "Stakeholders")	Abstract, Diverse, Large: ("National Development," "Citizens," "Underprivileged groups")
Center of work value	Individual's own economic welfare and stakeholders' benefits	Public values (i.e., equity, fairness)
The relation of career to society	Irrelevant to social disparity	Improving social values
Confucian value structure	Disgraceful to merchant	Strong (tradition) and respectful of bureaucratic authority

As explored in this section, the negative image and social memory based on the family-controlled corporation served respondents as reasons to avoid this career. As illustrated in the table above, when respondents placed emphasis on public values (i.e., fairness, equity) and had personal interests in social problems or personal experiences in regard to social issues, they viewed work in the private sector as less meaningful than work in the public sector. Especially when respondents had the perception that the final outcome or benefit of their labor in the private sector was somehow limited to the benefit of a certain rich ruling group, then their work and effort eventually became less meaningful to them.

5.5 MULTIPLE LAYERS OF MEANINGS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

From the respondents' perspective, "becoming a public servant" first and foremost meant "finding a job for a living." However, their diverse personal stories also revealed why they tolerated such long periods of preparation for the national civil service exam, and why public service was meaningful to them as an occupational calling. Before turning to a discussion of this study's findings, this section will briefly address the relationships that may exist among these different layers of meaning.

An initial observation is that these layers coexist in respondents' minds. Over half of the respondents conceived of at least two or more meanings when they chose public service as their careers. For example, respondents 41OP and 5LA, who were able clearly to explain their work motivation that was similar to PSM, also believed that one of the attractive aspects of public service was its stability and predictability. Respondent 5LA, as an applicant, talked about his future roles as a husband and father, and his current role as son of his parents. In order to live up

to the responsibilities that accompanied each role, he believed that a certain salary level was "necessary" to support his family (e.g., raising his future kids, supporting aging parents). Similarly, respondent 41OP, as a public servant, said, "[For me] it is hard to deny the importance of stability … public service is a very stable job." [41OP:60] These respondents' statements showed that, even those who placed great emphasis on the meaningfulness of public service with respect to the society tended also to attach meanings related to economic stability, along with other social meanings, to public service.

Considering these explanations more deeply, given the economic downturn present at the time of the interviews, it is not surprising that respondents paid considerable attention to the economic aspects of a career in public service. However, as noted, it is interesting that the underlying reasons for respondents' economic-based motivation, social advancement, and occupational calling arose from different meanings respectively. The case of respondent 12MP most vividly illustrates that the different layers of meanings can exist in parallel, and that these different meanings might serve as motivational bases *independently*. Respondent 12MP began his career after dropping out of his college due to financial conditions (i.e., poor family background). He acknowledged that he considered the economic aspects of many different jobs when he chose his career. However, his great concerns over economic conditions did not detract from his occupational calling for a career in public service. As he had more experience in his work place (i.e., recognizing his roles in the agency), he started to be aware of different layers of meaning. In particular, the more he understood the diverse social meanings derived from the impacts and outcomes of his work and his agency, the clearer he could be about why his work was important to the community at large.

This tendency may not be surprising, because many people exhibit similar tendencies in

their career choices. However, previous studies have posited a negative relationship between individuals' economic concerns and PSM (Houston, 2009; Moynihan, 2008). Specifically, it has been suggested that public servants who showed a high level of PSM would devalue external rewards, or vice versa. That is, salary increases or variable salary systems would serve to reduce individuals' PSM due to the crowding-out effect (Houston, 2009; Moynihan, 2008). However, the results of interviews revealed that respondents' economic concerns (i.e., salary, job stability) may not necessarily dampen the occupational meanings that could also serve as important determinants of PSM. Therefore, the negative relationship between economic rewards and PSM may not hold in all cases.

In this vein, Stazyk's study (2012) also offers a provocative argument that the presumed negative relationship between the variation of salary and PSM may not always be supported. Even if we can apply the logic of self-determinacy theory (i.e., intrinsic and extrinsic motivation) to the study of PSM, Stayzyk's research and the results of this study's personal interviews suggest that more thorough consideration about the posited negative relationship between economic rewards and PSM is necessary.

5.6 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter aimed to explore the meanings personally attached to "becoming a public servant," so as to explicate the spectrum of motivational orientation for public service and identify the foundation for the concept of PSM in South Korea. As explored in this chapter, respondents disclosed diverse meanings that could be integrated into three different layers of meaning: economic stability, social advancement, and a personally attributed occupational calling to public service. From the manifested meanings, our analysis found a spectrum of extrinsically and

intrinsically meaningful rewards of public service as a type of career. As illustrated in Table 19, economic stability came relatively close to the characteristics of extrinsic motivation, which specifically implies job security, stable income, and other benefits. In contrast, respondents tended to find intrinsic motivation in the nature of public service as "influence on society" and "contribution to social development."

This diversity of meanings can be seen as refuting arguments made by those who are skeptical about PSM as a motivation for choosing public service as their career. Although it might be hasty to conclude that the intrinsically meaningful aspect of public service alone leads respondents to consider it for a life-long career, or that a single dominant element has kept public servants motivated to continue to pursue careers in public service, the results of this study show that these combined motivational elements coexist and serve to encourage individuals to continue in public service. Even if respondents cannot disregard the practical reasons—wages, location of workplace, social image of the work—when they evaluate their career choice and current jobs, their decision is not driven solely by such tangible, external rewards, as they also seriously consider the meaningful aspects of their work for themselves as well as for society.

Table 19. Summary of Findings

Need Hierarchy	Motivation Spectrum	Meaning & Dimension	Vivo Terms	Content and Axial Code
Self-Actualization	**Intrinsic** ↑	Occupational Calling		"Influence on Society" & "Contribution to Social Development" (see the contents of axial and open code reported in Section 5.3)
Esteem/ Love/ Belonging		Social Advancement	"Dragon from a Small Brook"	□ Gaining a sense of upward social mobility □ Enhancing one's sense of self-worth □ Gaining social reputation □ Increasing one's face value in social relations □ Achieving filial duty □ Becoming a member of an organization with a high level of occupational prestige
Safety/ Physiological Need	↓ **Extrinsic**	Economic Stability	"Iron Rice Bowl"	□ Stable financial income and fringe benefits □ Increasing predictability of career □ Gaining social image of "middle class" □ Reducing the fear of economic fluctuation/ downturn □ Institutional protection from the politics within an organization

In particular, the results of the personal interviews presented both the motivational characteristics of PSM in South Korea and four theoretical points. First of all, when we focus on the conceptual definition of PSM, the results of qualitative analysis about the occupational calling of public service reveal similar conceptual components to those of PSM. As discussed in the literature review, the central idea of PSM highlights individuals' predisposition to public

institutions based on their motivation to deliver services to people in order to do good for others and society (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008b). As seen in Section 5.3, the results of the interviews revealed that Korean public servants and applicants show a combination of motivational orientations to do good for others and for society.

Second, in South Korea the motivational orientation of "Attraction to Policy Making" (APM) can be viewed as a manifestation of individuals' underlying motivation to "influence" society or citizens through public organizations. Most previous studies viewed APM as a rational dimension of PSM, which "involve[s] actions grounded in individual utility maximization" (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 368). The dimension of APM emphasizes personal interests in policymaking and closeness to politics (Ritz, 2011); however, the dimension of APM provides insufficient theoretical explanation for non-policy related public service. In other words, when there is a theoretical question about the rational motives of public servants who are not involved in the policymaking process, or who primarily perform rather routine work or deliver repeated public services, the current emphasis on the policymaking perspective has not provided sufficient theoretical ground and measurement items to support such cases. Furthermore, when there are many different types of respondents, the results of quantitative analysis on APM can involve more instability in measures of the rational motives of PSM (see face validity, Kim et al., 2013). As it happens, many studies nowadays tend to drop this rational dimension of PSM from their measurement tools; however, this study illustrates that the underlying influence of the public sector on the society and personal perceptions about having an influence on other people's lives through public organizations and programs serve as important motivational orientations for public service.

In addition, the results of the interviews also demonstrated that, although the current

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public servants in the central government tend to view their involvement in policy making and coping with politically urgent issues as interesting parts of their job, respondents (both public servants and applicants) did not view policymaking by itself as their primary motivational orientation. Instead, the underlying "influence" of public policies and programs, or the impacts of "delivering public service," even in a routine manner, on citizens' lives and social problems, served their central interests. These findings suggest that the scales of rational motivation require further development and validation by harnessing the underlying force of public service, instead of limiting the attraction to policymaking as the main motivational element.

Third, this qualitative analysis suggests that the contents of normative motivation (i.e., commitment to the public interest) vary according to social context as well as type of organization. As will be explored in the following chapters, when respondents in this study discussed the concept of public interest, they rarely discussed their interest at the level of "community." Instead, the target of public interest was closer to the country and the society as a whole, rather than a particular level of government (e.g., municipal, provincial, central) or particular individuals. In addition, while speaking about the concept of public interest, they tended to emphasize that our society still had many parts that needed to be "developed" and "improved" compared to other "already developed countries." As such, in the case of South Korea, the experience of the developmental state offered the meaning of public interest in the sense of social development.

Finally, this chapter presented a critical clue that the motivational characteristics of PSM cannot be irrelevant to the characteristics of administrative tradition. In examining the meanings attributed to public service, we can sense that a diverse array of implicit meanings is rooted in the social context of South Korea. In particular, while reporting why and how respondents

believed that they could have an influence and make a contribution to society through public service, their reasoning and descriptions were based on their accumulated memories about the social role of government. Therefore, understanding the social relationship between the public sector and other social spheres, along with respondents' perceptions about their roles in society, can explain how these two streams of motives co-exist and serve as a type of public service motivation.

6.0 EXAMINATION OF PSM DIMENSIONS WITH ADDITIONAL DIMENSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Recent studies have raised the issue of variation in the PSM dimensions as a function of administrative contexts (Ritz, 2011; Vandenabeele, 2008a; Wright & Grant, 2010), emphasizing that reliance on a single method (e.g.., quantitative research) seems to reach its limitations when exploring the particularity of motivational elements of PSM (S. M. Kim, 2010; Perry, Hondeghem, & Wise, 2010). Specifically, Ritz's (2011) study illustrates that exploratory analysis of the diversity of PSM dimensions may require two stages or more in the research process: examination through qualitative analysis plus a follow-up survey. In this vein, inductive and qualitative inquiries have been advocated, in order to overcome the limits of quantitative methods and enhance contextual validity when examining PSM measures and their applicability to the social context (Ritz, 2011; Vandenabeele, 2008a; Wright & Grant, 2010).

Following this line of argument, the main goal of this chapter is to examine empirically the dimensions and the measures of PSM with the additionally identified dimensions of 'influence on society' and 'contribution to social development.' As was discussed in Chapter 5, personal interviews disclosed diverse meanings of "becoming a public servant" in the aspect of occupational calling, which could be considered as an important motivation for public service. As an extension of those findings through qualitative analysis, this chapter is devoted in particular to investigating whether these identified dimensions can be integrated into the originally suggested four dimensions of PSM (Perry, 1996, 1997).

This chapter proceeds as follows: Section 6.2 discusses how the measures for these two new dimensions were developed, Section 6.3 reports on a series of statistical analyses that were

performed—specifically, exploratory factor analysis, parallel analysis, first-order confirmatory factor analysis, second-order confirmatory factor analysis, and reliability analysis—and discusses the results, and Section 6.4 presents a discussion about the variability of PSM dimensions and factor structures, along with the conceptual universality of PSM and constructing dimensions.

6.2 MEASUREMENTS OF DIMENSIONS

Regarding the dimension of influence on society, it was revealed that many respondents stated that their personal interests lay in "making outcomes that have an impact on other people's daily lives," "being involved in the lives of others," and "changing society" as their primary motives for choosing the public sector for their careers, indicating a great source of subjective satisfaction is sensing that they personally might have such an influence.

This study suggests the new dimension of "influence on society" drawn from the respondents' frequent comments on their occupational calling. Previous studies in the field of psychology have suggested a similar concept, referred to as *influence motivation* (Bell, 1975; Bennett, 1988). Bennett (1988) characterized individuals' influence motivation as having the "potential to affect the outcomes of others" (p.362), adding that those who have a strong influence motivation, as a type of personal need, want to involve themselves in others' lives and have a "desire to affect events and individuals" (p.363). Similarly to Bennett's study, respondents in this study also stressed the salient influence of government in society, consistently reporting a belief that working in the public sector has a higher potential for greater involvement in and more influence on others' lives and on various spheres of society, as compared to working in

other sectors,.

In addition, it was found that the target of influence is rather broad and abstract, so that "society" is not limited to particular groups of policy beneficiaries or respondents' own communities. Rather, it includes general concepts of society, citizens, and policy issues. Based on the results of coded scripts from respondents' comments (see Table 16 in Section 5.3), the measurement items for influences on society were primarily developed by using terms such as "affecting," "impact," "changing," "direct influences," or solving problems "by following my advice." The contents of measurement items of influence on society are as follows:

Influence on Society

- I hope that the results of my work **affect the lives of many citizens** rather than a few.
- The most important aspect of my job is the extent to which **I can impact our society**.
- While I may not be an influential person in society, I am glad when **my opinions can change other peoples' lives**.
- I want to **participate in diverse social activities that can lead to social change**.
- I want to do **something that more directly influences citizens' lives**.
- I hope that my work is **regarded as essential to the welfare of citizens**.
- It makes me feel good when people can **solve their problems by following my advice**.

The other dimension suggested previously is "contribution to social development." This motivational orientation can be attributed to the roles of public servants, which are closely related to individuals' social identity as such and the socially constructed images of public servants. In the personal interviews, respondents expressed their own ideas about the various levels and aspects of public interest, which was too abstract for respondents to clarify with a single word. Nonetheless, most commonly, respondents viewed that their work for the public interest ultimately aimed at the development of society. For example, public servants at low

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echelons, who did not play a role in policy making, stated that they were well aware that their work constituted only a small piece of the whole of government activity, but they believed that it contributed to social development. This dimension encapsulates normative components, in the sense that the respondents' comments manifested a desirable trait of public servants, as their comments tended to echo the normative role of public servants in Korean society, which is closely related to social background about the roles of government and public servants in the historical period known as the developmental state, as well as the ideal established by Confucianism for scholar-bureaucrats.

Based on the results of coded scripts of respondents' statements (see Table 17 in Section 5.3), the measurement items related to contribution to social development were primarily developed by using such terms as "benefiting," "contributing," "improving," "playing a role in advancement," and "helping." In comparison with the dimension of influence on society, this dimension is more concerned about the direction of outcomes. Relative influence on society is a matter of whether individuals can be involved, but the contribution dimension is more related to outcomes. The contents of the measurement items of influence on society are as follows:

Contribution to Social Development

- It is most meaningful to me when **my abilities benefit our society**.
- Although my work is a small part of the organization, I hope that it can nevertheless **contribute toward the betterment of society**.
- As long as I must work for a living, I want to do work that allows me to **improve our society, or a part of it.**
- It is worthwhile to take an **active role in the advancement of society,** even if my role goes unnoticed.
- As a member of society, it is desirable that I work towards **helping less privileged members** of society even if I am not given credit for it.
- People's **disregard for social problems serves to exacerbate social problems**.

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While developing measurement items for two dimensions, this study also examined, by reviewing the coded transcripts, how respondents felt that their intentions could be achieved. The results of the analysis revealed that respondents believed that their (1) labor (e.g., energy, effort, ability); (2) ideas (e.g., knowledge, experience, advice, opinions); and (3) job (e.g., characteristics of tasks and work) could be harnessed to meet these two motivational orientations. Figure 11 graphically illustrates the respondents' ideas about how their labor, ideas, and jobs could serve as motivation, particularly in the public sector. Reflecting these beliefs, measurements also include expressions such as "abilities," "ideas," "advice," "work," and "job."
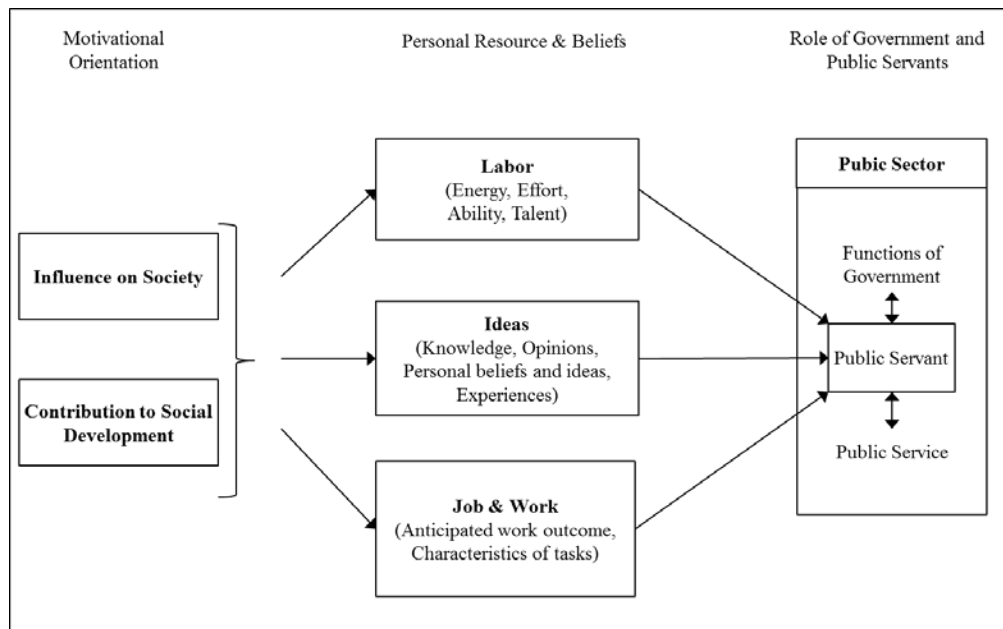
Figure 11. Process of Motivation Manifestation

Prior to conducting a large scale survey, this researcher carried out a pilot survey with only eleven respondents. In that pilot survey, respondents were required to provide feedback on the clarity of the contents, the length of the responses, and any overlapping of the contents. The majority of the pilot survey participants spent between 10 and 13 minutes responding to the

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questionnaires. Based on their comments, the wording used in the measurement items was revised, and the items illustrated above became the final measures used for the survey.

6.3 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

6.3.1 Exploratory Factor Analysis and Parallel Analysis

Before carried out a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), this study examined the structures of dimensions through exploratory factor analysis (EFA). Because this study suggested two additional dimensions of PSM, it was necessary to examine the overall dimensions before performing CFA.

In order to identify any multivariate outliers, this study examined the Mahalanobis distance of 37 items: 24 items from the dimensions suggested by previous research, and 13 items for the two new dimensions. The result of this test indicated that 12 cases appeared as multivariate outliers ($\chi^2_{(p=0.001,\ df=37)} = 69.346$). Therefore, these cases were not included in this analysis. The detailed results of EFA are included in Table 20.

It is worth noting that there are eight dimensions that show eigenvalues over 1.0. Although many studies consider eigenvalue as a criterion for factor extraction, this study additionally performed parallel analysis. More detailed discussion is presented later.

Table 20. Total Variance Explained

Component		Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings
		Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
Dimension	1	10.290	27.810	27.810	10.290	27.810	27.810	7.985
	2	3.499	9.457	37.267	3.499	9.457	37.267	5.860
	3	2.626	7.098	44.365	2.626	7.098	44.365	6.908
	4	1.614	4.363	48.727	1.614	4.363	48.727	5.745
	5	1.231	3.328	52.056	1.231	3.328	52.056	2.726
	6	1.192	3.222	55.278	1.192	3.222	55.278	5.201
	7	1.102	2.978	58.256	1.102	2.978	58.256	3.386
	8	1.069	2.890	61.146	1.069	2.890	61.146	1.610
	9	.903	2.440	63.586				

The results of the pattern matrix report show that 7 items developed for influence on the society dimension load on a single dimension; for the dimension of self-sacrifice, 6 items load on a single dimension. Interestingly, two items of commitment to the public interest dimension also load on self-sacrifice dimensions. A close examination of contents of these two items reveals that they also embed the survey respondents' self-sacrificing attitudes: "I ***unselfishly contribute*** to my community," and "I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community ***even if it harmed my interest.***" The rest of the components demonstrate that 5 items load on the contribution to the social development dimension, and 4 items load on the compassion dimension. In addition, 3 items load on the attraction to policy making, and 3 items load on the commitment to the public interest. Although the total number of items for each dimension is smaller than that originally suggested, they are still identified as the same dimensions.[18]

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[18] The result of the exploratory factor analysis is reported in Appendix F.

If we extract the number of factors solely relying on the Kaiser-Guttman rule (i.e., the eigenvalues > 1.0 rule), as commonly used in many empirical studies, there can be 8 factors for PSM in this study, in contrast to the 6 factors set for the analysis. The underlying logic of this rule is that, "if an eigenvalue is less than 1.0, then the corresponding factor accounts for less variance than the indicator" (Brown, 2006, p. 26). Therefore, a factor with eigenvalue less than 1.0 can be regarded as 'trivial.' However, using Kaiser-Guttman's rule alone can lead to problems of both over-extraction and under-extraction of factor components (Zwick & Velicer, 1986). In particular, Kaiser's eigenvalue tends to lead to an over-extraction problem; therefore, scholars have suggested the need to perform a complementary analysis to accurately determine the number of factors (Brown, 2006; Glorfeld, 1995).

Therefore, this study also performed a parallel analysis, based on the comparison of the scree plot of eigenvalues obtained from the observed data with uncorrelated normal random variables (Brown, 2006; Ledesman & Valero-Mora, 2007). For this study, random data (i.e., same sample size, same indicators) were generated 40 times, and their average eigenvalues were compared with eigenvalue of research data. More detailed information of average eigenvalues, standard deviation, and other statistics are reported in Appendix G. As shown in Figure 12, the eigenvalues of the research data exist above those of the random data up to the fourth factor. However, from the fifth factor, the eigenvalues from the randomly generated data (averages of 40 replications) exceed the eigenvalues of the research data.
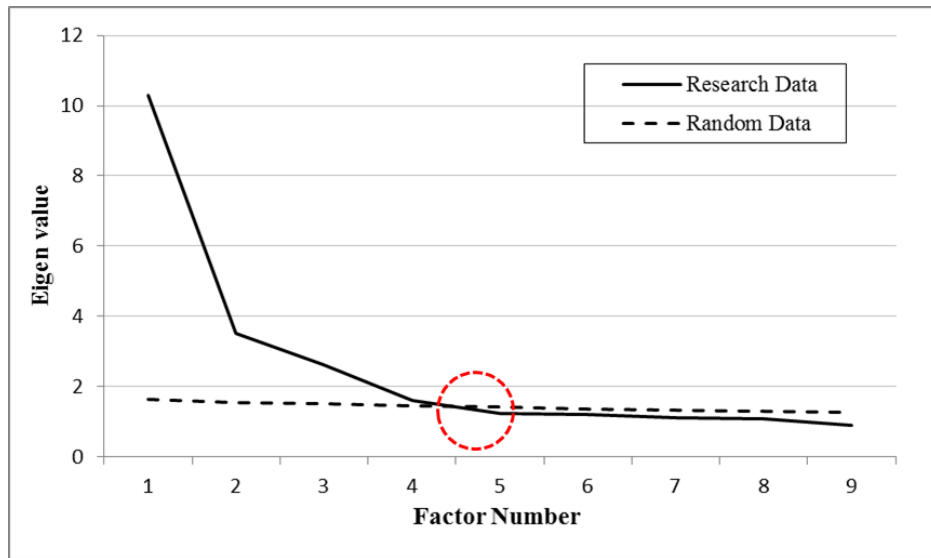
Figure 12. Scree Plot Comparison

This result indicates that the first four dimensions of PSM reported in the pattern matrix can be viewed as being meaningful dimensions of PSM. On the other hand, the other four dimensions can be thought of as trivial, because, from the fifth factor on, factors obtained from the data explain less variance than those obtained by random numbers (Brown, 2006). Therefore, for our survey data, the results of EFA and the parallel analysis suggest four dimensions of PSM: influence on society, self-sacrifice, contribution to social development, and compassion. The results of EFA with these four dimensions are reported in Table 21.

Table 21. Pattern Matrix of Exploratory Factor Analysis

	Item	1	2	3	4
1	inf_3	0.839			
2	inf_5	0.835			
3	inf_1	0.811			
4	inf_4	0.806			
5	inf_6	0.783			
6	inf_2	0.754			
7	inf_7	0.739			
8	contb_1	0.513			
9	ss_6		0.879		
10	ss_7		0.844		
11	ss_4		0.757		
12	ss_8		0.752		
13	cpi_2		0.711		
14	ss_5		0.609		
15	ss_3		0.596		
16	cpi_5		0.499		
17	contb_3			0.844	
18	contb_4			0.782	
19	contb_5			0.744	
20	contb_2			0.743	
21	contb_6			0.691	
22	com_2				0.742
23	com_3				0.662
24	com_1				0.643
25	com_5				0.576

*Indicator: "Inf": influence on society, "ss": self-sacrifice, "cpi": commitment to public interest,
"contb": contribution to social development, "com": compassion,
"apm": attraction to policy making
* Small coefficients are suppressed below 0.4 (absolute value), and Promax rotation is used.

6.3.2 First-order Confirmatory Factor Analysis

In order to validate the results of EFA and parallel analysis, the conceptual model of first-order
CFA, as a measurement model, is presented as Figure 13. Four first-order factors that represent
the distinctive aspects of PSM are predicted by the latent variable respectively.
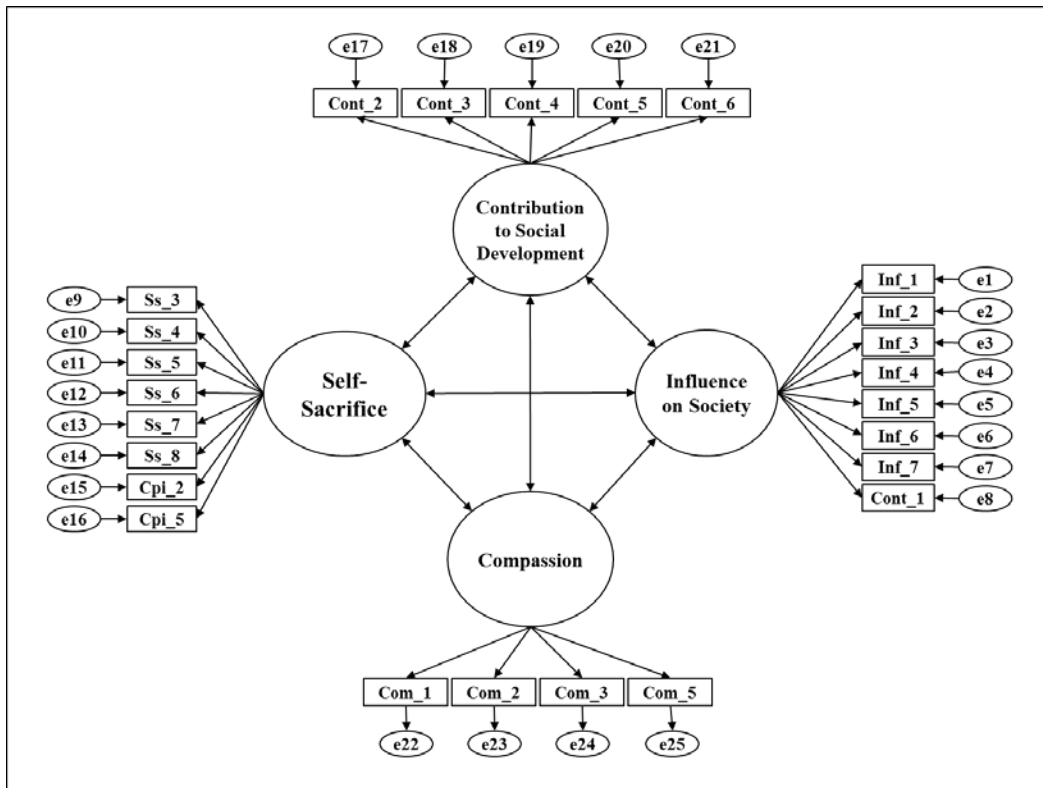
Figure 13. Schematic Illustration of First-order CFA

In this initial model, 25 items are measured by the 5-point Likert scale.[19] Before confirmatory factor analysis was performed, the normality of each item was examined, with the results indicating that no item violated the univariate normality requirement that skewness and kurtosis range within the absolute value of 1.96. Nonetheless, the results of kurtosis for multivariate still revealed that the data were not multivariate normal (Z=15.473, p<0.001). Due to the violation of the multivariate normality, the study used Satorra-Bentler (*S-B*) scaled statistics to examine the model fitness (Hu, Bentler, & Kano, 1992; Satorra & Bentler, 1988). For the analysis of this measurement model, this study used Mplus 6.12.

Model fit indices report that $\chi^2_{(df=269, \ n=404)}$=596.00, CFI=0.927, TLI=0.918, RMSEA=0.055, and SRMR=0.054. As reported, *S-B* χ^2 indicates that there are significant

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[19] The correlation matrix of these 25 indicators is reported in Appendix H.

differences between the observed and model covariance matrices. However, previous studies have reported that, when the sample size is over 200, the chi-square test tends to report a statistically significant difference between observed and model covariance matrices (Byrne, 2012). Two residual fit indices report that the hypothesized model fits well with the observed data [i.e., RMSEA (less than 0.06) and SRMR (less than 0.08)], but incremental model fit index (i.e., CFI and TLI) values still report that model fitness cannot be considered as a good model (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

The factor loadings of all items used in the confirmatory factor analysis were significant. The factor loadings of the 8 items used for "influence on society" ranged from 0.640 to 0.826, and commonalities ranged from 0.431 to 0.680. The factor loadings of the 8 items for "self-sacrifice" ranged from 0.580 to 0.759, and commonalities ranged from 0.336 to 0.635. The factor loadings of the 5 items for "contribution to social development" dimensions ranged from 0.521 to 0.805, and commonalities ranged from 0.271 to 0.648. Finally, the factor loadings of "compassion" ranged from 0.471 to 0.615, and commonalities ranged from 0.222 to 0.378. Detailed standardized estimates, standard errors, and communalities are reported in Appendix I.

Although the results indicated that the factor loadings were all significant, the model fitness indices still showed low model fitness (e.g., CFI, TLI); therefore, to improve the model fitness, this study examined the results of the Lagrange multiplier (LM) test, which reported numerous measurement error correlations over the 3.84 chi-square value at one degree of freedom. Although the LM test suggested freeing measurement error correlations within and between factors, this study chose to take a more conservative approach, because allowing for measurement errors would distort the overall models and construct (Gerbing & Anderson, 1984, p. 579).

Based on the results of the modification indices, this study reexamined the contents of the measurement items to see whether certain of them included similar terms and expressions, which would lead to indicators with self-report scales. As a result, respondents could perceive the questions as very similar or identical. In the process of this examination, the study considered two conditions: (1) whether any word had similar connotations or meanings, and (2) whether those similar items were adjacent to each other. As reported in Table 22, when two sets of measurement items showed a high similarity of contents and were adjacent to each other, that could lead the respondents to report very close responses to those items as a self-reporting scale.

Table 22. Similar Items

| Item | Criteria | | Contents |
	Adjacent	Similar	
Ss_6			I am prepared to ***make enormous sacrifices*** for the good of society.
Ss_7	○	○	I am one of those rare people who ***would risk personal loss*** to help someone else.
Inf_1			I hope that the results of ***my work affect the lives of many citizens rather than a few***.
Inf_2	○	○	The most important aspect of ***my job*** is the extent to which I ***can impact our society.***

* Note: *Italicized* phrases can be interpreted as showing similar meanings.

For these two sets of items, this study decided to exclude one of two, instead of freeing the measurement correlations between these indicators. Even though more of the item pools appeared to reflect various aspects of a construct or a dimension, the existence of "too many" measurement items for a single construct PSM has been considered as a challenge in many empirical studies (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle, 2008; Wright, 2008). In this vein, two items out of two sets of items were excluded in the follow-up analysis. In addition, the first item on

contribution to social development was also excluded in order to increase the content validity of the dimension. As such, in the revised model, 6 items load on "influence on society," 7 items load on "self-sacrifice," and the "contribution to social development" and "compassion" dimensions have remained identical to those in the initial model.

Model fit indices of the revised model report that $\chi^2_{(df=203,\ n=404)}$=373.078; CFI=0.954, TLI=0.947, RMSEA=0.046, SRMR=0.043. Compared with the initial models, the model fit indices disclose a better model fitness. The CFI value is greater than 0.95, the RMSEA value is less than 0.06, and the SRMR value is less than the cut-off point, 0.08. Even though the TLI value is slightly smaller than 0.95, its value is close to the cutoff point (Kenny, 2004). The results of the model fit indices are reported in Table 23.

Table 23. Summary of Model Fit Indices

Model	$S\text{-}B\ X^2$	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR	Number of Indicators
Initial Model	603.30	269	0.926	0.917	0.055	0.053	25
Revised Model	373.078	203	0.954	0.947	0.046	0.043	22

The factor loadings of all items used in the revised model were significant. The factor loadings of the 6 items used for "influence on society" ranged from 0.740 to 0.815, and commonalities ranged from 0.548 to 0.664. The factor loadings of the 7 items for "self-sacrifice" ranged from 0.564 to 0.764, and commonalities ranged from 0.318 to 0.594. The factor loadings of the 5 items for the "contribution to social development" dimension ranged from 0.520 to 0.805, and commonalities ranged from 0.270 to 0.648. The factor loadings of "compassion" ranged from 0.465 to 0.616, and the commonalities ranged from 0.216 to 0.379. More detailed information about standardized estimates and communalities are reported in Table 24.

Table 24. First-order CFA: Standardized Estimates and Communalities

Latent	Items	Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	Two-Tailed P-Value	Communalities (R²)
Influence on Society (INFLU)	→ INF_2	0.740	0.027	27.765	0.000	0.548
	→ INF_3	0.815	0.018	46.256	0.000	0.664
	→ INF_4	0.762	0.025	30.521	0.000	0.581
	→ INF_5	0.761	0.024	31.119	0.000	0.579
	→ INF_6	0.791	0.022	36.032	0.000	0.626
	→ INF_7	0.753	0.023	32.675	0.000	0.567
Self-Sacrifice (SS)	→ SS_3	0.764	0.024	31.850	0.000	0.584
	→ SS_4	0.771	0.026	29.276	0.000	0.594
	→ SS_5	0.714	0.029	24.752	0.000	0.510
	→ SS_6	0.764	0.025	30.592	0.000	0.584
	→ SS_8	0.609	0.036	16.865	0.000	0.371
	→ CPI_2	0.564	0.038	14.983	0.000	0.318
	→ CPI_5	0.649	0.036	18.019	0.000	0.421
Contribution to Social Development (CONTB)	→ CONTB_2	0.751	0.026	28.769	0.000	0.564
	→ CONTB_3	0.805	0.023	35.556	0.000	0.648
	→ CONTB_4	0.520	0.049	10.637	0.000	0.270
	→ CONTB_5	0.758	0.025	30.001	0.000	0.575
	→ CONTB_6	0.777	0.023	34.253	0.000	0.604
Compassion (COM)	→ COM_1	0.465	0.049	9.399	0.000	0.216
	→ COM_2	0.616	0.044	13.935	0.000	0.379
	→ COM_3	0.556	0.048	11.536	0.000	0.309
	→ COM_5	0.584	0.044	13.338	0.000	0.341

Before turning to second-order CFA, the study examined the pattern of correlations among latent variables. These correlations were all significant, ranging from 0.428 to 0.688. It is noteworthy that the compassion dimension showed a roughly similar level of correlation with the other three latent variables (i.e., $\phi s \geq 0.6$). In addition, the influence on society and contribution to social development dimensions also reported a substantial correlation (i.e., 0.682). However, the self-sacrifice dimension revealed relatively lower correlations with the influence on society and contribution to social development dimensions. Nonetheless, the self-sacrifice and compassion

dimensions showed a substantial correlation (0.678) with each other. This pattern of correlation supported previous argument that the compassion and self-sacrifice dimensions were suggested as an affective motive in previous studies (Perry, 1996, 1997). The detailed results of the correlation are reported in Table 25 and Figure 14.

Table 25. Correlation Matrix for the Latent Variables

	INF	SS	CONTB	COM
INF	1.000			
SS	0.428	1.000		
CONTB	0.682	0.495	1.000	
COM	0.601	0.678	0.688	1.000

*Note: all correlations are significant at the 0.001 *p*-value.
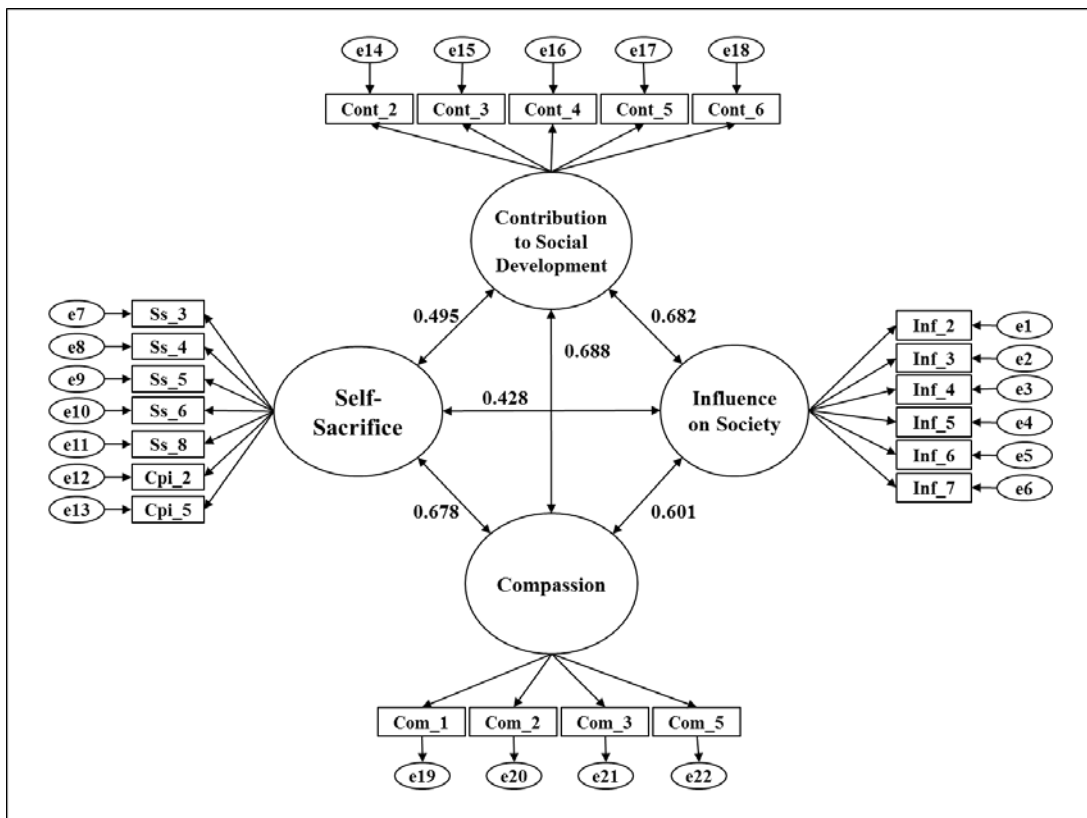
Figure 14. Result of First-order CFA

6.3.3 Second-order Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Based on the results of the first-order CFA, this section examines whether the four dimensions can be considered as a single concept through second-order CFA. The conceptual model of the second-order CFA is presented in Figure 15, where four factors are predicted by a latent variable of PSM. The difference between this model and the previous first-order CFA is that PSM, as a higher order factor, is predicted to account for six correlations among the first-order factors.
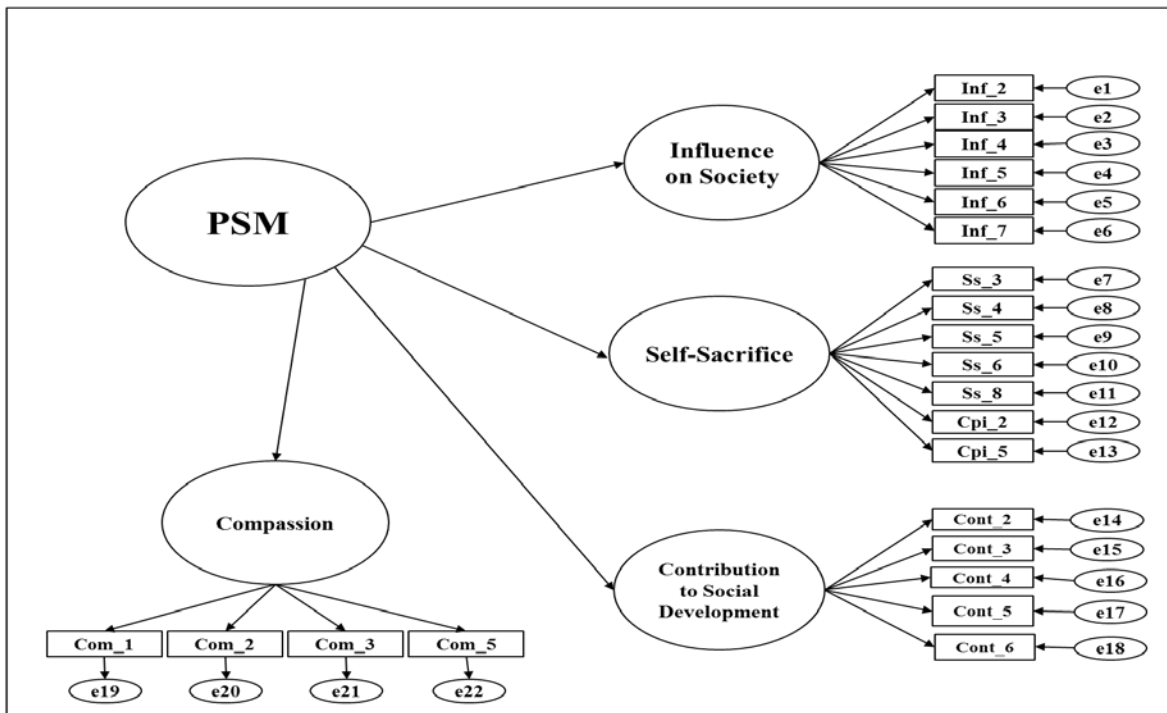
Figure 15. Schematic Illustration of Second-order CFA

As with the first-order CFA, the Satorra-Bentler (*S-B*) scaled statistics are used, because of the violation of multivariate normality. Model fit indices show that S-B χ^2(205, n=404)=393.643; CFI=0.949, TLI=0.942, RMSEA=0.048, and SRMR=0.050. In the case of the RMSEA and SRMR values, these two fit indices report a good level of model fitness, but the CFI and TLI values are lower than the accepted criterion of 0.95. Nonetheless, these two incremental

fits indicate a fairly acceptable level of fitness, with the CFI being very "close" to 0.95 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). As such, the overall model specified in this analysis for PSM as a single concept with four dimensions can be seen as appropriate, given the RMSEA, SRMR, and CFI values. Therefore, the result of second-order confirmatory factor analysis reveals that PSM, as a single construct with four distinctive dimensions, is applicable to the observed data.

The standardized estimates of four dimensions reveal a substantial loading level on four dimensions: influence on society (0.754), self-sacrificing (0.634), contribution to social development (0.841), compassion (0.853). The result of communalities indicates that compassion and contribution to social development have the highest R^2 (72.8%, 70,7%). Comparatively, the variance of latent variable for self-sacrificing is less explained by the latent variable for PSM. Detailed information about estimates, standard errors, and communalities is included in Table 26.

As a final step, this study performed a reliability analysis. The result of Cronbach alpha showed a good measurement of reliability (α=0.911), and the reliability coefficient rho also indicated an excellent reliability (ρ=0.934).

Table 26. Second-order CFA: Standardized Estimates and Communalities

Latent	Items	Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	Two-Tailed P-Value	Communalities (R^2)
Influence on Society (INFLU)	→ INF_2	0.737	0.027	27.277	0.000	0.543
	→ INF_3	0.813	0.018	45.950	0.000	0.661
	→ INF_4	0.762	0.025	30.798	0.000	0.581
	→ INF_5	0.762	0.025	31.075	0.000	0.581
	→ INF_6	0.794	0.022	36.747	0.000	0.630
	→ INF_7	0.754	0.023	32.627	0.000	0.569
Self-Sacrifice (SS)	→ SS_3	0.762	0.024	31.697	0.000	0.581
	→ SS_4	0.772	0.026	29.153	0.000	0.596
	→ SS_5	0.714	0.029	24.626	0.000	0.510
	→ SS_6	0.765	0.025	30.279	0.000	0.585
	→ SS_8	0.608	0.036	16.896	0.000	0.370
	→ CPI_2	0.562	0.037	15.022	0.000	0.316
	→ CPI_5	0.651	0.036	18.314	0.000	0.424
Contribution to Social Development (CONTB)	→ CONTB_2	0.750	0.026	28.789	0.000	0.563
	→ CONTB_3	0.807	0.023	35.803	0.000	0.651
	→ CONTB_4	0.518	0.050	10.458	0.000	0.268
	→ CONTB_5	0.761	0.025	30.466	0.000	0.579
	→ CONTB_6	0.773	0.023	33.689	0.000	0.598
Compassion (COM)	→ COM_1	0.456	0.049	9.336	0.000	0.208
	→ COM_2	0.623	0.044	14.077	0.000	0.388
	→ COM_3	0.564	0.048	11.770	0.000	0.318
	→ COM_5	0.576	0.046	12.628	0.000	0.332
PSM	→ INFLU	0.754	0.032	23.809	0.000	0.569
	→ SS	0.634	0.042	14.961	0.000	0.402
	→ CONTB	0.841	0.032	26.306	0.000	0.707
	→ COM	0.853	0.048	17.839	0.000	0.728

As a post-hoc analysis, this study compared the level of PSM and its dimensions by gender, age group, and institution. First, the levels of PSM and dimensions were compared by gender. Male respondents generally reported a higher level of PSM in this study, but the level of difference was not statistically significant. For a more detailed examination, an independent t-test was conducted related to the first four dimensions. As reported in Table 27, the level of influence on society, contribution to social development, and compassion did not differ by gender. However, males scored significantly higher on self-sacrifice than females ($t_{(421)}$=3.759, p<0.001). These results call into question findings from previous literature that suggests female public employees show higher levels of self-sacrifice based upon their emotional characteristics (DeHart-Davis, et. al., 2006). Regarding the issue of gender as an antecedent of PSM, an additional discussion is presented in Section 8.2.1.

Table 27. Mean Comparison by Gender[20]

Dimension / Content	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	t-value	*df*	*p*-value
PSM	Male (n=283)	82.33	9.81	0.583	1.248	416	0.213
	Female (n=135)	81.08	8.92	0.767			
Influence on Society	Male (n=286)	24.24	3.58	0.212	-0.458	422	0.648
	Female (n=138)	24.41	3.47	0.295			
Self-Sacrifice	Male (n=285)	23.67	4.11	0.243	3.759	421	< 0.001
	Female (n=138)	22.10	3.82	0.325			
Contribution to Social Development	Male (n=287)	19.89	2.97	0.175	-1.093	423	0.275
	Female (n=138)	20.22	2.66	0.226			
Compassion	Male (n=286)	14.46	1.87	0.110	0.046	422	0.963
	Female (n=138)	14.45	1.788	0.152			

Second, as with the comparison by gender, the level of PSM and the dimensions were also compared by age groups. Due to the small numbers of respondents in their 20s, a

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[20] Levene's test indicated that all five independent t-tests met the assumption of equality of variances.

comparison was mainly drawn from the other age groups.[21] As revealed in Table 28, older groups (i.e., people in their 40s and 50s) reported a similar level of overall PSM and dimensions, which were higher than in the age-30s groups. Scheff's test showed that older groups' overall PSM was statistically different from that of the age-30s group ($F_{(3, 412)}$=9.448, p<0.001). Similarly, the older groups tended to reveal higher values in all dimensions, which were statistically significant at the 0.05 α level. Although these results partially provide evidence suggesting a positive relationship between age and individuals' PSM, the increase correlated with age can be viewed as due to the accumulation of social and organizational experiences, which can also be related to individuals' PSM. As is addressed in Section 8.4.3, the results of the regression analysis indicated that respondents' ages tended to correlate with experience in organizational settings.

Table 28. Mean Comparison by Age Group

Age Group (n=416) Dimension	20s (n=4)	30s (n=166)	40s (n=179)	50s (n=67)
PSM	88.50	79.04	83.86	83.69
(std. error)	(3.570)	(0.698)	(0.736)	(1.015)
Influence on Society	25.75	23.73	24.86	24.27
(std. error)	(1.181)	(0.282)	(0.258)	(0.409)
Self-Sacrifice	26.00	21.78	23.88	24.78
(std. error)	(1.472)	(0.275)	(0.321)	(0.461)
Contribution to Social Development (std. error)	21.00 (1.871)	19.37 (0.233)	20.47 (0.202)	20.09 (0.335)
Compassion	15.75	14.16	14.64	14.55
(std. error)	(0.250)	(0.135)	(0.144)	(0.216)

Third, there was no significant difference in PSM levels among the five organizations ($F_{(4, 415)}$=1.916, p=0.107). The detailed descriptive statistics regarding the mean values of PSM

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[21] Due to the long exam-preparation period, many people start their careers in their late 20s or early 30s. Moreover, male respondents are more likely to be over 30 years of age, because they have to finish military service while in their 20s.

and each dimension are reported in Table 29.

Table 29. Mean Comparison by Institution[22]

Institution (n=420) / Dimension	MOPAS (n=73)	MOEST (n=68)	MOGEF (n=52)	MOLTMA (n=139)	MOE (n=88)
PSM (std. error)	82.33 (1.05)	83.12 (1.07)	79.77 (1.23)	80.93 (0.92)	83.43 (0.89)
Influence on Society (std. error)	24.22 (0.45)	25.16 (0.40)	23.39 (0.49)	24.00 (0.32)	24.68 (0.32)
Self-Sacrificie (std. error)	23.49 (0.48)	23.04 (0.52)	22.83 (0.43)	23.16 (0.37)	23.32 (0.43)
Contribution to Social Development (std. error)	20.33 (0.32)	20.09 (0.34)	19.42 (0.43)	19.45 (0.27)	20.77 (0.22)
Compassion (std. error)	14.29 (0.22)	14.82 (0.22)	14.14 (0.22)	14.32 (0.16)	14.66 (0.20)

Despite the similar levels of PSM, the results of Scheff's test suggest the presence of mean differences between the two dimensions of influence on society and contribution to social development. In the case of influences on society, the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MOEST) shows the highest mean value (mean=25.16), which was statistically different from the mean value of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF, mean=23.39). Although the rest of the departments exhibit similar levels of mean values, the mean difference between the MOEST and the MOGEF was statistically significant ($F_{(4, 421)}$=2.681, p=0.031). Given the types of policy issues, respondents in the MOEST tended to possess higher motivational characteristics with respect to having an influence on society. This difference may reflect the probable impact of policy initiatives on major political issues

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[22] 1=Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS), 2=Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MOEST), 3=Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF), 4=Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs (MOLTMA), 5=Ministry of Environment (MOE).

regarding educational, industrial, and technological problems. Many of the policy issues related to the MOEST have drawn attention because they are thought of as major policy areas directly relating to economic development through industrial development, high education, and rapid technological development (Im & Park, 2011). Therefore, differences in policy domains and feasible impacts on social issues can result in meaningful differences in attitude and approach.

In addition, the levels of contribution to social development of the Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs (MOLTMA) and the Ministry of Environment (MOE) were found to be significantly different ($F_{(4, 422)}$=4.133, p=0.003).[23] Although this difference may be the result of the characteristics of primary public polices, as was the case with the mean difference between the MOEST and the MOGEF, this study still has trouble providing additional evidence as to why such statistically significant differences were found. These possible differences in dimensions necessitate further examination of how different types of public service (e.g., regulatory, welfare, planning) can be more closely related to specific dimensions of PSM.

Finally, this study also examined whether there was a difference between respondents who completed the survey and those who did not. As illustrated below, there are 32 missing cases that constitute roughly 7.4% of the sample size. To better understand the characteristics of these cases, an independent t-test on the overall PSM and dimensions was conducted. As reported in Table 30, missing cases and non-missing cases do not reveal a significant mean difference at the 0.05 α level.

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[23] Due to the violation of homogeneity of variance, a robust statistic (i.e., Welch's ANOVA) is used. The rest of the other dimensions and overall PSM meet the assumption of homogeneity of variance.

Table 30. Mean Comparison between Missing and Non-missing Cases[24]

Content / Dimension	Category	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	t-value	*df*	*p*-value
PSM	Non-missing (n=388)	82.04	9.64	0.49	0.967	418	0.334
	Missing (n=32)	80.34	7.91	1.40			
Influence on Society	Non-missing (n=394)	24.37	3.56	0.18	1.624	424	0.105
	Missing (n=32)	23.31	3.03	0.54			
Self-Sacrifice	Non-missing (n=393)	23.16	4.13	0.21	-0.040	423	0.968
	Missing (n=32)	23.19	3.22	0.57			
Contribution to Social Development	Non-missing (n=395)	20.03	2.89	0.15	1.123	425	0.262
	Missing (n=32)	19.44	2.64	0.47			
Compassion	Non-missing (n=394)	14.46	1.83	0.09	0.150	424	0.881
	Missing (n=32)	14.41	1.90	0.34			

6.4 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

As a follow-up to examination of the motivational orientation identified in Chapter 5, this chapter mainly attempted to explore whether the newly identified dimensions (i.e., influence on society, contribution to social development) could be integrated into the PSM concept. The findings of the statistical analysis can be summarized as follows: (1) the results of the personal interviews and the identified dimensions are supported by the statistical analysis; (2) depending on the social context, there can be different combinations of dimensions for PSM; (3) the components of a certain dimension can be identified also as the components of a different dimension; and (4) the results of these findings support theoretical arguments on the social

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[24] In regression analysis, nine cases are additionally selected as the multivariate outliers based on the Mahalanobis distance ($\chi^2_{(df=24,\ p=0.001)}=51.2$).

context and the variability of PSM.

First of all, in Chapter 5, the findings of the qualitative analysis suggested that "influence on society" and "contribution to social development" could serve as dimensions of PSM, as underlying intrinsic values of public service, but these findings were developed from a rather small number of personal interviews. In contrast, the findings of this chapter, through a series of statistical analyses, offer supportive evidence that these two new dimensions can serve as significant motivational aspects of PSM in South Korea.

Second, given the small sample size of the survey respondents, it is still difficult to argue that the findings of this study provide absolute evidence for the variability of the dimensions of PSM, but the findings do support what have been claimed as the breadth of content and possible missing domains of PSM in previous studies (Kim et al., 2012). As revealed in the process of confirmatory factor analyses, the "self-sacrifice" and "compassion" dimensions are identified as dimensions of PSM just as in previous studies; however, the dimensions of "attraction to policy making" and "commitment to public interest" seem to reveal certain limits of applicability. This finding also raised the possibility that affective dimensions (i.e., self-sacrifice, compassion) can be relatively stable in many social contexts; at the same time, rational and normative dimensions can reveal specificity for PSM, manifesting cultural and administrative tradition (i.e., government centrality, social expectations of the roles of government and public servants). This finding also provides supportive evidence to the recent debates over the problem of face validity for "attraction to policy making" (Kim et. al, 2013; Ritz, 2011) and the argument that "commitment to public interest" tends to manifest the specificity of social and governance contexts (Vandenabeele, 2008a). Therefore, we can sense that there is a need for further exploration of the rational and normative aspects of PSM, in order to examine the commonalities

and specificity of PSM according to social context.

Third, another interesting finding is that some items assigned to a particular dimension can be perceived differently in different cultures or societies. For example, survey participants in this study tended to perceive two items of commitment to the public interest[25] as being self-sacrificing aspects. This finding illustrates that confirmatory factor analysis performed without sufficient consideration of the four-dimensional structure of PSM may result in mis-specification of the measurement models for PSM.

Finally, echoing central arguments on the importance of the social context in the study of PSM (Ritz, 2011; Vandenabeele, 2008a; Wright & Grant, 2010), the overall findings of this chapter revealed the existence of empirical evidence for the most recent arguments presented by 16 PSM scholars who attempted to separate the emics (culture-specific aspects) from the etics (universal or culture-general aspects) of PSM (S. M. Kim et al., 2013). However, this chapter also revealed the caveat of the trade-off relationship between the universality and particularity of PSM. Increasing attention to culture- and society-specific PSM may enhance the contextual validity in measurements, but doing so might be a challenge to the generalizability of the concept *per se* as well as the dimensions. In addition, the particularity of PSM dimensions can be a critical hurdle in international comparative studies.

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[25] "I *unselfishly contribute* to my community" and "I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community *even if it harmed my interest*."

7.0 ADMINISTRATIVE TRADITION AND SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED ROLES: LINKAGE TO THE MOTIVATIONAL GROUND OF PUBLIC SERVICE

The findings of Chapter 5 (i.e., the results of personal interviews) and Chapter 6 (i.e., the statistical analysis) provided substantial evidence that "influence on society" and "contribution to social development" could be considered as salient occupational callings and dimensions of PSM. We can, however, raise two questions: Why did many respondents place great value on these two aspects as their occupational calling and motivation for public service? And are these perceptional and motivational orientations related to the specificity of the social context? These questions call for additional exploration to identify the linkages between social context and the variability of PSM.

As noted above, many social scientists offer theoretical explanations of how people can shape cognitive and motivational characteristics by interacting with various social institutions and cultural elements (Erez, Kleinbeck, & Thierry, 2001; Heine, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Recently, PSM scholars have also begun to emphasize the variability of PSM according to cultural and social context (Kim et al., 2012). As the conceptual framework suggests (see Section 2.5), the present study was grounded in the theoretical perspective that motivational orientation could be shaped through continuous interactions with different levels of the social system.

Although theoretical explanations shed light on the importance of interactions between individuals' motivations and social contexts, many challenges remain regarding determination of how we can actually examine these relationships. In particular, regarding a specific motivation for public service, we still need empirical evidence for how the social and administrative contexts of South Korea are related to personal motivations identified as "influence on society"

and "contribution to social development."

For this purpose, Section 7.1 explores the characteristics of administration tradition, as one of the most salient aspects of a cultural legacy, through the respondents' perceptions about the daily pattern of interaction between the government and other social sectors as noted in their own experiences with citizens and clients. By exploring the respondents' experiences, we anticipated uncovering the social expectations attributed to the role of government. Section 7.2 examines the respondents' beliefs about their roles in society. As discussed in the final section, a shared perception about the "appropriate" role of public servants reflected the diverse aspects of socially shared expectations: competency, morality, responsibility, and symbolic images. The findings of these two sections provide explanations of how and why respondents tended to view "influence on society" and "contribution to social development" as their occupational callings and important aspects of motivation for public service. The final section presents the summary of findings and a synthesized framework, which graphically illustrate the findings of Chapter 5 as well as those of this chapter.

7.1 ADMINISTRATIVE TRADITION MANIFESTED IN SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

The concept of administrative tradition is somewhat abstract in its conceptual boundaries and central variables for empirical analysis, but Painter and Peters (2010a) and Yesilkagit (2010) recently suggested a clearer definition of the concept as "ideas and beliefs about the nature of government in a specific national context.... Administrative traditions are shaped by the larger social and political culture within which they live; these traditions shape their beliefs of what constitutes appropriate government; and tradition informs them what to prefer" (Yesilkagit, 2010,

pp. 148-152). Therefore, these scholars state that administrative tradition reflects social values, preferences, norms, and social sentiments toward the "appropriate" pattern of public administration and system of governance, which also explains diverse aspects of contemporary public administration and public servants' behavior. Yesilkagit and Christensen (2010), for example, empirically illustrate that cultural legacy manifested through administrative tradition offers a pragmatic framework for explaining the pattern of government changes observed in administrative reform, as well as certain patterns of behavior of public servants (e.g., decision making).

Following the conceptual definition of *administrative tradition*, the following sections explore the social context of public administration through respondents' work experience and their interactions with citizens or clients.

7.1.1 Persistent Expectations and Reliance on Government

In response to the question, "How do you think the Korean people view the role of government?," many respondents acknowledged that Korean society had been *structurally* changing toward a democratic society. In fact, government had been playing a dominant role in developing intuitional systems to encourage citizens and diverse social entities to participate actively in the political process, and to support them in enhancing their capacity to take on broader social responsibilities.

Despite these drastic changes, however, respondents stressed that the ways of interaction between government and society had not, in the end, much changed. The following comments illustrate the aspects of administrative tradition that persist in South Korean society.

I have thought that, as our society becomes a more democratic society,

civil society needs to and should play more active roles…. But people still seem to assume that government should operate as it used to. And, when something happens, people tend to question what government has done. [39HP:50]

Whenever problems occur, people do not consider them as their own problems. They only consider the problem a government problem. I think such a tendency exists because government has been taking a leading role in many social areas…. The criticisms released by mass media seem to exhibit a similar attitude. Their reports tend to end with the statement that 'some measures are necessary at the governmental level.' Thus, a majority of things come to be considered as falling under the domain of the public sector…. People seem to prefer and still expect government involvement in everything, while at the same time expecting that the government operates well. On the other hand, some people, who can be regarded as socially intelligent, often claim that government should take its hands off many social areas. But if you go into the field, these people even more harshly criticize and question what the government has done. [17SP:64]

We still lack a tradition of thinking about whether certain issues belong to the private or public sector. Without such an assessment, people tend to unconditionally consider everything as a government issue. For example, people engage in social gossiping, such as 'Everything happened because of President Noh.' Such a tendency seems to be serious. Although there must be private areas and private responsibility, people ask government to do more. [33LP:38]

I don't know why the Korean people show this attitude [a lack of awareness and preparedness for typhoons and natural disasters]. But, as you know, numerous typhoons come between September and October every year with heavy rain. Perhaps for this type of natural disaster, we [public servants] cannot but have limits at the preparation stage. Thus, people have to engage in their own preparations against possible risks. But there is no such concept of individual preparation. If problems occur, then people ask the government [as a general pattern] to compensate them unconditionally for the damage. In fact, some of the damage may be derived from lack of individuals' preparation or may be purely the effect of the natural disaster. Nonetheless, governments have been compensating individuals for such economic damages. For example, a

couple of years ago, we recommended and advertised much about the benefits of private insurance for orchard owners.... We encouraged the orchard owners to have such insurance for possible damages, with the explanation that they can protect their property. But they did not want to buy the insurance. They argued that the government should pay for the damage…. As I said, in this example, there are high expectations of government in many ways. Perhaps such things [compensation for the damage, unconditionally demanding government compensation] are impossible in other societies. I think that our [Korean society's] environment of public administration is totally different in this aspect from other societies. [20HP:112]

Other respondents also spoke of similar work experiences and perceptions about patterns of interaction, which can be summarized as follows:

- High social expectations, preferences, and reliance on governmental involvement
- Cumulative memory of the dominant role of government
- Citizens' persistent presumption of *unconditional* government responsibility
- Lack of a clear boundary between private and public responsibility for social problems
- A short period of experience with a democratic society, which leads to a lack of independent citizenship (i.e., social contract, independence based on rights and duties)

Respondents further emphasized that such social "reliance on government" and "a high expectation" of governmental intervention indeed served as an underlying force sustaining the tradition of strong government. From the respondents' standpoint, the persistence of a legacy of strong government did not derive merely from the tradition of public administration; rather, people's taken-for-granted attitude toward the role of government—they often felt this in their daily work—in reality sustained governmental influence on major spheres of society. Therefore, recent efforts and changes (i.e., reforms toward decentralization, social debates over a new form of governance) have been viewed as somewhat *superficial* in the sense that fundamental social

perceptions (i.e., functions, values, ethics) regarding the "appropriate" role of governments, observed in the pattern of interactions between society and government, showed great discrepancies between what has been suggested recently as self-sustaining governance and the active roles of civil societies. Moreover, respondents often raised a hypothetical question, namely: If Korean society had firmly resisted governmental involvement, the tradition of strong government and active direction should have faded away in the contemporary administration. But respondents' work experiences and interactions with citizens reinforced their belief that active and broad governmental interventions were still preferable.

Regarding the origins of perceived reliance on and expectations of government, respondents suggested numerous explanations and interpretations in cultural, social, and political arenas. First, although there were conflicting assessments about the government role in two aspects—political democratization and economic development—the government was seen to have played a key role in bringing about the rapid development of South Korea. Respondents also proposed an interesting explanation that the long experiences and practices of governmental intervention in many areas of society had shaped the social conditions in which citizens were accustomed to governmental involvement in wide areas.

Second, a short period of experience with democracy and liberalism was also named as an important factor in citizens' high expectations of governmental involvement. Along this line, respondents emphasized that importing institutional systems and values of democracy into South Korea had so far resulted in only "superficial change."

7.1.2 Spreading Distrust of Government

The previous section illustrated that the tradition of "strong government" remained a persistent

phenomenon in Korean society. Respondents also disclosed a somewhat conflicting phenomenon, however. On the one hand, the Korean people expected government to maintain its involvement in many social areas. On the other, they distrusted government at the same time.

> And the most challenging case to our Department was the outbreak of H1N1 flu [swine flu] last year. Literally, people didn't seem to believe a single word from our department. People's perception was that the 'government is hiding something.' So, it was very difficult to achieve effective communication. From our perspective, we could neither report that South Korea was safe from the flu with 100% certainty, nor trigger public fear and panic by reporting unproven news to the public. We were very cautious in reporting and handling the flu cases. But there were so many rumors without evidence. Even one of my friends called me and asked whether I had some vaccination for the flu. He seemed to assume that 'we [public servants] have already prepared and hidden some vaccinations for ourselves.' I believe that the government and our society become more and more transparent, but whenever I feel such attitudes [distrust, suspicion], it makes me frustrated. [41OP:26-28]

> Lately, it was reported that our society has low trust in its government. The level of trust in government was even lower than in strangers whom one had never met in one's life. The level of trust in public sectors is very low. If you go to the website of the Presidential Committee on Social Cohesion, you may find the report about the various types of social and government trust levels. You can sense such a high distrust in government. [19KP:20][26]

> People show more and more cynical attitudes toward government; they have high distrust. Even my very close friends seem to feel the same; people around me still say negative things half-jokingly. I don't like it. They reveal their distrust and give various stories with a nuance of rottenness and corruption. [22LP:36]

> Because I started my work quite recently, I am not sure yet about how the

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[26] Park et al. (2003) examined different types of trust (e.g., social trust, government trust) and found that government trust is lower than social trust. Among government institutions, the legislative body received the lowest scores (Park, Lee, & Cho, 2003).

Korean people view the government. But I feel that people seem to have mixed feelings—fear and distrust. [28EP:14]

As illustrated, respondents talked about increasing cynicism regarding the government. In depicting such citizens' attitudes and the administrative environment, more than half of the respondents stressed that citizens' contemporary attitudes should not be viewed as reflecting failure or corruption in today's government; rather, the past image of authoritarian government seemed to be engraved in people's minds through their social experiences. For example,

> The reality is not so [corruption, controlling]. I often question whom and what types of public servants people are really talking about. People do not seem to be on the same page regarding governmental changes [since the mid-1990s], and they do not seem to be caught up with how much government has actually changed. Indeed, government has moved to a very different stage. But people still have the old image; it lags by at least 20 years. The historical image—probably built in the 1960s and '70s—seems to be applied to the current public administration. [35SP:44]

When respondents discussed the widespread citizens' distrust, they also addressed many issues that allowed for tracing the development of such low faith in government. The following comments illustrate respondents' reasoning on how current cynicism about and distrust in government can spread widely.

> In the period of nation-building and the developmental state, government held the highest power, which also caused problems of corruption, as well as many other negative side effects related to the monopoly of power. I think that such centralized power by itself leads to the current negative image of government. In those periods, corruption seemed to be overlooked even by society, because society prioritized the performance of government in terms of economic and social development at the cost of other social values [liberalism, transparency]. But now, as a

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democratic society, such priorities and practices are no longer possible. The social criteria of morality rose sharply, and such a rise made the public view the government more critically due to the images recalled from such periods. [36KP:21]

Traditional images of public servants can be summarized as corrupt, leaving the office at 6 o'clock sharp, and ordering and controlling people. Perhaps many public servants exhibited such behavior in the past, and that caused a negative perception that exists even to this day. In this vein, governments and public servants cannot be called 'servants.' People thought of governments as oppressive and authoritarian, occupying the highest position in the hierarchical social system. Even some people were afraid of calling public offices at that period…. Thus people might have some sense of isolation. I believe that animosity and today's distrust seem to be formed through the experience of government throughout history. [17SP:58]

Through the whole experience of the Chosun Dynasty, Japanese Colonization, the Korean War, President Park's [a military general who assumed the role of president] presidency for 17 years and his ensuing dictatorship, our society has only experienced over-centralized power and government. The accumulation of such experiences has led to today's distrust of government [executive branch] and public servants. [26CP:24]

Although all of the respondents' comments cannot be included in this section, diverse observations can be summarized as follows:

- Fear of centralized government power and authority
- A steady erosion of the overcentralized power of government
- Memory of widespread government corruption
- Images of authoritarian orders from public adminstrators
- Widespread public distrust of government

In addition, a few respondents suggested an explanation of the origin of the high public distrust by attributing it to "too high expectations" of the governmental role. According to this explanation, meeting citizens' expectations may be "impossible," which in turn raises

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dissatisfaction with government and also increases public distrust in government. While it was difficult to attribute such increasing cynicism and distrust to a single element, the majority of respondents commonly pointed out that the negative side effects of over-centralized government power (executive branch) and citizens' memories of years of experience with authoritarian government have resulted in today's distrust.

7.1.3 Differentiation: Political Power and the Administrative Function

The previous two sections illustrate the most salient aspects of administrative environments and their social origins through respondents' work experience and perceptions. Respondents' comments revealed that citizens were still looking at government's involvement as appropriate, even while at the same time distrusting the government.

At this point, we can raise a question: How can these two somewhat conflicting attitudes be compatible? Logically speaking, if people distrust or emotionally dislike their government, would not they resist governmental involvement or try to reduce their reliance on it? Alternately, people should be more likely to create independent social entities instead of "questioning" a lack of governmental intervention. Put slightly differently, we may at least expect a positive relationship between citizens' persistent reliance on government and their trust in government.

Findings from the personal interviews, however, showed that the coexistence of conflicting attitudes can be viewed as the differentiation of two different streams of government functions, as illustrated in Figure 16.
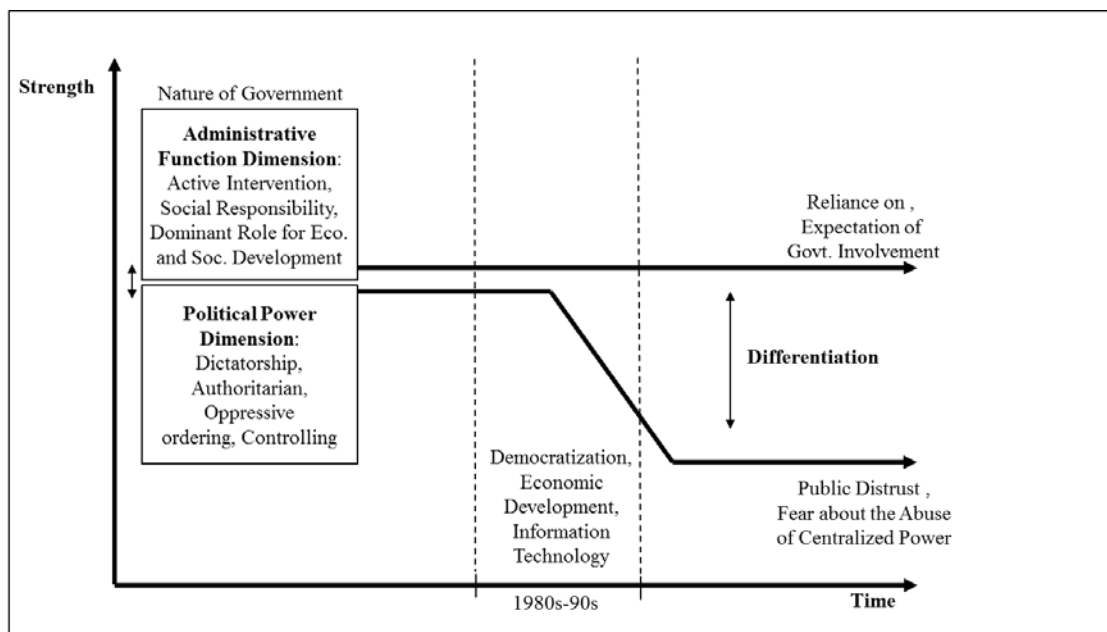
Figure 16. Differentiation of Political Power and Administrative Functions

First, persistent expectations of governmental involvement are derived primarily from social memory regarding what administrative functionaries achieved in the recent rapid economic and social development period. During that time, government accepted a broad social responsibility for the majority of social spheres. Second, fear and distrust of government are derived primarily from political memory: the over-centralized power of government (executive branch) through the military dictatorship, corruption, and oppressive administration because of a minimal system of checks and balances. In this vein, these two phenomena can be viewed as two distinctive layers (or dimensions) of government (executive branch)—political power and administrative functions

Traditionally, these two dimensions of government have been viewed as "one nature" of government, because the executive branch has been the sole institution holding the power of the social system and public service. Although the wide definition of *government* includes three independent branches of political institutions, the notion of "strong government" in past

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literature implicitly referred to the executive branch as being the government, before the democratization of the late 1980s (Ahn, 2003, 2008; Choi, 2005; Ryu & Lee, 2010).

However, respondents' experiences illustrated that today's public administration and Korean society in general can be epitomized as rapidly differentiating these two dimensions in the course of social development. When people think about the government, they have mixed images: on the one hand, the political functions of government, where they are likely to remember the negative aspects of over-centralized power and corruption; and, on the other hand, the administrative functions, about which people think relatively positively regarding the provision of public services and successful planning for economic and social development. Therefore, citizens' ambivalent attitudes can be understood as the manifestation of two distinct functional dimensions of government.[27]

This section has explored general ideas about how Korean citizens view the role of government in present-day society from the perspective of administrative tradition. As noted above, we can find both persistent and changing aspects of administrative traditions in Korean society. In particular, it is noteworthy that many Koreans still hold to the expectation that government should be active in the majority of social spheres despite rapid political democratization.

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[27] Regarding social and political distinctions, a similar line of argument derives from the uneven rate of social changes. Choi (2005, 2009) and Song (2005) have argued that recent rapid social and political development have resulted in a different rate of change and development in the social sphere. Therefore, distinctive time frames for developing diverse aspects of social change exist (e.g., "political democratization" and "social democratization").

7.2 THE SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED ROLE OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

As observed in the previous section, respondents' descriptions, albeit revealing a relatively broad administrative context, provided clues for tracing contemporary administrative conditions and their origins in the culture and its administrative traditions. However, a critical knowledge gap about how such administrative traditions can be fused into respondents' occupational callings and motivational orientations remains. Indeed, linking social contexts (e.g., administrative traditions, cultural legacy) to personal psychology (e.g., perception and motivation) necessitates a different level of theoretical grounding.

Regarding this complicated connection between social structure and individual behaviors, sociologists and social psychologists have long emphasized role theory as a way to bridge macro- (i.e., social context and structure) and micro-level (i.e., behaviors, attitudes, perceptions, motivations) phenomena (Callero, 1994, 2008; Diekman, 2007; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In particular, social role has been highlighted as manifesting diverse, socially constructed structures that present information to individuals about expected behaviors, appropriate functions, and anticipated values. Basically, "social role refers to the behavior of status-occupants that is oriented toward the patterned expectations of others (who accord the rights and exact the obligations) … a position in a social system, with its distinctive array of designated rights and obligations" (Merton, 1968, p. 41). Callero (2008) more directly stated that "roles are typically defined as the socially shared expectations and behaviors associated with a position in society.… the role concept is used to explain how individual desires and motivations are reconciled with the collective needs of society" (Callero, 2008, p. 275).

The common ground that links the concept of administrative tradition and social role theory is their emphasis on "ideas" and "beliefs," which can also be called "schema" by culture

theorists (D'Andrade, 1984; 1992, p. 31; 2008; Dimaggio, 1997; Schultz, 1994, p. 84). As stated by Diekman (2007), such social roles encapsulate diverse cultural values, ethics, social duties, and normative obligations, which, in turn, interact with "a wide array of psychological outcomes, including behavior, attitudes, cognitions, and social interaction" (Diekman, 2007, p. 763). Therefore, exploring the social role enables researchers to identify individuals' perceived symbolic images, desired duties, and expected behaviors and values, which connects to individuals' personal desires, motivations, and normative obligations (C. Strauss, 1992).

In this analysis, examining the social role of the public servant can also have significant implications for the study of the contents of PSM (i.e., normative, rational dimensions). For example, Krebs (1980), examining pro-social behavior, helping behavior, and volunteering behavior, argued that individuals' sense of social norms and their social roles (e.g., social class, group affiliation, norm of social responsibility, norm of giving) served as antecedents of altruistic behaviors and a sense of social responsibility by internalizing the desired values attached to particular social groups and roles.

Before addressing the respondents' ideas and beliefs about the social role of public servants, it is necessary to note that respondents' descriptions overlapped with their image of the government. This implies that respondents' perceptions of social roles were based on their assumption that public servants were part of public organizations; therefore, their roles were extensions of themselves. In other words, their perceptions of the public servants' role seemed to derive from the roles government has indeed been taking, indicating that the concept of "public servants-in-government" was integrally linked to the functions of government as known by the public.

7.2.1 The Social Leader in a Symbolic Role: "Head of Society"

When respondents described themselves as public servants in the society, those who experienced

the period of development in the 1970s-'80s revealed a clearer sense of the meaning of the term

"social leader." In addition, they tended to search for work meanings attached to public service

by linking the concept to the social role of government. For example, respondents 1H and 34K

began their careers in the early 1980s. They recounted their work experience in central

government organizations, revealing how they were able to tolerate the high work load:

> Originally, when we talked about a public servant, we had a strong sense that public servants were working for the nation. At my age, the government sectors used to have even greater impact on the majority of social spheres than now…. I thought that I would take a leading role in our society. When I started my career in the Ministry of Economy, there were many colleagues who shared such ideas [with me]. Because we were performing a leading role in society and working for our nation, it would be OK to work late or even the whole night. So we worked until 2-3 a.m. in general, except for a couple of days off during special holiday seasons like Christmas and New Year. [1HP:16]

> The public sector is preferred in society. That's not only because of its salary and other benefits, but also because of its social reputation. And I considered the public sector to be where I [as a public servant] could actually practice my philosophy and personal values. In the period of development, the executive branch was actually the leading institution in our society. So I believed that the government sector was the place where I could achieve public values and change society for the better. I wanted to be involved in such a role of government, a central role in guiding our society to a new direction and further economic development. [34KP:12-14]

These respondents' ideas about the role of government and their roles therein echoed the

image of "governing elite" in the history of South Korea as well as the recent economic

development period (Ahn, 2003, 2008; T. J. Cheng, Haggard, & Kang, 1998, p. 89; T. B. Im & Park, 2010; Rho & Lee, 2010). To these respondents, the image and role of public servants were that they were social entities who were "central" and "leading" players tasked with designing the direction of economic development in the period of the developmental state.

Compared to those who started their careers in the early 1980s, the following respondents were relatively young public servants and applicants. In the cases of 9YA and 25BA, they had prepared for the national exam for three years and were waiting for the results (as of 2010). Additional comments were suggested by 39HP and 41OP, who started their careers in the late 2000s.

I thought of why I chose the public sector. I believe it was because of gaining prestige as the head of our society, and I believe that public servants are representative of our country. [9YA:112]

Even today there seem to be some respect and honor for public servants. While there also seem to be critics these days, I believe most public servants work hard, and there are many social areas that cannot properly work without them, because they are playing leading roles in such positions; the same is also likely to be true in the occupational aspect. [25BA:21]

I think that public servants are actually running the system of our nation. Through the government, public servants are viewed as those who actually change our society and frame the institutional systems. Therefore, I decided to be a public servant. Compared to being a politician, becoming a public servant seemed to be more realistic. [39HP:10]

As you know, public administration has been evaluated as a very authoritarian aspect of government. But when there is only a limited portion of the pie, and when the pie has to be distributed fairly, I still believe that is the administrators' decision and administrators' role to divide and distribute the portions of the pie as fairly and objectively as

they can. [41OP:22]

The above comments provide substantial clues for exploring how respondents symbolically viewed the role of public servants. Revealing their belief that government had to play a leading role in society, respondents tended to stress their symbolic roles as social leaders. Specifically, respondents were inclined to characterize the symbolic roles of public servants as "taking a part in leading our society," "performing a leading role," "actually practicing my philosophy and values," and "guiding our society in a new direction." The terms "leading," "guiding," "framing," and "building" turned up frequently in the personal interviews. It was also noteworthy that younger generation respondents, who started their careers even after the radical political democratization, still held a similar image of public servants as the "heads of society." [28]

7.2.2 Exemplary Person: "The Good Shepherd"

In addition to the symbolic image of public servants, respondents also disclosed their role in the moral aspect deriving primarily from Confucian values (e.g., frugality, honesty) attached to public officials or scholar-bureaucrats. Less frequently discussed in previous literature is the sophisticated prescription of Confucianism that imposes a high level of ethical demands on public officials.

> People seem to expect public servants to be more honest than anyone else
> and behave like a good shepherd…. In a way, a public servant can be just
> a type of professional occupation, but people tend to add the image of a

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[28] Park and Shin (2006) carried out a survey of about 1,400 Korean citizens. About two-thirds of the respondents supported the idea that "Government leaders are like the head of a family" (pp. 350-351). Based on the results of that survey, Park and Shin (2006) stated that the image of public servants/bureaucrats as the "ruling class" of society suggested in the Confucian value system was still alive in Korean society, even if environmental changes (i.e., globalization, mass education, and democratization) had led to a public shift of social values to more democratic ideas.

seemingly clerical sense to public servants, expecting them to be very morally upright. Of course they should be morally upright, but people tend to expect the purest persons in the moral sense. [5LA:90]

I stopped playing golf due to the social image of playing golf.[29] There are also people [public servants] who are rich enough to buy a luxury car, but they can't buy what they want to drive…. Likewise, there are people [public servants] who want to wear fashionable clothes, but they can't because of their social status as public servants…. It is the social demand. Public servants must be transparent and responsible, and they should be exemplary people…. In people's minds, such a tradition has existed continuously and implicitly, as an ideology of *chungbaekri*[30] …. Although all public servants may not be similar to the case of *chungbaekri*, we feel that we should try to be close to the underlying meaning of *chungbaekri*…. [33LP:24-26]

Our society seems to apply the highest moral and ethical criteria to public servants and expects us to adhere to such moral standards even in the private spheres, beyond the official domain. My personal behaviors even in private life seem to be constrained by the fact that I am a public servant. So I often do not disclose my personal identity to other people…. It seems natural to apply the highest moral standard to public servants. Because public servants are those who make rules and laws and build the frames within which societies operate, it is natural that public servants are required to show higher levels of morality in society…. And I think people who fit such criteria should join public organizations. In this vein, public service, as an occupation, can be distinguished from other jobs. In the sense of high authority accompanied by high morality, public service should be viewed differently from other occupations. [36KP:23, 25, 69]

I think there are some trade-offs…. Public servants can have a sense of self-achievement, high self-esteem, and more authority than other types of occupations or other people who are my same age…. In return, public servants seem to receive higher social pressures on their personal

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[29] "Playing golf" has been depicted as an extravagant sport in South Korea, which seems against the value of frugality imposed on public servants.

[30] *Chungbaekri* is a symbolic title given to public bureaucrats who achieve the ideal values of Confucianism in their positions. These values are integrity, frugality, morality, loyalty, filial duty, benevolence, and justice. Throughout the Chosun dynasty, only 217 public officials were granted this title.

morality and even sacrifice their economic well-being…. For the last three years [2008-2010], all public servants' salary increases were frozen. Perhaps most people do not know this fact, but we are not even supposed to discuss such issues. [44KP:34]

What these respondents illustrate is deeply rooted in the cultural heritage of Confucianism. The reasons for placing a great emphasis on public servants' morality are grounded in the Confucian idea that public officials should improve social conditions; thus, being ethically and morally upright is the very first step in becoming a social leader. For example, the notions of "an exemplary group or person in the society," "*chungbaekri,*" and "*mokminsimseo*" were also often cited to illustrate tenets of Confucianism.

Interestingly, such morality derived from Confucianism places great pressure on public servants' behavior even in modern Korean society. The comments made by 36KP illustrate that we can sense the strength of social pressures imposed on public servants in both their private and public lives. As noted, respondent 36KP did not often disclose her social identity even in a private space due to the subjective strains derived from her status as a public servant. Thus, she often disguised her social identity by presenting herself as someone who was working in a private corporation. She acknowledged that, even if the social status of public servants can be viewed as prestigious and it is an economically stable occupation, such socially constructed images and others' expectations often become a stressful element in her personal life. In a similar vein, 33LP's experience related to playing golf also shed light on the social pressures on public servants based on socially determined values such as frugality and honesty.

7.2.3 Omnipotence and Social Responsibility: "The Superman"

From the respondents' perspectives, a high level of social reliance on governmental involvement also led them to build an image of their roles regarding the boundaries of competency and accountability. Respondent 5LA, as an applicant, gave his impressions of the role of public servants by referring to the well-known comic heroes "Superman" and "Spiderman." Using the comic hero as an analogy of public servants' roles, this respondent described the image of public servants as omnipotent actors. In particular, he indicated that a high level of social expectations actually required public servants to take broader responsibility for the society:

> In our society, the image of public servants is like that of Superman. People tend to expect public servants to do anything for society. I believe that the current image of the public servant has been developed by the traditional belief that public servants are those who must handle all sorts of problems for people…. I think they are still expected to do so. [5LA:90]

He further stated that, in his opinion, public servants should be viewed simply as an occupational category that delivers public service. However, the imposed social images and required roles of public servants and the government (i.e., executive branch) were not confined merely to implementing public policy and following decisions made by the legislative branch. Indeed, the government (executive branch) was required, at its discretion, to take on far broader roles than those formally defined.

Respondent 5LA's comments were echoed by other public servant respondents. Many of them seemed to experience a high level of stress when they struggled with ambiguity about the scope and grounds for their accountability and anticipated competency. Compared to the applicants, current public servant respondents could speak of a clearer sense of their

accountability and how it could be ambiguous. In their comments, public servants stated that their judgments or expected involvements were not derived solely from their formally written duties and responsibilities as defined by law and policy, but seemed, rather, to depend on the context of social relationships (i.e., citizens' expectation and complaints, newly emerging social issues).

> As public servants, the most difficult part for us is "unlimited responsibility-ism" to the public. It is very hard to draw a line for my work. In many cases, we are not able to rely on what the job description provides. We do not have such a clear sense that 'this is my responsibility' and 'that's not my responsibility.'… We are likely to be responsible for all seemingly similar things…. For example, if I am dealing with public servants' education programs, and if there is criticism of public servants' ethics, I will bear responsibility for such criticisms. There seem not to be clearly defined boundaries or categories for responsibility. When critics emerge, then such seemingly related areas become the basis of my responsibility, such intangible responsibility…. [35SP:66]

> In the case of our society, something [negative] happens and people do not consider whether the source of responsibility is located in the private sector or public sector…. People are unconditionally prone to attribute responsibility to public servants' and/or the government's lack of preparedness. Or simply saying, public servants are problematic…. I think that this phenomenon is quite serious and commonly found in this society. [33LP:38]

> While working at the Ministry of OOO for two years, one day I received a call from a citizen who said that his house was flooded. Many people still show the tendency to call the government directly when some uncontrollable incidents happen…. He called again and asked me to do something for his house…. Well, his logic was that the title of our office included the term "disaster," so the citizen asked me to resolve the problem…. The principle of *mokminsimseo*, the logic and tradition based on such things, seems alive in many people's minds.... Throughout the history of Korea, government should be responsible in such manner….

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[20HP:130-132]

As illustrated, respondents shared their impressions about the role of public servants regarding expected competency and the boundaries of accountability. In discussing such aspects, respondents pointed out that there was a high level of ambiguity related to accountability and competency due to the high level of social expectations. In particular, respondents indicated that their boundaries of accountability and competency were more likely to be defined by their interactions with citizens than by their job descriptions. As Kearns (1994, 2000) emphasized, "while the standards of accountability often are formally codified in laws and regulations, they are also defined by implicit expectations of taxpayers, clients, donors, and other stakeholders. Thus if expectations can change so can the standards to which individuals and organizations are held accountable" (Kearns, 1994, p. 187; 2000, p. 141). In addition, the practice of human resource management also raises the ambiguity of accountability and competency. Korean government organization is a rank-in-person system with a rapid job rotation (i.e., less than 2 years). In this managerial style, more emphasis is placed on the officeholder's general skills and competency than on specific skills related to the job description.

7.3 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

By exploring respondents' perceptions of the administrative contexts and their roles in society, this chapter has primarily attempted to answer these questions: (1) How do respondents view "influence on society" and "contribution to social development" as the central features of their occupational calling when they consider public service as their career?, and (2) How are these

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perceptional and motivational orientations related to the social contexts of South Korea?

As illustrated, we can see that citizens have persistently high expectations of government and reliance on leading governmental involvement in society. Despite the increasing "distrust" and "fear of the abuse of centralized power," the administrative function of government is still socially supported as an appropriate role in society. The second section showed the socially constructed roles of public servants, which can be epitomized as "head of society," "exemplary person," and "superman." A more detailed summary is reported in Table 31.

Table 31. Summary of Findings

Level	Aspects/Contents		Reported/Observed Contents
Social Context	Culture & Administrative Tradition	Confucianism	• broad definition of government responsibility • ethical ground and ideal images of public officials (scholar-bureaucrats)
		Developmental State	• history of successful government leading social and economic development • a lack of experience with democratic values and society • a strong government drive
	Contemporary Interaction between Government and Society	Administrative Functions	• a leading role in the society • people's expectations and reliance on governmental involvement
		Political Power	• authoritarian government • spreading distrust of government • fear of centralized abuse of power
Socially Constructed Role	Roles of Public Servants	Symbolic Image ("head of society")	• belief about the influence of government in the society • "representatives of society" • "leading actors"
		Morality and Ethics ("good sphere")	• normative pressures • social pressures on the domains of private and public life given little consideration
		Competency and Accountability ("Superman")	• "intangible and unlimited social responsibility" • "a high expectation and scope of competency"

Findings from personal interviews offered substantial clues to the answers to the questions of how and why respondents revealed specific occupational meanings relating to public service. First, as portrayed in the form of "citizens' reliance on government," it seems difficult to deny that the legacy of strong government led respondents to center their occupational calling on the sense of "influence on society." Respondents, based on membership in government organizations, viewed themselves as people who were playing a leading role in society. Such a belief was also manifested in the images of "head of society" and "Superman." In addition, respondents' interactions with citizens (who relied on the government) tended to reinforce such perceptions in their work places. Although respondents, as individuals, might not have had such a high level of influence, they revealed their belief that their work, as a part of government, would have great impact on society and that such impact would be the most meaningful aspect of their job. In the case of applicant respondents, due to their limited social experience, they tended to rely on somewhat simplified images of public service based on their limited knowledge and impression about the relationship between the government and other social sectors. Nonetheless, applicants with a critical mind about social problems showed a stronger belief that government was the sector where they could actually resolve such social problems.

This finding offers an interesting implication for the variability of dimensions in the rational dimension of PSM. In particular, the degree of government centrality in a society can influence individuals' motivational orientation to public service. For example, if a certain government has a tradition of strong government in terms of both political power and administrative function, then public servants in such societies may heavily weigh the potential impact of public service on society as they give occupational meaning to it. Moreover, if the

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results of governmental involvement are assessed as successful, in the sense of economic, social, and political development, such a tendency may predominate. On the contrary, if a certain society has a low centrality of public administration, rational motivation for public service may be located more in an individual's personal interest in making policy or personal identification with particular public programs.

Secondly, it may not be surprising that public servants in many societies are normatively required to work for the public interest. However, this study illustrates that the contents of such contributions can vary according to administrative tradition or definitions of the "appropriate" roles of government. In the case of South Korea, respondents shared their memories about governmental planning for rapid development, which was later claimed to be very successful. Such memories seemed to play a substantial role when respondents defined the final outcomes of their contributions.[31] Around one-third of respondents revealed that their work was specifically related to certain social issues and policy domains (e.g., information technology, aircraft issues, diplomatic relations, agricultural development). When these respondents discussed the outcomes of their work, they hoped that they had ultimately contributed to the "development" of society. This tendency draws primarily on the respondents' belief that Korean society is in the midst of development in comparison with other developed societies (i.e., Japan, the U.S., Germany). Therefore, as public servants in the central government agencies, respondents emphasized the outcome of their contributions in the area of development. As is discussed in Section 8.3.1, a diverse work experience in organizational settings leads respondents to recognize a social identity that encapsulates the aforementioned symbolic images of competency, accountability, and morality. In this process, respondents tend to build a clearer sense of the desired outcome of

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[31] The cultural legacy of Confucianism mostly provides the basis of morality required for public servants.

their work in the context of social development.

This chapter has attempted to illustrate public servants' ideas and beliefs about why public service can be a meaningful career in the sense of exercising an influence on society and making contributions to social development. As noted, the sense of occupational calling attached to public service seemed to reflect diverse meanings originating from administrative contexts and the socially constructed roles of public servants. As such, the meaningfulness of public service, which could serve as a motivational ground for choosing it, might not be solely constructed by the respondents themselves; rather, the deeper part of the meaning of such work tends to be shaped by reference to social ideas and beliefs about the desirable roles of government. Such a relationship is graphically illustrated in Figure 17.
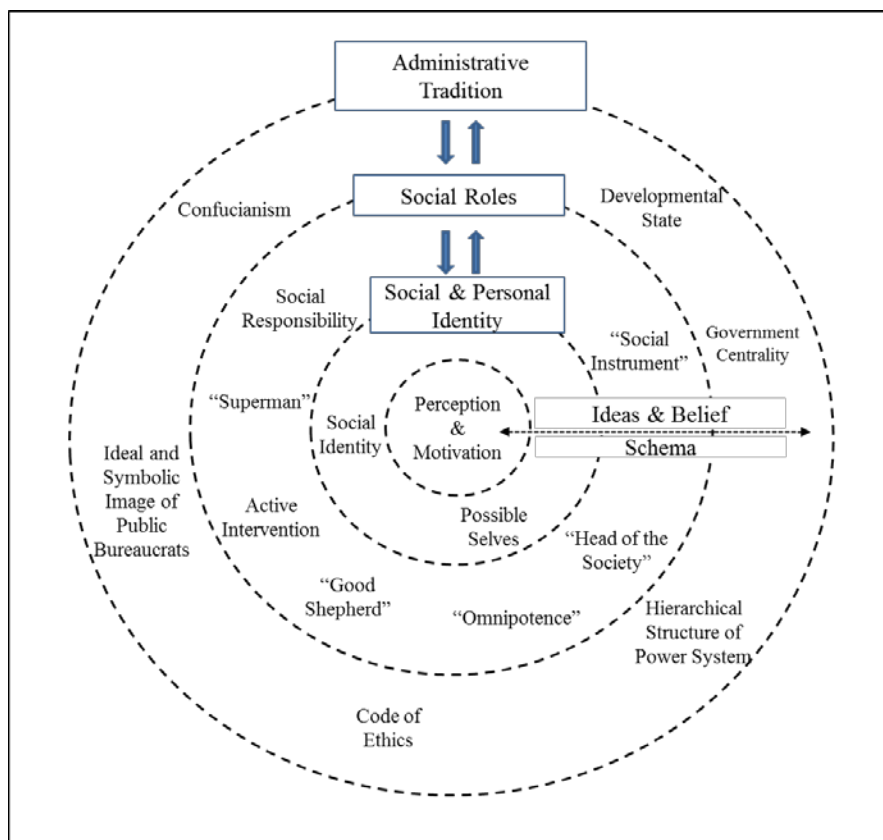
Figure 17. Linkage: Social Context and Motivation

8.0 ANTECEDENTS OF PSM: IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter, building on the previous chapters for conceptual framework, mainly examines the diverse sources of antecedents of PSM by integrating the results of the interviews and a series of regression analyses. Before examining the relationship of antecedents to PSM, Chapter 8 offers the results of personal interviews to provide in-depth explanations and interpretations of how the antecedents examined statistically in the previous studies can be related to PSM, and whether there might be other issues connected to the suggested relationship as discussed in previous studies.

Although various typologies of antecedents have been suggested according to the specific purpose of the studies (Camilleri, 2007; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Pandey & Stazyk, 2008b; Perry et al., 2008; Vandenabeele, 2011), this research categorizes the groups of antecedents by considering two different phases of time—before and after entering into government organizations—and two different spatial characteristics—inside and outside organizations. Thus the antecedents are divided into those related to outside government organizations (i.e., socio-demographic factors, such as career choice considerations), and inside government organizations (i.e., personal experience-related variables).

This chapter proceeds as follows. Section 8.2 explores the contents of personal interviews in regard to socio-demographic and institutional antecedents frequently addressed in the previous literature. In particular, gender, age, and the influences of parents, educational programs, and religious institutions are addressed. As an exploratory study, the present discussion covers only limited aspects of those antecedents, which have been widely examined in

previous studies. Section 8.3 focuses on the salient antecedents in organizational settings, addressing especially social identity formation, awareness of work outcome, organizational value socialization, and interactions with supervisors and managers. These two sections aim to provide evidence of the relationship of antecedents with PSM, as suggested in previous empirical studies. In Section 8.4, this study quantitatively examines the relationships of antecedents to PSM: for this analysis, the groups of antecedents were included sequentially, in order to examine the relative importance and stability of antecedents to PSM. The final section offers a discussion regarding the relative importance among groups of antecedents, presents empirical evidence for the theoretically suggested relationship between public servants' identity and PSM, and, finally, suggests the possibility of development and enhancement of PSM in governmental organization settings.

8.2 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

8.2.1 Age and Generation

Many empirical studies have reported that age has a positive influence on individuals' PSM. This finding has been theoretically supported in the sense that, as people get older, they are more likely to develop altruistic values and have greater concern about social problems (Andersen, Jørgensen, Kjeldsen, Pedersen, & Vrangbæk, 2012; Pandey & Stazyk, 2008b; Perry, 1997). Moral development theory also provides theoretical grounds in that, as people get older, they are more likely to build a high level of morality through the moral judgments accumulated in the course of their life experiences (Vandenabeele, 2011).

For the qualitative analysis, it seems less meaningful to point out how one unit increase

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in age can influence personal attitudes. Thus, respondents were divided into two groups according to their age levels. The older generation consists of respondents who spent their adolescence in the developmental society of the 1970s and began their careers of public service in the military government period of the 1980s. The younger generation consists of respondents who spent their adolescence in the late 1980s or later, and began their careers in the 1990s or later. This division of respondents is based on the different political and economic conditions over those time periods.[32]

As reported in Chapter 5, both the younger and the older generations revealed that they shared a common ground regarding the significance of public service in Korean society. However, the people in the older generation tended to believe that there was a big difference with the younger generation in terms of the level of their commitment to public service and their general attitude towards present social conditions.

First, recalling the way in which they worked in their public organizations, older respondents stated that the younger generation tended to place a greater value on their private lives (e.g., leisure, family life, personal interests) than on their work in the organization. The older respondents seemed to feel a great pride of their commitment to work, stating how little time they could spend with their families. "Even my kids looked at me [father] like a stranger when I returned to my place [this is because he came into the office early in the morning and returned home around midnight]" [1HP:24]. Revealing their strong belief that their work for the government was the most meaningful work in the society, the older respondents viewed housework and family issues as belonging only to their spouses, and deplored the fact that the younger generation had a weaker level of appreciation for the meaning of public service than

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[32] Since 1993, political and administrative conditions have radically changed in Korea, since a civilian politician was elected as President.

they had in their generation.

> I guess fewer and fewer people have such a sense [high commitment to public service] in their pursuit of careers…. At least, at the beginning stage of a career—when making the choice of the public sector as a career—the recent young generation may have a lower level of pride or sense of calling than our generation did. [12MP:42]

Second, the older generation exhibited serious concern over the younger generation's optimistic attitude toward social conditions. The older generation often depicted their difficult economic times in the '70s and '80s, noting how they were able to overcome such difficulties; at the same time, why they worried about the younger generation's apparent assumption that the present stable society is a given that will last into the future without any serious problems. Revealing concerns about the younger generation's lack of attention to social changes, one respondent in the older generation stated that "the present society is not granted [stable] conditions, but I believe that when the time comes we must make our society [by ourselves]" [1HP: 44].

Additionally, this study has attempted to compare differences in perception in terms of gender as well as generation. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to interview older female public servants, which suggests that the ideas and attitudes presented here primarily reflect those of older male public servants. As illustrated in Table 32, it was hard to include higher-ranking female officials in the interviews, given the very small proportion of this category of public servant in public organizations. In particular, this study faced difficulties in including older, higher-ranking female officials in central government agencies. Therefore, this study cannot explore whether older female public servants also had similar perceptions on the role of

government.

We can see, however, that older respondents showed more concern about social conditions, having a strong sense of pride and calling in their career in the public sector. These findings suggest that there is a gap between the generations. In particular, the older generation, which experienced the rapid social development period in which governmental authority and influence were even higher than in the present society, tended to show a higher level of pride and sense of calling in public service, which can be manifested as an age variable.

8.2.2 Gender

Among diverse socio-demographic factors, gender difference has been considered a common antecedent to PSM. When examining the effects of gender on PSM, previous studies tended to focus on the female's nurturing role (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, & Pandey, 2006) and affective aspects (Bright, 2005). Despite these theoretical grounds, the role of gender has yielded rather inconsistent results in follow-up empirical studies, which brings into question the theoretical ground of the gender effect (Vandenabeele, 2011, p. 91). Along these lines, this section examines the inherent differences between male and female respondents in personal perceptions of their career and personal lives.

The analysis of the respondents' narratives reveals that female respondents more often reported personal concerns about social equity issues, speaking out of their personal experiences where females tended to experience gender inequity in the process of searching for a job and building their careers. Female respondents talked about the structural conflicts between their organizational life and personal life. Compared to male employees, respondents stated that the female employees' careers were more likely to be constrained by the traditional role of the

female in families, which requires that they be responsible for family issues (e.g., birth, housework, children's education, etc.). Stressing the social pressures attached to the traditional role of the female, a few of the respondents felt very uncomfortable even when they had to take a break for maternity leave, which was often claimed to affect negatively the evaluation for promotability in the organizations.

Despite recent attempts to improve gender equity in the society, female respondents raised the issues of equity in job opportunities, promotions, and other career development processes. Interestingly for this line of thought, a few respondents felt that the public sector was a relatively preferable workplace for female employees in Korean society, because the various institutional devices for gender equity operated relatively well in public agencies vis-à-vis private corporations. Such institutional protection for gender equality was attractive to the female respondents when balancing their personal lives and careers.

Overall, the most salient difference in gender was that female respondents tended to speak about such difficulties derived from their personal experience, and also to talk more frequently about social inequity based on coming from different social strata. From their perspective, equality of opportunity through institutional protection for the disadvantaged group was much more meaningful.

Even if we use gender as an "objective" criterion in the analysis, the female respondents' comments raised the issue that some social groups could be underprivileged and therefore apt to put more emphasis on social values.[33] Therefore, in addition to the theoretical explanation related to gender difference that was derived from the individuals' affective level and nurturing roles, this section disclosed the possibility that belonging to social categories with different

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[33] Regarding gender inequality the OECD (2005) reports that South Korea shows the largest median earning gap of employees: women earn 38% less than men in general.

levels of social prestige might lead individuals to pay more attention to and be more sensitive to social values (e.g., equity, fairness), which in turn serve as base values for PSM.

With the survey data in hand, this study also examined whether there was any gender inequality regarding promotion opportunity. Although the result of the independent-sample t-test may not be considered as direct evidence of gender inequality in the public sector, it does indicate a significant difference between male and female respondents ($t=2.958$, $p<0.01$) in experiences related to promotion. The *2011 Statistics Yearbook* published by the MOPAS also reported a possible gender difference in the public sector. As seen in Table 32, higher positions in central government agencies were more likely to be occupied by male employees. While it is difficult to conclude that gender inequality alone caused the skewed ratio of males to females among higher-ranking officials, the result of the independent t-test and descriptive statistics at least demonstrate that females in general have been underrepresented even in the public sector.

Table 32. Male and Female Distribution

State General Service	Number of Public Servants	Number of Female Public Servants	% of Female Public Servants
Senior Civil Service (Grade 1-2)	997	33	3.30%
Grade 3	617	29	4.70%
Grade 4	5,461	392	7.20%
Grade 5	12,443	1,700	13.70%
Grade 6	24,941	4,745	19.00%
Grade 7	28,973	8,329	28.70%
Grade 8	19,509	8,833	45.30%
Grade 9	13,002	6,274	48.30%
Total	110,565	31,831	28.80%

Source: MOPAS (2011). Section 3: Number of Civil Servants in Active Service, *2011 Statistics Yearbook* (pp.88-116).

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8.2.3 Parental Influence

Many social scientists have noted that significant others (e.g., parents, relatives) play a critical role in an individual's socialization (Brief & Nord, 1990b; Savickas, 1989; Young & Collin, 2004). Specifically, the parents' general perspectives and values on particular careers and their behavioral tendencies are likely to be transmitted to their children (Mortimer, 1975; Mortimer, Pimentel, Ryu, Nash, & Lee, 1996). This theoretical argument has also been applied to empirical studies on PSM that found, for example, that the parents' involvement in public service, donations to charity, and participation in volunteer activities have a positive relationship to PSM through parental modeling (Perry, 1997; Vandenabeele, 2011).

This section explores how the interactions with parents relate to PSM. Respondents whose parents were themselves public servants tended to reveal a stronger preference for public service as their career than other occupations. It is hard to attribute such preference solely to PSM, but many respondents' statements echoed the role-modeling theory. Respondent 24YA recalled her experiences, in which she compared herself to her dead father when she made a career transition. Her case illustrates why she reconsidered the value and meaning of her work in her previous job position, as she recalled her father's personal values.

> After I got a job at a medical company, my father was hospitalized, and months later, he passed away…. After that, it occurred to me that my father would be proud of me if I kept working at this company. My father was also in the public service. And he often showed me some aspects of himself that made me respect him. My mom was also a teacher who taught me, telling me to do something meaningful for my self-achievement, not just to try to be successful in financial terms. After my father's death, I began to question what I was doing there [in the medical company]. [24YA:12-16]

> When my father worked in the audit and inspection office … one day, he

[my father] suddenly pulled over the car and seemed to call the office and asked to do something. Although he seemed to be handling a serious situation, I did not know what he was exactly doing. But as I grew up, I could understand what he did at that time, and what the problem was. [3LA:166-172]

Interestingly, during the interviews, it was found that the respondents' parents rarely seemed to talk in detail about what types of tasks they were in charge of at their office, or how their work could specifically relate to certain social issues. Nonetheless, the dynamics of the interactions that emerged in the family settings stimulated their children to be familiar with their parents' perspective on basic values (i.e., financial rewards, images and meanings of public service), just as role-modeling theory suggests.

8.2.4 Educational Institutions

Education, as a type of institutional variable, consistently reveals a positive relation to individuals' levels of PSM (Bright, 2005; Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2011). Specifically, a recent empirical study reports that the level of education and the similarity of one's major to public service can have a positive relation to PSM (Vandenabeele, 2011). Nonetheless, we still need an additional explanation of how such similarity and level of education affect individuals' PSM.

In this study, over one-third of respondents reported that they majored in public administration at the undergraduate level. Interestingly, the majority of these respondents also reported that they had very little knowledge about their major when they decided to select it. Instead, the underlying drive for the choice of major was their practical, somewhat misguided expectation that majoring in public administration would reduce the preparation period for the

national exam.[34]

Yet their years of learning in educational institutions helped the respondents sense what kind of person they were and wanted to be, and which types of values and interests they liked the most. In the interviews, respondents often spoke about their experiences during the learning process, which also guided them through general ideas about the values they would like to pursue through their careers. For example, respondent 41OP's experience illustrates his changes of reasoning after taking public finance and welfare economics classes. Following the public finance class, he intentionally searched for and took other relevant classes from other fields (i.e., political science). Thus his taking classes and having private talks with close friends who shared similar perspectives on the given issues helped form him as a person and future public servant.

> While I was taking the class for public finance, so-called welfare economics in public administration, the issues of income distribution— what I learned in classic economics is to maximize production—left me with several problems of value judgment, such as social polarization in economic terms and equity. In general, such issues were not really covered in economics. After those classes, I also took some classes in the field of political science. While drinking and talking with close friends who liked to talk about political issues and social problems, I had chances to assess who I was. I was a person who liked neutrality and equity in economic conditions. [41OP: 22]

When respondents depicted their personal attitudes and values, they used rather abstract images of their sets of values, which they called their "mindset," a term that was used in different meanings in the given sentences. Respondents often spoke about the change in their "mindset"

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[34] Respondents revealed a rather simplified belief that "majoring in PA is the best way of becoming a public servant." After starting their college lives, many found that there was a substantial difference between the knowledge obtained in college and the contents needing to be mastered in preparing for exams for public servants. College education provided a general picture of public administration covering vast issues that stimulated respondents to ponder social values, managerial goals, and problems. Yet many respondents ultimately viewed the exams for public service as a memory test about minor pieces of information.

that encapsulated the "way of reasoning" [4LA], "perspectives" [5LA], "personal preference" [6CA, 41OP], "personal goals" [9YA], and "attitudes" [12MP]. Often respondents used the term "mindset" to refer to their ideas about desirable values for the public service. Although many respondents seemed to have difficulty recalling which subjects or themes of classes directly influenced their mindset, their educational institutions helped the students to build up the values that served as guiding life principles, as well as their perspectives on the significance of their careers in the public sector.

8.2.5 Religious Institution

This section attempts to explore how respondents' religious belief is related to their motivational ground for public service and examine whether respondents' career choice is related to religious belief. Contrary to our expectation, respondents seldom talked about the direct linkage of their religious belief and values with their public service. Although only a few respondents talked about the importance of spiritual and religious belief in their personal lives, the presented reasons were not closely related to reasons to work in the public service.

Instead, respondents spoke about the opportunities to participate in diverse social activities through their religious institutions. Compared to people who did not have a religion, respondents viewed that they were more exposed to environments that encouraged altruistic social activities such as volunteering (e.g., soup kitchen) and donations to charity organizations. In addition, respondents stated that such activities regularly gave them opportunities to reconsider major social issues (i.e., homeless people, underprivileged groups). Empirical studies have revealed that the level of religious activities has a positive relation to individuals' PSM; such a statistically observed relationship has been attributed to the altruistic values engrained in

religious principles (Perry et al., 2008). However, the results of personal interviews in this study do not provide specifically relevant statements backing such empirical findings. This may indicate that there should be further exploration of the process by which religious beliefs can relate to individuals' PSM, without positing a direct cause-and-effect relationship.

8.3 ANTECEDENTS IN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS

8.3.1 Social Identity Formation

In the study of PSM the theme of identity was first raised by Vandenabeele (Vandenabeele, 2007), who viewed that role identity and social identity encapsulated the institutionally suggested values (i.e., public and altruistic values), which in turn related to PSM. Many scholars have also raised the issue of identity in the sense of increasing congruent behaviors with organizational goals (D. T. Hall, Schneider, & Nygren, 1970), internalization of the normative values of a given group (Hogg & Terry, 2000), homogeneity in attitudinal characteristics (Turner, 1984), inducement and reinforcement of activities according to the personal identity shaped in organizational settings (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), change of identity due to administrative reforms in the public sector (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006), and pro-social behaviors and moral motivation according to social identity (Hardy, 2006).

These diverse studies, which came from different fields of social science, commonly suggest the existence of a dynamic combination of personal identity, role identity, and social identity.[35] In particular, Hardy's (2006) study reports that recognition of social identity, as a

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[35] Tajfel (1981) refers to social identity as a "part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group … together with the value and emotional significance of that membership" (p. 255).

member of organizations or institutions, tends to have an important interaction with personal identity, which shapes, modifies, and reinforces attitudinal orientations (i.e., perspective, direction of behaviors). Moreover, individuals' identity plays an important role in moral reasoning and moral emotions, which serve as a pro-social motivation.

In our study, the respondents also described their experiences of discovering their identities after they started their careers. Interestingly, such experiences not merely emerged within the boundaries of their public organizations, but frequently happened in the domains of respondents' private lives. Given the traditional administrative emphasis on the desired and proper role of the public servant (e.g., the ideal image of scholar-bureaucrats), the respondents appeared to be receiving various feedback messages, from both inside and outside of their organizations, which become opportunities to reexamine their social identities and socially anticipated roles. Respondent 1HP's comments illustrated that his social identity as a public servant was not independent of the social expectation, but such expectation often stimulated him to reconsider his identity by comparing the image of public servants shared in the society.

> One thing that is clear after you become a public servant is that you will hear 'you are a public servant' throughout your whole life. You will also often hear 'how dare you do such a thing as a public servant?' and 'Look at the public servants! They should not show such manners.' You will hear these words endlessly throughout your life, even when some incidents are unrelated to you. Although there is not a predetermined definition of what the public servant is, as you live as a public servant, you will conceptualize and understand the expected roles according to the given circumstances. Even if it may be difficult to observe on the surface level, we tend instinctively to think about that. [1HP:40, 46]

As respondent 1HP stated, there cannot be just one concrete feature of public servants; instead, their traits may vary according to the given situations and contexts. Yet the respondents

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seem to hold rather ideal images that are not independent from the collective memory shaped in the history of the developmental state period and from the cultural legacy of Confucianism. Other respondents also report the change in their attitudes, behaviors, and interests (e.g., becoming increasingly cautious, developing greater interest in policy issues, etc.), as they learn more about their social identities in society.

> Before starting my career, I paid little attention to issues in our society or what the hot issues in national politics were. My generation is not the generation that was deeply involved in the students' democratization movement [in the mid 1980s]. I had no interest in political elections or debates, except for some issues seemingly related to me; for example, reducing the number of public servants who were recruited or education policies related to tuition fees. But after becoming a public servant, I became more interested in broader social issues. For example, if you drive somewhere, you may see many public projects at the local government level. In particular, during the 4 River Project, I heard what people were saying about the project. Even further, I often put myself into other public servants' shoes, and thought about what I would do if I were one of the public servants in charge. Or, I started to build my own ideas about how the projects or services should be performed. It's like a habit or an occupational disease—it's like a tendency to think over and look at the social areas related to the [government organization] I belong to. I guess that many public servants seem to act similarly. They seem to think about certain issues by linking those issues to what they are doing. [27KP:50]

> The more I worked in my organization as a public servant, the more I was able to be aware of my role here, and also understand the role of our Agency for the nation—what is expected in the rural areas. This seems to have happened during the course of learning the culture of my organization, having more work experience, and participating in training programs, in which I felt that I should make a contribution. [12MP:46]

As revealed, respondents tend to have different types of social experiences (e.g., promotion, or interaction with citizens, colleagues, and friends) that led them to reflect on their

social identities. Such increasing awareness of their social identity seemed to serve respondents as a first step in searching for meaningful clues regarding the core values of the tasks and goals given to public servants. Through such process of awareness about who they were in the society, they were more likely to clarify and internalize the institutional values as their own. Although this section provides only small parts of identity issues suggested by many scholars, the findings from the personal interviews shed light on how individuals can build their social identity by taking into account the social expectations both inside and outside of governmental organizations.

8.3.2 Organizational Value Socialization

In addition to the formation of social identities through social interactions both inside and outside public organizations, the respondents disclosed experiences that revealed the process of their values expanding, shifting, and changing in their organizational settings. In the most recent studies on PSM, organizational socialization or institutionalization has been considered important, because public servants are likely to assimilate to institutional values, which, in turn, served as "a main driver for the employees' motivation" (Ritz, 2011, p. 16; Vandenabeele, 2007, 2011). Put simply, public servants are exposed to organizational settings that promote the public values and missions, and they tend to be exposed to such abstract values through the very performance of their jobs. Therefore, such characteristics of public organizations are seen as a discernible institutional trait that is likely to enhance the individuals' PSM.

In this study, the respondents' statements primarily disclosed the results of their socialization with regards to (1) an emphasis on the extending and shifting of personal values, and (2) the self-motivation to adjust their set of values. In describing the reasons for changes of values, the respondents also talked about various elements such as promotion, training

experience, accumulation of work experience, coping with critical cases, and their self-reflection. In addition, they described how such elements served to accelerate their value shift.

First, the following statements illustrate that value socialization and awareness of role identity happened concurrently, through formal and informal socialization processes. By recognizing signals from outside and inside their organizations, the respondents tended to learn their roles and to reconsider the values that they were aiming to live by. In such a process, respondents tended to experience a value shift and extension, based on normatively imposed values as members of public agencies. In particular, this value socialization seemed to emerge saliently as respondents experienced the changes of task types—from the elemental unit of work to the broader, value-related work—as they were promoted.

It is similar to how people can change through military service. As I spent more time as a public servant, I often felt inside that, 'Oh! I needed to build such things…. I should keep such things in my mind…. I should pay more attention.' Such thoughts seemed to accumulate into a general mind-set. After 5 or 10 years of work experience, public servants can construct a certain mindset through their interactions with policy clients or many different partners. And such a mindset seems to be increasingly solidified over time. [14BP:34]

It is hard to say that all public servants have a strong sense of duty when they start their careers in government organizations. But, after they become public servants and spend more time in the organization, they will change their mindset as public servants to one where they believe 'they should make a contribution somehow.' I believe that government organizations are the place which infuses such elements into the minds of public servants as they work more, even if they may not have many ideas at the beginning…. I also experienced the change and extension of my values. As a junior in my office, I focused only on the given tasks. Later, I started to see the organizational values and found meaning in the work I had done from the overall organization's standpoint. As I became a middle manager, my personal values shifted and expanded to the values

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of the nation. As I was moving upward, I could sense the change in my personal values as well. [12MP:88]

Second, the respondents' statements illustrated that individuals could adjust their personal goals and values, newly building and finding intrinsic meanings in their occupation. For example, respondent 36KP's statement opens a possibility that, even if individuals initially had very little PSM, they could build up their PSM by reconsidering their personal goals and values attributed to public service. In particular, when individuals considered public service only as a type of occupation, they might have time to reexamine their values and goals, because they had already achieved the first intended goal, getting a job in the public sector.

> Frankly speaking, before [passing] the [national] exam, I thought of it [being a public servant] as a type of job which was not much different from other jobs. I used to consider public service merely as a way of getting a job, but now I am thinking more about the value-related things, for instance the meaning of the public interest. Recently I started to give more thought to such value-related things. Perhaps, it is because I no longer have my previous goal, 'getting a job.' And it is also because I believe that I can motivate myself by seeking some invisible, higher value-oriented goals. So, I am trying to reset my personal values towards the public service, which is a higher value than I had before. Currently I tend to search for more meanings [in my work], which would make be happier and allow me to think that 'I am not doing something meaningless.' I think that I am indoctrinating myself that 'I am doing meaningful work which is also good for many people." [36KP:73]

Given that there is ample evidence of organizational socialization in previous studies (Chao et al., 1994; Cooper-Thomas & Andersen, 2006; Mortimer, 1975; Mortimer et al., 1996), value socialization may not be a surprising phenomenon. Nonetheless, the personal interviews pointed to the process of value assimilation, in which individuals could experience motivational

changes by adjusting their personal goals and values, which eventually become aligned with those of their public organizations. In addition, such internal changes seemed to be enhanced, as respondents reconsidered their identities and roles through diverse experiences (i.e., promotion, difficult tasks and cases), and as they spent more time in their positions as public servants.

8.3.3 Awareness of Work Outcome

Because the outcomes of policy and public service are not easy to observe, due to goal ambiguities and the difficulties of measuring policy outcomes (Boardman & Sundquist, 2009; Chun & Rainey, 2005a, 2005b; C. S. Jung & Rainey, 2011), relatively little attention has been paid to how the individuals' sense of accomplishments in their work effort relates to PSM. In addition, public organizations tend to consider individual public servants as though they were bees in a beehive, compartmentalized not only due to the large size of the organization, but also due to the need for clear accountability (P. G. Scott & Pandey, 2005; Simon, 1997).

Echoing such theoretical arguments, the respondents also expressed the difficulty of grasping the exact nature of their contribution to a certain task, project, policy, or the overall process of legislation of policy agendas.[36] Despite such difficulties, respondents commonly commented on the importance of their sense of accomplishment from their work efforts, which rendered the greatest meanings and satisfaction of their careers.

At the same time, the respondents' comments disclosed that such a sense of accomplishment could not be justified by the process of objective performance evaluation and

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[36] It seemed natural that public servants at the headquarters of public agencies felt ambiguity regarding their work outcome. In particular, many respondents stated that there was a long time lag between their efforts and the outcome thereof. In addition, public servants in the Korean government were required to rotate to different offices within their agencies every two years or less. Thus frequently respondents could sense the results of work outcome only after they were rotated to different offices and positions.

feedback; instead, they tended to feel a sense of accomplishment through their personal interpretation of the overall meanings of their work, an inherently self-rewarding process. As respondent 43BA put it, he held the view that his work effort and contribution (i.e., writing part of a report) were minor, but he tended to attribute greater meaning to the overall project and to the fact that he was involved in it, recalling what he did at his previous position and why those overall projects and works were significant.

> Nothing will happen to South Korea even if I disappear from the society. But I feel that my work was highly significant when I was involved in such moments and projects…. [This respondent could see the effects of projects he had worked on after he moved to a different position a few years later.] I attached the greatest meaning to that and it gave me great joy. I could forgive myself for having had such a busy life. Simply viewed, I wrote only a few words on the memoranda that were reported … such minor things become very meaningful to me when I understood, after such a project was accomplished, what effect it could have. [43BPA:78]

> There are many incidents that can be memorable for individual public servants and many experiences that serve as critical points to them after 10 or 20 years of work…. When I sense that my work relates more directly to citizens' daily lives through public policies or through my daily tasks, that is to me the most meaningful and pleasing part of the job. [34KP: 38]

> That's because my organization is big…. Perhaps if I worked at the level of local government, there would be more frequent feedback and responses which would help me know how my efforts contributed to the outcomes. But here [central government] it is primarily self-satisfying and self-rewarding. [35SP:56]

To the public servants at the central government level, where a rapid rotation of two or fewer years is common, there seemed to be no direct reward for their efforts; instead, they had to

search for why the overall work and mission of their office was meaningful to society. Thus they tended to attribute meaning to the basic fact that they were members of that particular office or project. In such a process, awareness of their work effort depended on their personal interpretation, and respondents felt rewarded through the very meaning they themselves attached to the job being accomplished, which in turn was related to the intrinsic meaning of public service.

8.3.4 Interaction with Supervisors and Managers: Transformational Leadership

When disclosing the meaning of public service, a few respondents recounted their supervisors' and managers' personal stories. In particular, respondents tended to recall those stories because they could share the honest feelings and thoughts of their managers. Themes of such stories included: (1) personal meanings of past efforts and outcomes, (2) pride in being public servants, (3) inspirational anecdotes about their difficult times, and (4) personal views about how public service was important to them.

It is noteworthy that much of the contents echoed what has been discussed in several transformational leadership studies. These studies have particularly emphasized "individualized consideration," which refers to the leader's understanding of each follower's personal conditions and needs, and "inspirational motivation," which refers to conveying the meaning of the work in the broader context of the organization, relaying its goals and visions and motivating employees to commit to such goals (Trottier et al., 2008,   p.321).

Given the high ambiguity of work outcomes in central government agencies (Grant & Sumanth, 2009; Rainey & Chun, 2007), such managers' stories have presented important cues for where and when subordinates could find the deeper part of the meaning of public service. A

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detailed investigation of respondent 15CP's accounts, for example, disclosed that such stories also tended to help subordinates build their own expectations of their work outcomes. Although the stories were not exact reflections of her own experiences and feelings, they stimulated her to question where she could find a sense of deeper meaning in her work in the future.

> One of my close directors often talked about his thoughts…. Once anyone becomes promoted to a position at his level, s/he tends to think more about the effects of the work or policy that s/he is working on. And I acquired a strong sense that I was making such policies at that position. Although I am now in charge of a small section of work at an officer level, I may have such changes of thought in the future. [15CP:112]

Although only a few of the respondents spoke about such transformational leadership, supervisors and managers who shared experiences and subjective feelings seemed to play a salient role when their subordinates built up their expectations about their work outcome and acquired a deeper understanding of the meaning of public-service work.

8.4 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS: MULTIPLE REGRESSION

8.4.1 Analytical Framework

To examine the contributions of diverse antecedents to the overall level of PSM, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed. This approach aimed to examine the contribution of each group of variables by including them sequentially in the analysis. In this study, variables that explained PSM were separated into three different groups and subjected to three steps of regression analysis. This was done in order to separate the groups of antecedents according to their characteristics, before and after the respondents entered into the public agencies.

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Specifically, three different groups of antecedents were enumerated as follows:[37]

- Step1: sociodemographic factors (age, gender, education)
- Step2: primary concerns for career choice (job security, social prestige of public servant, similarity to undergraduate or post-undergraduate major, etc.)
- Step3: organization-demographic factors (current grade, length of service, number of promotion experiences, types of career paths, etc.)
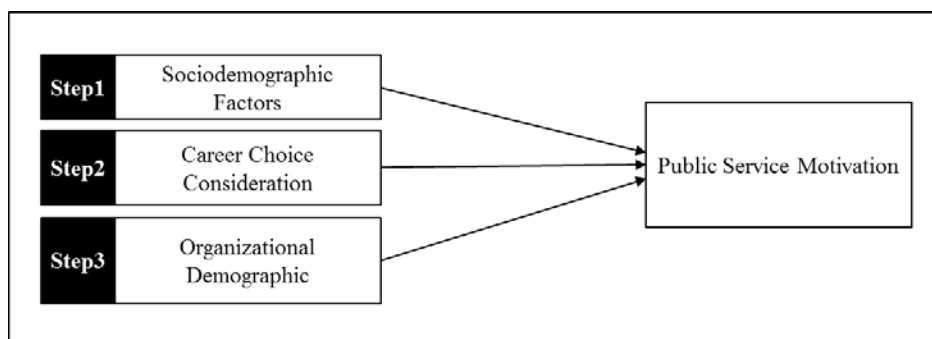
Figure 18. Analytical Framework for Regression Analysis

Before examining the measure of reliability and regression analysis, this study examined the multivariate outliers based on the Mahalanobis distance. Nine cases were selected out at the critical value of $\chi^2_{(df=24,\ p=0.001)}=51.2$; these cases were excluded from the following analysis.

8.4.2 Measures

Measures for the socio-demographic factors (i.e., gender, age, and level of education) were examined by single items, respectively; ten aspects of major sources of influence on the individuals' career choice were also measured by single items, respectively. These ten aspects were based on the variables frequently suggested in the personal interviews: job security, financial reward, social prestige as a public servant, equity of employment opportunity, people's

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[37] Although the issues of social identity, awareness of task outcome, transformational leadership, and value socialization are suggested as meaningful antecedents, these concepts were not included in this stage of analysis.

suggestions, family's suggestions, family's history of public service, similarity to undergraduate or post-graduate major, religious beliefs, and difficulty in finding a job. The respondents' organizational demographic variables were measured by types of primary tasks, types of career paths, length of service, current grade, and current position. Each of these items was measured with a single item.

In this study, PSM was measured by 22 items previously examined in Chapter 6. As a dependent variable of the regression model, normality of distribution and reliability analysis were examined before performing the regression analysis. For the normality test, both the Shapiro-Wilk test (statistic=0.994, p=0.158) and the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (statistic=0.042, p=0.098) failed to reject the null hypothesis of normal distribution. For internal consistency, the Cronbach α value was examined, with the result of 0.907, which indicates a very similar level of reliability analysis to that reported in the measurement model of Chapter 7. The descriptive statistics of variables used in the regression analysis are included in Appendix J; their correlation is reported in Appendix K.

8.4.3 Results and Findings

As illustrated in the conceptual framework (see Figure 18), the respondents' socio-demographic factors such as age, gender, and education level were included as independent variables in the first step. In the second step, variables for consideration of career choices were entered into the equation. Organizational demographic variables such as respondents' grade, length of service, types of career paths, and types of primary tasks were additionally included in the third step. Before addressing the direction and strength of relationship of diverse antecedents and PSM, it is worth noting the change of the R^2 values, as each block of variables was added to the model.

Table 33. Change of R-square

		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Adjusted R^2		0.037	0.122	0.167
Std. Error of the Estimate		9.276	8.857	8.627
Change Statistic	R^2 Change	0.045	0.108	0.057
	F Change	5.887	4.621	4.279
	$df1$	3	10	6
	$df2$	374	364	358
	Sig. F Change	0.001	< 0.001	< 0.001

In Step 1, among the socio-demographic factors only age is significantly related to PSM ($\beta=0.256$, $p=0.001$). In step 2, major career consideration variables are added to the model. In this analysis, age ($\beta=0.220$, $p=0.003$), social prestige as a public servant ($\beta=2.236$, $p=0.005$), job employment equity ($\beta=1.827$, $p=0.018$), family members' public service ($\beta=0.785$, $p=0.085$), and similarity to university major ($\beta=0.933$, $p=0.022$) were significantly related to PSM. These results indicate that the individuals' family members' public service and the similarity to their major could have a positive relation to the overall level of PSM. As presented in the qualitative analysis, this finding can be interpreted in the same vein as institutionalization in the family and in the college. In addition, the social reputation of the public sector and institutional protection of equal employment opportunity also showed positive relations to PSM.

In Step 3, organizational demographic factors were added to the model to explain the variability of PSM. As with the result reported in Step 2, four variables related to career choice consideration showed a significant relation to PSM (social prestige as a public servant ($\beta=2.571$, $p=0.001$), job employment equity ($\beta=1.617$, $p=0.037$), family members' public service ($\beta=0.836$, $p=0.060$), and similarity to university major ($\beta=1.153$, $p=0.006$)). In addition, current grade

(β=1.645, p=0.005) and number of experiences of promotion (β=1.941, p=0.001) revealed a positive relation to PSM. This result indicated that, as public servants had more experience with promotions and reached a higher grade, they tended to report a higher PSM.

However, as organizational demographic variables were added to the model, the age variable turned out to be insignificant. When we looked into the significant organizational demographic variables, we could sense that length of service and age variable had close interactions in terms of the time period of work. The older public servants showed a relatively longer period of work than younger people. In addition, age (VIF[38]=6.074), the length of work (VIF=7.237), and the experience of promotion (VIF=2.823) reported relatively higher levels of VIF when compared to other variables.[39] Given the traditional emphasis on seniority in promotions, long periods of work and respondents' experiences of promotion can be related to age as well. Put another way, as public servants worked for longer time periods, they were more likely to be promoted to higher positions; at the same time, obviously they were older. Therefore, we can interpret that additional organizational demographic variables caused the relation of age to PSM to be insignificant.

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[38] VIF stands for the variance inflation factor. The VIF is used for each variable included in a regression analysis. This value indicates the linear association or strength of correlation among predictors. When the VIF values are greater than 10, they indicate that the variables have strong correlations, suggesting that a researcher needs to check for multicollinearity among the predictors (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005, pp.168-169).

[39] All other variables' VIF ranged from 1.232 to 1.726.

Table 34. Result of Regression Analysis

		STEP 1	STEP 2	STEP 3
		β (Std. Error)	β (Std. Error)	β (Std. Error)
Socio-demography	(Constant)	67.222*** (4.047)	49.72*** (5.627)	47.153*** (9.756)
	Gender	0.149 (1.105)	-0.497 (1.117)	-1.568 (1.182)
	Age	0.256*** (0.075)	0.220*** (0.075)	0.050 (0.157)
	Education	1.297 (0.885)	0.467 (0.89)	1.417 (0.915)
Major consideration in Career choice	Job Security		0.499 (0.754)	0.442 (0.749)
	Financial Reward		-0.302 (0.634)	-0.372 (0.628)
	Social Prestige		2.236*** (0.785)	2.571*** (0.78)
	Job Employment Equity		1.827** (0.765)	1.617** (0.772)
	People's Suggestion		0.546 (0.63)	0.531 (0.615)
	Family Suggestion		-0.172 (0.664)	-0.625 (0.655)
	Family Public Service		0.785* (0.454)	0.836* (0.443)
	Similarity to Major		0.933** (0.406)	1.153*** (0.417)
	Religious Belief		-0.022 (0.574)	0.106 (0.568)
	Difficulty with Getting a Job		-0.495 (0.467)	-0.667 (0.463)
Organizational demographic Factors	Length of Service			-0.013[40] (0.143)
	Current Grade			1.645*** (0.585)
	Experience of Grade Promotion			1.941*** (0.594)
	Current Position			-2.183 (1.773)
	Primary Task			0.975 (1.008)
	Career Path			1.638 (1.122)

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1

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[40] Before adding all of the organizational demographic variables in Step 3, this study examined whether the length of service had a significant relation to PSM. Findings indicated that the length of service had a positive relation (β=0.259, p=0.03); in contrast, the age variable lost its significance. Nonetheless, when the number of promotion experience and current grade variables were added together, the effect of length of service also lost its significance to PSM.

8.5 DISCUSSION

This chapter aims to explore and examine diverse sources of antecedents of PSM by integrating the results of the interviews and the series of regression analyses. For this purpose, this study explored the contents of the interviews in regard to socio-demographic and institutional antecedents frequently addressed in the previous literature. This chapter additionally suggests that the sense of social identity, value socialization, awareness of work outcomes, and transformational leadership have frequently emerged in the course of the interviews as important antecedents to PSM.

These antecedents were divided into outside (i.e., socio-demographic factors, career choice consideration) and inside government organizations (i.e., organizational demographics, four aspects of variables in organizational settings); such a division served to guide the regression analysis. Although respondents' numerous considerations of their career choice were not addressed in detail, much of that content was previously considered in Chapters 4 and 5, as well as in this chapter. For example, how Korean public servants and applicants seriously considered job stability and social prestige in their career choice stage, and how the contents of educational programs related to their career choice were depicted in the personal interviews. In the statistical analysis, this chapter reports on a series of regressions in a hierarchical manner, in order to build a more meaningful explanation of the influences of diverse antecedents and to compare the relative importance of the groups of variables. The findings suggest some important points.

First, we can see that individuals' experiences in organizational settings can play an important role in shaping their PSM . As illustrated, when organizational demographic variables were included in the model, socio-demographic variables (i.e., age) lost their significant relation

to PSM. Although previous studies, based on the morality development theory, found that older people can have a higher level of PSM (Houston, 2000, 2006; G. Lee, 2005b; Perry, 1997; Steijn & Leisink, 2006), this finding suggests an alternative explanation by providing evidence that accumulated experiences alone, within the setting of public organizations, could have a positive relation to PSM. As public servants have more direct experiences with social issues through diverse levels and types of public service, they tend to have a higher level of PSM. Such accumulation of experiences can be manifested in terms of the length of public service, the number of promotion experiences, and the current grade, all of which correlate closely to the respondents' age. Even if this finding does not provide a rebuttal to the theoretical stance based on the moral development theory, it at least illustrates that it is desirable to consider individuals' demographic information and organizational demographic attributes together, so as not to draw over-generalized conclusions about the relation of respondents' age to PSM.

Second, findings from this study partially corroborate theoretical arguments and empirical findings emphasizing the importance of socialization in social institutions (i.e., family, education, religion) as well as in government organizations. Vandenabeele (2007, 2011) has stressed the important role of social institutions in shaping individuals' altruistic values, which in turn serve to build PSM. Empirical studies also have demonstrated that parental influences regarding public values and volunteer experiences can have a relation to the motivation for public service, as this study corroborates. As illustrated in the interview comments, individuals can have time and opportunity to build their "mindset" in the course of their education. In particular, those respondents who majored in public administration tended to view that their mindset (e.g., personal values, perspectives on social issues, way of reasoning) fit better in the public sector than in other sectors. The result of the statistical analysis also revealed that those

who chose to make their career in the public sector based on their subjective perceptions of the similarity between public service and their knowledge background reported a higher level of PSM. Thus, in terms of the influence of educational institutions, this study presented the possibility that those who majored in public administration, political science, or social science fields might have a higher level of PSM. In the same vein, the family institution also has a meaningful relation to PSM. Findings from the regression analysis reported that those who viewed their career choices as influenced by their parents' jobs as public servants revealed higher PSM than those who did not.

Third, although not included in the statistical analysis, the results of the interviews illustrated that respondents' social identity showed a high potential of a strong relationship with their PSM. As claimed by a group of scholars who stressed that identity served as a critical element in developing individuals' PSM in public organizational settings (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007, 2011; Wright, 2007), the results of personal interviews provided supportive evidence for how public servants build their identity and how such social identity can relate to their motivational orientation. Our findings from the personal interviews also vividly illustrate the process of identity formation through organizational socialization and role understanding as a public servant via accumulated experiences in public organization settings.

However, this study also revealed an important caveat for the direction of studies on the relationship between identity aspects and PSM. While there has been a consensus on the importance of the identity of public servants, there has been little discussion about how we can statistically examine the relationship. In particular, there should be additional research on the issues of measurement for social identity in the study of PSM.

In addition, the findings of personal interviews suggested that individuals' identities

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should be considered in terms of socially constructed images and the roles of government in society. This is because self-identity in regard to public service can be deeply embedded in the socially constructed roles of public servants, which can be manifested as individuals' social identity. Although this study had difficulty developing specific propositions for the relationship of PSM and diverse aspects of identity (e.g., role-identity, self-identity, social identity), it illustrates that examination of identity issues necessitates further consideration about social contexts and administrative traditions.

Finally, from the results of the R^2 changes, we can also project that much of PSM can be shaped and changed in organizational settings, even though many public servants make their career choice based on their PSM. Moreover, though not statistically examined in this study, the personal interviews suggested managerial implications regarding how to enhance public servants' social identity in a positive manner, by helping employees understand the "outcome" of their efforts; many other such implications addressed in transformation leadership studies need to be revisited in future PSM studies.

9.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

9.1 OVERVIEW OF DISSERTATION

Pointing out the weakness of the assumption of individuals' self-interested economic rationality and discussing the limits of extrinsic rewards in the public sector, the theory of public service motivation has advanced its arguments by shedding light on the altruistic and pro-social motivation of public servants (Perry, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990). Particularly, the study of public service motivation has been examined extensively as an alternate approach towards performance improvement in the public sector, by way of enhancing motivational characteristics (Stazyk, 2012). Adding a great deal of evidence to the usefulness of PSM, a myriad of studies have empirically examined the effects of PSM on public servants' behavior and attitudes (e.g., satisfaction, organizational citizenship behavior, organizational commitment, personal performance).

As the popularity of PSM study has steadily increased across the world, several international scholars have begun to question the potential of variability in dimensions and components of PSM as well as its applicability to different social contexts. Although many international scholars acknowledge that common components of motivational orientation for PSM do exist, pointing to the similarity of public service ethos and the nature of government organizations (e.g., goals, values, missions), they still call for further exploration of the variation of PSM in given social contexts (Horton, 2006; Horton & Hondeghem, 2006; Liu et al., 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008a; Vandenabeele et al., 2006). Most recently, such theoretical arguments have been supported by an extensive comparative study in twelve different countries. As a concluding remark, this group of sixteen PSM scholars stated that "our findings not only highlight the need for more systematic research on the cultural differences in PSM, but they should also serve as a

warning for all public management scholars conducting comparative research or even research on one country, to not rely heavily on measures and findings developed in other countries" (S. M. Kim et al., 2013, p. 20).

In order to advance these recent theoretical perspectives and empirical attempts, this study explored the conceptual applicability as well as the potential of variability in PSM dimensions based on the case of South Korea. Specifically, throughout different types and stages of analyses, this study was mainly concerned with the following questions: What are the motivational grounds for public service in South Korea? Can such motivational grounds be integrated into the PSM concept? If there are distinctive dimensions of PSM, how have these been shaped in South Korea's sociocultural context? And finally, what would be the critical antecedents of PSM identified in the case of South Korea?

Due to the nature of these research questions, this research employed a mixed-methods approach to exploring and examining whether, and in what ways, PSM could be applied to South Korean society. The two methods used were personal interviews, based on the grounded theory approach, and survey data analysis, by means of structural equation modeling (i.e., measurement models) and hierarchical regression analysis. The analysis of personal interviews following the grounded theory approach made it possible to explore the respondents' (i.e., public servants, applicants) motivational orientations to public service in the sense of their occupational calling. Additionally, the findings of the personal interviews were extensively examined to extract the contents of measurement instruments. In an attempt to examine whether the findings of the personal interviews could be applied to a wider population, this study also conducted a survey with public servants at five central government organizations. The collected survey data were analyzed with a series of statistical analyses (i.e., EFA, parallel analysis, first-order CFA, second-

order CFA, regression analysis).

The overall findings of this study about Korean society supported the core of the conceptual definition of PSM—"an individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society" (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008, p. vii). However, they also provided evidence that PSM could have distinctive dimensions and different combinations of dimensions as a manifestation of social contexts (i.e., cultural legacy, administrative tradition, people's perception of the desirable role of public servants). As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, a critical aspect of Korean respondents' motivation for public service was based on their personal interests and on their need to have a certain level of influence on other people and on the society, in an attempt to contribute to the improvement of social conditions. These empirical results revealed that rational and normative aspects of PSM could display variability in the Korean context; however, the affective aspects—self-sacrifice and compassion—could be applied across the board. With regard to the antecedents of PSM, the role of institutionalization effects (e.g., family, education) and diverse other factors provided evidence in support of the previously suggested theoretical and empirical findings. Among such a variety of antecedents, this study illustrated that we should pay close attention to motivational changes in organizational settings, particularly in individuals' identity issues (i.e., social identity) which could display a substantial relation to PSM changes.

The following sections present discussions, in more detail, about the findings and their implications: Section 9.2 provides a theoretical discussion, Section 9.3 discusses the methodological implications regarding more appropriate approaches to exploratory studies on PSM dimensions, Section 9.3 discusses briefly the implications of this study to managerial approaches, and Section 9.4 discusses the potential shortcomings of this study.

9.2 THEORETICAL ASPECTS

The findings of this study provide insight into four aspects of theoretical issues: (1) the universality of the motivational components of PSM, (2) an approach to exploring the linkages between social contexts and PSM, (3) changes in PSM in organizational settings, and (4) the relationship of external rewards and PSM.

First, assessing the identified dimensions from personal interviews by means of first-order and second-order confirmatory factor analysis revealed evidence for what has recently been discussed in the sense of conceptual universality, the significance of contextual influence, and the variability of dimensions (S. M. Kim et al., 2013; Vandenabeele et al., 2006; Vandenabeele & Van de Walle, 2008). In particular, the overall findings of this study contribute to the argument on contextual validity, which stresses the specificity of conceptual components of PSM; however, the findings of this study also disclose a dilemma between contextual validity and the universality of PSM. Stated another way, we can raise a couple of questions: Does the increase of specificity of dimensions reduce the universality of the conceptual definition of PSM? And where can we draw the boundary around the common dimensions of PSM suggested in distinctive social contexts? As more scholars pay greater attention to the possible variability of PSM dimensions, there will be additional research on the specificity of PSM, which may result in more challenges to comparative studies due to the society-specific dimension(s). At this point, we may raise another question: If we cannot compare PSM across the world, then can we discuss PSM in any sense of universality? In this line of thought, this study not only corroborates recent theoretical arguments on the variability of PSM, but also provides a critical caveat to the universality of PSM as a multidimensional construct.

Second, as revealed in multiple stages of analyses, the examination of social context

necessitates an extensive consideration about different layers of the social system. Recently some scholars have argued that cultural differences can lead to the variability of PSM, but there has been little discussion about which aspects of cultural characteristics need to be examined. Given the broad scope and levels of cultural components, researchers may face a great challenge in specifying and narrowing down the target of examination. Put differently, there is an emerging question about what is the most relevant social context for studying PSM in varied societies. In this vein, this study can be viewed as one of a few attempts to empirically explore the linkages between the given social context and individuals' motivational orientation. Although the findings of this study do not provide conclusive evidence, the process itself of performing the analyses does illustrate the necessity of a middle-range theory (i.e., role theory, social identity theory) when trying to identify the linkage between cultural characteristics (i.e., administrative tradition at a macro level) and individuals' motivational orientations.

Third, as reported in Chapter 5, the results of the personal interviews revealed that the posited relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation may not be a trade-off relationship. The interviews indicated that the meanings of public service, as a career, encapsulate somewhat distinctive layers of meanings that can be well depicted within the spectrum of the intrinsic-extrinsic motivation framework. Indeed, applying this theoretical perspective, many PSM scholars have viewed that increasing external rewards (i.e., financial rewards) may result in the loss of the intrinsic motivation (i.e., public service motivation), due to the crowding-out effect (Moynihan, 2008; Stazyk, 2012). However, the results of these personal interviews revealed that these different motivational grounds can exist in parallel, as they are drawn from the distinctive sources and layers of meanings attached to public service. This finding seems to echo Hertzberg's motivation-hygiene theory. Even if a certain condition (i.e.,

increase of the external reward, such as income) can increase extrinsic motivation, such conditions may not necessarily have a critical impact on public servants' intrinsic motivation (i.e., self-actualization through public service). As discussed, interview participants tended to view the nature of public service as highly valuable, in the sense of having an influence on society and contributing to social advancement. In addition, those who reported such occupational calling also considered extrinsic rewards in their references to family support and economic well-being. Thus the findings from the personal interviews shed light on the necessity of further theoretical consideration of the application of the self-determination framework (i.e., intrinsic-extrinsic motivation) to the study of PSM and of systematic empirical studies on the posited relationship between extrinsic rewards and PSM.

Fourth, one of the critical questions raised at the incipient stage of PSM study is about whether individuals' PSM led them to select the public sector for their careers, or whether individuals tended to shape such motivational orientation after entering into the organization. This question has a very meaningful implication to two theoretical perspectives: person-organization fit theory and institutionalization of motivation. This study provides evidence that individuals' PSM can have more variability in organizational settings, but that many of the applicants' PSM can still serve as a motivational ground for their career choice. Therefore the person-organization fit theory is a valid theoretical approach to explaining individuals' career choices. At the same time, the results of interviews disclosed that PSM can become much more elevated as employees build their social identity, appreciate the outcomes of their efforts, and internalize the values of the organization. This finding indicates that individuals can have more opportunities to change PSM in organizational settings.

9.3 METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

This study also sheds valuable light on methodological issues, particularly the recent attempts to explore commonalities and differences of PSM. These issues can be summarized as follow: (1) a complementary approach to a deductive approach using an inductive approach, (2) the necessity of using a mixed-methods approach—exploratory and confirmatory sequentially, and (3) a statistical approach in examining newly suggested dimensions and measurement items.

First, despite a theoretical consensus on the importance of the context and variability of PSM dimensions, there has been little discussion about methodological approaches. While a few scholars have stressed the importance of a qualitative approach to PSM studies, the exploration of the motivational components has still been limited to a deductive approach—that is, creating hypothetical dimensions and empirically examining such predefined components. To the contrary, this study demonstrates that the inductive approach (interview-data-driven)—conducting personal interviews, identifying and extracting motivational orientations from the coded transcripts—can be an alternative to the recent exploratory studies (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Particularly, the use of the grounded theory approach in analyzing the respondents' statements is well suited to exploring subjectively attributed meanings of public service as the ground for motivations, to identifying abstract dimensions, and to extracting specific measurement items. In sum, inductive approaches based on personal interviews following the grounded theory approach present an opportunity for researchers to identify, categorize, and uncover the regularities of PSM dimensions and their components.

Second, in a similar vein, this study shed a clear light on the importance of the mixed-methods approach (Wright & Grant, 2010). In particular, it showed that there should be at least two sequential stages: (1) extensive interpretation of the respondents' statements to identify the

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linkage between social context and individuals' motivational orientation, and (2) a statistical analysis to verify the identified results from the personal interviews. Although there are different combinations of mixed methods, this study provides one possible way of using this approach for exploratory study.

Finally, it is noteworthy that there has been no previous discussion of exploratory factor analysis and parallel analysis for exploratory studies on PSM. Specifically, although there have been many studies on the refinement of PSM dimensions and measurement instruments, it is surprising to note that no study performed exploratory factor analysis or examined whether such suggested measurement items loaded on the intended dimensions. Absent attention to the exploratory factor analysis, most studies first perform a confirmatory factor analysis. With regard to this analytical approach, this study illustrates that some components can be identified as a different dimension from what was actually intended (i.e., two items of commitment for public interest). Therefore, this study indicates that there should be cautious consideration of the aims of confirmatory and exploratory factor analysis.

9.4 MANAGERIAL ASPECTS

Since this study was centered on the issues of conceptual applicability, with variability of dimensions central to its goals, clearly there can be only small managerial implications. The findings discussed in Chapter 8 presented managerial implications in two aspects: (1) the enhancement of PSM in organizational settings, and (2) the managerial approach to the social identity of public servants.

First, as empirically examined, there can be much room for variability in the respondents'

PSM in organizational settings. Specifically, the findings of Chapter 8 provided evidence of the changeability of PSM in such settings. This evidence suggests, from the managerial perspective, that, even if certain public employees may begin their careers with very little PSM, there is still much room for building up PSM throughout their employment; therefore, there should be managerial attention to how individuals' motivations can be enhanced in the given organizational settings.

Second, following this line of approach, this study presented a more specific implication. As discussed in Chapter 8, personal interviews showed that the individuals' identities as public servants played a critical role in enhancing their PSM; therefore, there needs to be additional consideration about how managers enhance the positive side of the social identity of public servants by providing clearer feedback on the overall significance of public service (e.g., the outcomes of tasks in the broader picture of tasks and projects).

9.5 LIMITS OF THE STUDY

Despite the interesting theoretical and methodological implications of this research, it has some shortcomings, resulting particularly from (1) the failure to include more diverse types of government organizations, (2) the small sample size, (3) simplified measurement instruments for the antecedents, and (4) the limits of a cross-sectional approach.

First, in examining the dimensions and antecedents of PSM, this study mainly collected survey data from public servants in central government agencies. Even though the survey was performed at five different governmental headquarters across different policy domains, it still failed to examine the characteristics of public servants at the level of local government

organizations. In particular, the survey did not include frontline employees in local governments. Therefore, the findings and discussions based on public servants in the central government public servants may have failed to take into account the possibly distinct motivational characteristics of public servants in local governments.

Second, the findings of this research were based on a relatively small sample; therefore, we should be cautious when making an argument for its generalizability and reliability. Although the results of personal interviews and the statistical analysis both served to provide evidence for the variability of dimensions and significance of antecedents, still it is necessary to investigate even broader populations. In particular, as discussed regarding the representativeness of research participants, it remains hard to conclude that the sample used in this study accurately represents the overall characteristics of public servants even at the central government level.

Third, the measurement instruments for the respondents' career choice consideration had limitations in accurately reflecting the theoretical arguments. The simplification of those measurement items was dictated by the length of the survey. In performing the survey, the questionnaires already included diverse aspects of measurement instruments (e.g., 24 items for the originally suggested PSM, 13 items for newly identified dimensions), which could be seen as a burden on respondents.

Finally, as a cross-sectional study, this study may have its shortcomings. Specifically, it was performed in the time period of 2010 and 2011. South Korea is a newly developed democratic society, where the participation of citizens is more and more encouraged, and the role of government has been more decentralized to local governments and authorities. As such, we can project that the traditional relationship between government and other social spheres could turn into a more parallel relationship, instead of the hierarchical one that characterizes the current

pattern of interactions. Therefore, this study, due to the specificity of time frame, may fail to reflect changing social contexts.

APPENDIX A
Consent Letter

Dear respondent,

I am writing to ask for your help with research I am conducting with the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. This research is to study Korean public employees' motivational and other attitudinal characteristics.

The goal of this research is to examine the characteristics of public service motivation in Korean society and public organizations and to offer managerial implications to the field of human resource management in the future. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this project, nor are there any direct benefits to you. Your answer to this survey will be very helpful and important for this study. The survey questionnaire will mainly ask you about your personal experiences and attitudes toward your tasks and organization.

The responses you provide will be confidential and will not be revealed to anyone except to the principal investigator and be kept in computer which will be password protected and accessed only by the principal investigator. Your data will be combined with that of other participating employees and reported as summary data only. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from this research at any time. I would be very grateful if you would return this survey by month and date. Completing the survey will take approximately 15 minutes.

This study is approved by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board (IRB). This study is primarily being conducted by JungHo Park. Please do not hesitate to contact me at 011-9907-8440, jup22@pitt.edu. I would be very grateful for your cooperation for this research.

Sincerely,

JungHo Park

Ph.D. Candidate
Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
University of Pittsburgh

APPENDIX B
Interview Protocol

Level	Questions & Follow-up Questions
Cultural Influence	□ How do you think that the Korean people view the role of government generally? 　　• Do you think there have been changes in people's perceptions? 　　• Why do you think so? Would you please tell me your experiences or provide other examples? □ Do you think the Korean public tends to value public service? 　　• What do you think accounts for such a perception generally? 　　• Why do you think so?
Institutional Influence	□ When you began your career as a public servant, did you have any preconceived ideas about what public servants would do? 　　• Would you please recall where such ideas came from? 　　• Was there a big difference between your expectation and your experiences? □ How did your friends and family respond when you said you wanted to be a public servant? 　　• Why did they show such attitudes? □ Did your parents or friends encourage you to be a public servant? 　　• Why did they encourage (or discourage) you to become a public servant? □ When you recall your overall experiences as a public servant, do you feel you have changed in terms of your attitudes toward or perception of public service? 　　• Why do you think so? If you don't mind, would you please specifically tell me some particular episodes?
Personal Motives	□ What have been the most meaningful aspects of your work as a public servant? 　　• What does public service mean to you? □ Is your work as a public servant gratifying? 　　• Do your co-workers share your view about public service? 　　• How do their views differ? What do you think is the source of difference? □ What influenced your decision to be a public servant? 　　• What did you know about public service before you became a public servant? How did you know that? 　　• Was there any particular episode or event that affected your decision? 　　• Did you also consider other jobs as a career?

Translated Interview Protocol

Level	Questions
Cultural Influence	□ 한국사람들이 일반적으로 정부의 역할을 어떻게 보는 것 같습니까? 　　• 사람들의 인식에 변화가 있었다고 생각하십니까? 　　• 왜 그렇게 생각하시죠? 당신의 경험들 혹은 다른 예들을 이야기해주실 수 있으십니까? □ 당신은 한국사람들이 공공서비스에 가치를 두고 있다고 생각하십니까? 　　• 말씀하신 인식들을 일반적으로 설명하는 것들은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? 　　• 왜 그렇게 생각하십니까?
Institutional Influence	□ 공무원으로써 경력을 시작할때, 공무원들은 무슨일을 할 것이다라는 예상을 갖고 계셨습니까? 　　• 어디로부터 그러한 예상들이 나온 것인지 회상해 주실수 있겠습니까? 　　• 당신의 기대와 경험에 큰 차이가 있었나요? □ 당신이 당신의 가족 혹은 친구들에게 공무원이 된다고 했을때, 그들은 어떠한 반응을 보였습니까? 　　• 왜 그러한 반응을 보였을까요? □ 당신의 부모 혹은 친구들이 공무원이 되도록 격려했습니까? 　　• 왜 그들이 당신이 공무원이 되도록 격려했을까요? (혹은 만류하였을까요?) □ 공무원으로써 지금까지의 경험들을 되돌아 볼때, 공공서비스에 대한 본인의 태도나 인식이 변했다고 느끼십니까? 　　• 왜 그렇게 생각하십니까? 괜찮으시다면, 개인적인 일화들을 구체적으로 이야기 해주실 수 있겠습니까?
Personal Motives	□ 공무원으로써 당신의 일에서 가장 의미있는 측면은 무엇이었습니까? 　　• 공공서비스가 본인에게 의미하는 것은 무엇입니까? □ 공무원으로써의 일이 만족스러우십니까? 　　• 당신의 동료들도 공공서비스에 대해 당신의 시각을 공유하고 있습니까? 　　• 만약에 다르다면, 어떻게 다른가요? 그 차이의 원인은 무엇입니까? □ 당신이 공무원이 되려는 결심을할 때 영향을 준 것은 무엇입니까? 　　• 공무원이 되기 전에 공직과 공무원에 대해 알 고 있었던 점들은 무엇입니까? 어떻게 그러한 것을 알게 되었나요? 　　• 영향을 미친 어떤 특정한 계기나 일화들이 있나요? 　　• 당신은 다른 직업들도 경력으로 고려하셨나요?

APPENDIX C

Measures of PSM

Source: Perry, J. L. (1996). Measuring Public Service Motivation: An Assessment of Construct Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 6*(1), 5-22.

Attraction to Policy Making
- PSM1: Politics is a dirty word. (R)
- PSM2: The give and take of public policy making doesn't appeal to me. (R)
- PSM3: I don't care much for politicians. (R)

Commitment to the Public Interest
- PSM4: It is hard for me to get intensely interested in what is going on in my community. (R)
- PSM5: I unselfishly contribute to my community.
- PSM6: I consider public service my civic duty.
- PSM7: Meaningful public service is very important to me.
- PSM8: I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community even if it harmed my interest.

Compassion
- PSM9: It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress.
- PSM10: Most social programs are too vital to do without.
- PSM11: I am often reminded by daily events how dependent we are on one another.
- PSM12: I am rarely moved by the plight of the underprivileged.
- PSM13: To me, patriotism includes seeing to the welfare of others.
- PSM14: I have little compassion for people in need who are unwilling to take the first step to help themselves. (R)
- PSM15: There are few public programs that I wholeheartedly support. (R)
- PSM16: I seldom think about the welfare of people I don't know personally. (R)

Self Sacrifice
- PSM17: Doing well financially is definitely more important to me than doing good deeds. (R)
- PSM18: Much of what I do is for a cause bigger than myself.
- PSM19: Serving other citizens would give me a good feeling even if no one paid me for it.
- PSM20: Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.
- PSM21: I think people should give back to society more than they get from it.
- PSM22: I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society.
- PSM23: I am one of those rare people who would risk personal loss to help someone else.
- PSM24: I believe in putting duty before self.

Translated Measures of PSM

Attraction to Policy Making
- PSM1: 정치란 저속한 것이다. (R)
- PSM2: 공공정책을 형성할 때 일어나는 상호타협과정은 나의 관심을 끌지 못한다. (R)
- PSM3: 나는 정치가들을 많이 좋아하지 않는다. (R)

Commitment to the Public Interest
- PSM4: 나의 지역사회가 어떻게 돌아가는지 극심한 관심을 기울이는 것은 나에게 힘든 일이다 (R)
- PSM5: 나는 사심없이 지역사회에 기여한다.
- PSM6: 나는 공공서비스는 시민의 의무로 생각한다.
- PSM7: 의미있는 공공서비스는 나에게 매우 중요하다.
- PSM8: 비록 내 이익에 피해를 준다고 하더라도 나는공무원이 지역사회 전체에 가장 도움이 되는 일을 해야 한다고 본다.

Compassion
- PSM9: 곤경에 처한 사람들을 보고 나의 감정을 억누르는 것은 어려운 일이다.
- PSM10: 대부분의 사회 정책프로그램은 없어서는 안되는 필수적인 것이다.
- PSM11: 나는 일상 속에서 얼마나 우리가 서로에게 의지하고 있는가를 종종 깨닫는다.
- PSM12: 나는 역경을 겪는 사회소외계층을 보아도 그다지 감정에 동요가 없다.
- PSM13: 나에게 애국심이란 남의 복지를 바라는 것도 포함된다.
- PSM14: 어려운 상황을 이겨내고자 스스로 노력조차 하지 않는 사람에게 그다지 동정심이 느껴지지 않는다. (R)
- PSM15: 내가 전폭적으로 지지하는 국가 프로그램은 그다지 많지 않다. (R)
- PSM16: 내가 개인적으로 모르는 사람들의 복지에 대해 나는 거의 생각하지 않는다. (R)

Self Sacrifice
- PSM17: 나의 재정적 성공이 선행을 하는 것보다 중요하다. (R)
- PSM18: 내가 주로 하는 일은 나의 사적인 이익보다는 더 큰 목적을 위한 것이다.
- PSM19: 국민에게 봉사하는 것은 누군가 그 대가를 보상해주지 않더라도 내 기분을 좋게 한다.
- PSM20: 사회에 차이를 만드는 것은 내 개인적인 성취보다 나에게 더 큰 의미가 있다.
- PSM21: 사람들은 사회로부터 받은 것보다 사회에 더 환원해야된다고 생각한다.
- PSM22: 나는 사회의 선을 위해 내 자신의 큰 희생을 치룰 준비가 되어있다.
- PSM23: 나는 타인을 돕기 위해서 내 개인적인 손실을 각오할 수 있는 몇 안되는 사람이다.
- PSM24: 나는 나 자신 보다 의무를 우선시 한다고 믿는다.

APPENDIX D

Measures of Additional Dimensions and Antecedents

Additional Dimension 1: Influences on Society

1. I hope that the results of my work affect the lives of many citizens rather than a few.
2. The most important aspect of my job is the extent to which I can impact our society.
3. While I may not be an influential person in society, I am glad when my opinions can change other peoples' lives.
4. I want to participate in diverse social activities that can lead to social change.
5. I want to do something that more directly influences citizens' lives.
6. I hope that my work is regarded as essential to the welfare of citizens.
7. It makes me feel good when people can solve their problems by following my advice.

Additional Dimension 2: Contribution to Social Advancement

8. It is most meaningful for me when my abilities benefit our society.
9. Although my work is a small part of the organization, I hope that it can nevertheless contribute toward the betterment of society.
10. As long as I must work for a living, I want to do work that allows me to improve our society, or a part of it.
11. It is worthwhile to take an active role in the advancement of society, even if my role goes unnoticed.
12. As a member of society, it is desirable that I work towards helping less privileged members of society even if I am not given credit for it.
13. People's disregard for social problems serves to exacerbate social problems.

Career Consideration

When you recalled your career choice in the public sector, how much of the following elements respectively influenced your choice?
14. Job Security
15. Financial Reward
16. Social prestige of public servants
17. Equal employment opportunity of public sectors
18. Peoples' suggestions (e.g., teachers, friends, professors)
19. Family members' suggestion
20. Parents' job as public servant(s)
21. Similarity to undergraduate or post-graduate major
22. Religious belief
23. Difficulties with finding other jobs

Sociodemographic Characteristics

24. What is your gender? (1) Male (2) Female

25. What is your age? (   )

26. When did you start your career as a public servant? (   )

27. What is your current grade in your organization?
    (1) 3rd (2) 4th (3) 5th (4) 6th (5) 7th (6) 8th (7) 9th

28. On what grade did you start your career?
    (1) 5th (2) 6th (3) 7th (4) 8th (5) 9th

29. What is your category of career path in public organization?
    (1) Generalist Post (2) Technical Post (3) Assistant Post (4) Other types

30. What is your education level? (1) High School (2) Undergraduate (3) Master (4) Ph.D.

31. What is your religion? (1) Protestantism (2) Buddhism (3) Catholicism (4) Other

32. What is your primary daily work?
    (1) Policy design (e.g., setting policy goals, planning of public program)
    (2) Policy execution (e.g., implementation of policy, execution of the budget,
        monitoring the policy outcome)
    (3) Administrative support (e.g., personnel management)

Translated Measures of Additional Dimensions and Antecedents

Additional Dimension 1: Influences on Society
1. 내가 하는 일의 성과가 보다 많은 사람들에게 영향을 줄 수 있기를 바란다.
2. 내 직업의 가장 중요한 측면은 우리 사회에 영향을 미칠수 있는 정도에 달려있다.
3. 내가 영향력이 있는 사람이 아니더라도, 나의 의견이 다른 사람들의 삶을 변화시킬 수 있을때 기쁘다.
4. 나는 사회 변화로 이어질 수 있는 다양한 사회 활동에 참여하고 싶다.
5. 나는 시민들의 삶에 보다 더 직접적으로 영향을 미칠 수 있는 일을 하고 싶다.
6. 내 일이 시민들의 복지에 필수적인 것으로 간주되기를 바란다.
7. 사람들이 나의 조언에 따라 문제를 해결할 때 나는 기분이 좋다.

Additional Dimension 2: Contribution to Social Advancement
8. 내 능력이 사회전체에 도움이 될 수 있는 것에 큰 의미를 둔다.
9. 나의 일이 조직의 작은 부분일지라도, 그 것이 사회개선에 이바지하기를 바란다.
10. 어차피 생활을 영위하기 위하여 직업을 선택해야 한다면, 나는 우리 사회 또는 그 일부를 개선시키는
　　　일을 하고 싶다.
11. 내 역할이 알려지지 않더라도, 사회의 발전을 위해 적극적인 역할을 하는 것은 가치가 있다.
12. 대가를 보상받지 못하더라도, 사회의 구성원으로써 소외된 사람들을 돕는 것은 바람직하다.
13. 사회문제에 대한 사람들의 무관심이 사회문제들을 더욱 악화시키는 것 같다.

Career Consideration

공공부문에서의 경력을 선택하실때를 회고해보면, 다음의 요소들이 각각 얼마나 영향을 미쳤습니까?
14. 직업 안정성
15. 금전적 보상
16. 공무원으로써의 사회적 위신
17. 공공부문의 공정한 채용 기회
18. 사람들의 권유 (선생님, 친구, 교수)
19. 부모님의 권유
20. 공무원으로써의 부모님직업
21. 학부 혹은 대학원 전공의 유사성
22. 종교적인 믿음
23. 다른 직업에 취업 곤란함

Sociodemographic Variables

24. 성별은 무엇입니까?　　　　　(1) 남　(2) 여
25. 나이는 어떻게 되십니까?　　　(　　)세
26. 입직은 언제 하셨습니까?　　　(　　)년
27. 현재 직급은 무엇입니까?　　　(1) 3 급 (2) 4 급 (3) 5 급 (4) 6 급 (5) 7 급 (6) 8 급 (7) 9 급
28. 입직하실 때 직급은 무엇입니까? (1)5 급 (2)6 급 (3)7 급 (4)8 급 (5)9 급
29. 소속된 직군은 무엇입니까?　　(1) 행정직군 (2) 기술직군 (3) 기능직 (4) 별정직
30. 최종학력은 무엇입니까?　　　(1) 고졸미만 (2) 고졸 (3) 대졸 (4) 석사학위 (5) 박사학위
31. 종교는 무엇입니까?　　　　　(1) 기독교 (2) 불교 (3) 천주교 (4) 기타
32. 현재 수행하고 계신 업무의 주된 속성은 무엇입니까?
　(1) 정책기획 (정책목표 수립, 정부정책 기획)
　(2) 정책집행 (정책집행, 예산집행, 정책효과 검점 등)
　(3) 행정지원 (인사관련 업무 등)

APPENDIX E

List of Organizations

Functional Categories (Number of Agencies)	Name of Organization
Government Planning, Coordination, and Administration (7)	• Ministry of Public Administration and Security • Ministry of Strategy and Finance • National Emergency Management Agency • Public Procurement Service • National Tax Service • Korea Custom Service • Statistics of Korea
Social Maintenance and International Affairs (7)	• Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade • Ministry of Unification • Ministry of National Defense • Multifunctional Administrative City Construction Agency • Ministry of Environment • Korea Forest Service • Korea Meteorological Administration
Economy and Industry Affairs (6)	• Ministry of Knowledge Economy • Ministry of Labor • Ministry of Land, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishery • Small & Medium Business Administration • Korean Intellectual Property Office • Rural Development Administration
Education, Culture, and Social Welfare (7)	• Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Family Affairs • Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology • Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism • Ministry of Gender Equality • Ministry of Patriot & Veterans Affairs • Cultural Heritage Administration Korea • Korea Food & Drug Administration

Name of Institution	Fixed Number of Public Servants (As of 2011)
The Board of Audit and Inspection	1035
National Police Agency	104,952
Fair Trade Commission	493
Korea Customs Service	4,462
Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology	358,446
Ministry of Patriots & Veterans Affairs	1,278
National Human Rights Commission	469
Prime Minister's Office	425
Anti-Corruption & Civil Rights Commission	473
Ministry of National Defense	990
National Tax Service	19,973
Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs	6,302
Financial Service Commission	216
Korea Meteorological Administration	1,328
Ministry of Strategy and Finance	1,101
Ministry of Labor	5,621
Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	5,281
Rural Development Administration	2,101
Prosecution Service	9,381
President's Office	478
Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea	817
Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism	2,524
Korean Communication Commission	1,673
Defense Acquisition Program Administration	827
Ministry of Justice	18,542
Ministry of Government Legislation	190
Military of Manpower Administration	1,911
Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Family Affairs	3,647
Korea Forest Service	1,725
National Emergency Management Agency	643
Korea Food & Drug Administration	1,461
Ministry of Gender Equality	211
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	2,065
Public Procurement Service	928
Small & Medium Business Administration	691
Ministry of Knowledge Economy	32,229
Statistics Korea	2,378
Ministry of Unification	556
Korean Intellectual Property Office	1,574
Ministry of Public Administration and Security	2,953
Multifunctional Administrative City Construction Agency	161
Ministry of Environment	1,824

Source: Office of Human Resource Management and Policy. (2009). 2008 Survey Results on Public Servants. Seoul: Ministry of Public Administration and Security (p.39)

APPENDIX F

Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis

	Component (Pattern Matrix)								
	Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	inf_6	0.876							
2	inf_5	0.855							
3	inf_3	0.849							
4	inf_7	0.823							
5	inf_4	0.799							
6	inf_1	0.793							
7	inf_2	0.721							
8	contb_1	0.480							
9	ss_6		0.836						
10	ss_7		0.782						
11	ss_4		0.754						
12	ss_8		0.732						
13	ss_3		0.619						
14	ss_5		0.611						
15	cpi_2		0.536						
16	cpi_5		0.439						
17	ss_2								
18	contb_4			0.848					
19	contb_3			0.803					
20	contb_2			0.721					
21	contb_5			0.694					
22	contb_6			0.692					
23	com_2				0.868				
24	com_3				0.577				
25	com_5				0.554				
26	com_1				0.530				
27	apm_3					0.870			
28	apm_2					0.703			
29	apm_1					0.612			
30	cpi_3						0.747		
31	cpi_4						0.719		
32	cpi_1						0.525		
33	ss_1							0.863	
34	com_8							0.747	
35	com_4		-0.406					0.436	
36	com_6								0.806
37	com_7								0.591

*Indicator: "Inf": influence on society, "ss": self-sacrifice, "cpi": commitment to public interest,
    "contb": contribution to social development, "com": compassion, "apm": attraction to
    policy making

* Small coefficients (i.e., below the absolute value 0.4) are suppressed, and Promax rotation is used.

APPENDIX G

Replication of Random Variables and Factor Scores

Component		Mean Eigen Value	Std. Deviation	Minimum Eigen Value	Maximum Eigen Value	Replication (N)
D I M E N S I O N	1	1.627	0.037	1.538	1.723	40
	2	1.546	0.033	1.468	1.600	40
	3	1.495	0.027	1.442	1.551	40
	4	1.447	0.022	1.396	1.499	40
	5	1.402	0.021	1.366	1.456	40
	6	1.360	0.020	1.328	1.417	40
	7	1.319	0.017	1.292	1.364	40
	8	1.282	0.020	1.242	1.331	40
	9	1.249	0.018	1.206	1.288	40
	10	1.219	0.017	1.178	1.250	40

Correlation Table: Measurement Model

[Correlation table of observed variables used in first-order CFA]

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1	inf_1	1.000																								
2	inf_2	0.669	1.000																							
3	inf_3	0.682	0.640	1.000																						
4	inf_4	0.561	0.572	0.634	1.000																					
5	inf_5	0.531	0.522	0.579	0.622	1.000																				
6	inf_6	0.525	0.514	0.595	0.514	0.671	1.000																			
7	inf_7	0.546	0.481	0.635	0.518	0.540	0.613	1.000																		
8	contb_1	0.480	0.552	0.503	0.524	0.456	0.424	0.448	1.000																	
9	contb_2	0.390	0.442	0.445	0.458	0.390	0.363	0.366	0.534	1.000																
10	contb_3	0.369	0.424	0.416	0.365	0.349	0.372	0.405	0.492	0.668	1.000															
11	contb_4	0.288	0.265	0.275	0.243	0.240	0.221	0.318	0.352	0.383	0.443	1.000														
12	contb_5	0.332	0.357	0.398	0.312	0.337	0.382	0.309	0.328	0.484	0.564	0.417	1.000													
13	contb_6	0.422	0.425	0.414	0.402	0.406	0.400	0.399	0.398	0.521	0.541	0.378	0.593	1.000												
14	cpi_2	0.072	0.111	0.116	0.138	0.205	0.131	0.176	0.197	0.161	0.154	0.108	0.092	0.091	1.000											
15	cpi_5	0.197	0.265	0.244	0.234	0.274	0.297	0.232	0.245	0.341	0.389	0.221	0.357	0.340	0.347	1.000										
16	ss_3	0.253	0.270	0.273	0.292	0.341	0.343	0.302	0.257	0.263	0.313	0.174	0.365	0.260	0.395	0.477	1.000									
17	ss_4	0.151	0.194	0.221	0.258	0.227	0.233	0.261	0.248	0.241	0.300	0.091	0.259	0.224	0.453	0.451	0.614	1.000								
18	ss_5	0.212	0.208	0.258	0.286	0.226	0.195	0.219	0.216	0.281	0.281	0.161	0.310	0.242	0.351	0.429	0.545	0.564	1.000							
19	ss_6	0.123	0.138	0.201	0.239	0.251	0.204	0.188	0.234	0.218	0.244	0.076	0.251	0.175	0.480	0.448	0.541	0.566	0.590	1.000						
20	ss_7	0.010	0.083	0.068	0.148	0.204	0.116	0.062	0.142	0.106	0.130	0.072	0.147	0.067	0.454	0.325	0.421	0.456	0.383	0.638	1.000					
21	ss_8	0.136	0.135	0.138	0.147	0.185	0.160	0.144	0.179	0.166	0.199	0.019	0.175	0.143	0.365	0.373	0.437	0.471	0.350	0.547	0.554	1.000				
22	com_1	0.191	0.229	0.214	0.187	0.186	0.187	0.154	0.191	0.201	0.182	0.142	0.290	0.183	0.179	0.205	0.287	0.237	0.259	0.247	0.293	0.263	1.000			
23	com_2	0.236	0.233	0.295	0.261	0.231	0.288	0.285	0.226	0.290	0.335	0.150	0.289	0.267	0.198	0.239	0.362	0.242	0.306	0.266	0.177	0.184	0.254	1.000		
24	com_3	0.323	0.285	0.305	0.266	0.298	0.297	0.290	0.224	0.246	0.246	0.203	0.258	0.273	0.217	0.303	0.293	0.245	0.241	0.252	0.195	0.197	0.277	0.327	1.000	
25	com_5	0.221	0.242	0.237	0.248	0.208	0.284	0.265	0.278	0.290	0.321	0.164	0.297	0.262	0.237	0.327	0.374	0.325	0.303	0.270	0.208	0.237	0.255	0.363	0.292	1.000
Mean		4.194	4.030	4.189	3.946	3.928	4.035	4.168	3.867	4.042	4.051	3.892	3.960	4.047	3.007	3.502	3.463	3.441	3.365	3.147	2.934	3.220	3.403	3.679	3.709	3.663
Std. Dev.		0.729	0.720	0.727	0.725	0.751	0.754	0.718	0.704	0.713	0.703	0.841	0.738	0.732	0.732	0.770	0.807	0.790	0.829	0.804	0.778	0.773	0.690	0.687	0.629	0.667
N		428	427	428	427	428	428	428	428	428	428	427	428	428	428	428	428	426	427	428	427	428	427	427	426	427

APPENDIX I
Result of First-order CFA

Latent	Items	Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	Two-Tailed P-Value	Communal-ities (R^2)
Influence on Society (INFLU)	→ INF_1	0.744	0.024	31.586	0.000	0.553
	→ INF_2	0.757	0.024	32.008	0.000	0.573
	→ INF_3	0.821	0.017	49.023	0.000	0.674
	→ INF_4	0.767	0.024	32.017	0.000	0.588
	→ INF_5	0.749	0.024	31.213	0.000	0.562
	→ INF_6	0.771	0.022	35.303	0.000	0.595
	→ INF_7	0.745	0.023	32.722	0.000	0.555
	→ CONTB_1	0.654	0.026	24.895	0.000	0.427
Self-Sacrifice (SS)	→ SS_3	0.758	0.024	31.661	0.000	0.584
	→ SS_4	0.771	0.026	30.019	0.000	0.595
	→ SS_5	0.705	0.029	24.554	0.000	0.348
	→ SS_6	0.764	0.025	30.972	0.000	0.388
	→ SS_7	0.590	0.039	15.297	0.000	0.497
	→ SS_8	0.623	0.035	17.998	0.000	0.574
	→ CPI_2	0.567	0.037	15.386	0.000	0.322
	→ CPI_5	0.639	0.036	17.592	0.000	0.408
Contribution to Social Development (CONTB)	→ CONTB_2	0.711	0.028	25.226	0.000	0.272
	→ CONTB_3	0.764	0.027	28.726	0.000	0.583
	→ CONTB_4	0.521	0.048	10.833	0.000	0.505
	→ CONTB_5	0.775	0.024	32.355	0.000	0.640
	→ CONTB_6	0.800	0.022	36.308	0.000	0.601
Compassion (COM)	→ COM_1	0.470	0.048	9.794	0.000	0.361
	→ COM_2	0.600	0.044	13.615	0.000	0.220
	→ COM_3	0.562	0.048	11.810	0.000	0.316
	→ COM_5	0.580	0.044	13.271	0.000	0.337

APPENDIX J
Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	N
Gender	0.326	0.469	0.00	1.00	426
Age	41.321	6.969	28.00	57.00	424
Education	3.209	0.571	1.00	5.00	426
Job Security	3.984	0.701	1.00	5.00	426
Financial Reward	2.868	0.820	1.00	5.00	424
Social Prestige	3.653	0.737	1.00	5.00	426
Job Employment Equity	3.824	0.710	1.00	5.00	425
People's Suggestions	3.179	0.904	1.00	5.00	425
Family Suggestions	3.384	0.899	1.00	5.00	425
Family Public Servant	3.810	1.181	1.00	5.00	422
Similarity to major	3.047	1.238	1.00	5.00	423
Religious Beliefs	1.887	0.960	1.00	5.00	423
Difficulty in Getting a Job	2.632	1.124	1.00	5.00	424
Length of Service	13.931	8.393	0.00	37.00	422
Current Grade	5.838	1.082	3.00	9.00	426
Experience of Grade Promotion	1.686	1.293	0.00	5.00	424
Current Position	2.906	0.308	1.00	3.00	424
Primary Task	0.514	0.500	0.00	1.00	424
Career Path	0.600	0.490	0.00	1.00	425
PSM	81.907	9.518	49.00	110.00	420
Valid N (listwise)	388				

APPENDIX K
Correlation Table: Regression Analysis

[Correlation table of variables used in regression]

	Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	PSM	1.00																			
2	gender	-0.06	1.00																		
3	age	0.20	-0.38	1.00																	
4	edu	0.11	-0.09	0.20	1.00																
5	jsecure	0.10	0.16	-0.12	-0.13	1.00															
6	finance	0.02	0.04	0.07	-0.06	0.12	1.00														
7	socrepu	0.21	0.08	0.01	-0.03	0.29	0.33	1.00													
8	jemplequ	0.14	0.16	0.00	0.06	0.28	0.11	0.33	1.00												
9	peopsugst	0.06	0.20	-0.14	0.03	0.10	0.18	0.22	0.21	1.00											
10	famsugst	0.06	0.20	-0.14	-0.01	0.19	0.23	0.40	0.23	0.55	1.00										
11	fampbsrv	0.11	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.15	-0.16	0.05	0.06	-0.14	-0.15	1.00									
12	mjorsimi	0.19	-0.12	0.16	0.25	-0.01	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.06	0.06	-0.14	1.00								
13	rligblif	0.00	-0.01	0.17	-0.04	-0.10	0.20	-0.04	-0.13	0.12	0.04	-0.36	0.17	1.00							
14	diffijob	-0.07	0.26	-0.09	-0.07	0.09	0.18	-0.02	0.14	0.23	0.17	-0.14	-0.10	0.24	1.00						
15	tenure	0.21	-0.20	0.86	0.08	-0.08	0.08	0.04	0.01	-0.08	-0.06	-0.01	0.11	0.17	-0.08	1.00					
16	curr_grade	-0.09	0.29	-0.44	-0.31	0.12	-0.11	-0.16	-0.10	0.08	0.06	-0.05	-0.19	0.01	0.15	-0.30	1.00				
17	promotion	0.24	-0.14	0.64	0.08	0.00	0.08	0.06	0.09	-0.04	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.04	-0.01	0.77	-0.22	1.00			
18	position	-0.06	0.08	-0.18	0.07	0.05	-0.11	-0.09	0.00	0.03	-0.03	0.03	-0.10	-0.16	-0.04	-0.16	0.30	0.00	1.00		
19	task_polic	0.04	-0.20	0.17	0.26	-0.12	0.05	0.04	-0.01	-0.04	-0.05	0.00	0.17	-0.01	-0.14	0.07	-0.42	-0.01	-0.08	1.00	
20	career_pat	0.00	0.20	-0.15	-0.10	0.02	0.19	0.17	0.23	0.11	0.19	-0.02	-0.30	-0.07	0.16	-0.14	-0.12	0.06	0.05	-0.11	1.00

APPENDIX L
Mplus Syntax

Title: Second-order Confirmatory Factor

Data:
  File is PSM_KOREACASE.dta.dat ;
  LISTWISE = ON;

Variable:
  Names are
      id inf_1 inf_2 inf_3 inf_4 inf_5 inf_6 inf_7 contb_1 contb_2 contb_3
      contb_4 contb_5 contb_6 pofit_1 pofit_2 pofit_3 pofit_3R socid_1 socid_2
      socid_3 socid_4 orgsoc_1 orgsoc_2 orgsoc_3 actgv_1 actgv_2 actgv_3
      actgv_3R apm_1 apm_2 apm_3 apm_1R apm_2R apm_3R tlead_1 tlead_2 tlead_3
      tlead_4 tlead_5 viout_1 viout_2 viout_3 viout_1R viout_2R viout_3R
      cpi_1 cpi_1R cpi_2 cpi_3 cpi_4 cpi_5 ss_1 ss_1R ss_2 ss_3 ss_4 ss_5
      ss_6 ss_7 ss_8 com_1 com_2 com_3 com_4 com_4R com_5 com_6 com_6R com_7
      com_7R com_8 com_8R jsecure finance socrepu jemplequ pepsugst famsugst
      fampbsrv mjorsimi rligblif diffijob sexdummy age edu job_dum job_dum2
      cu_grade grad_ch position ca_path ca_path2 tenure relig sex begin
      en_grade job_type job_typ2 org v1_1 v1_2 v1_3 v1_4 v1_5 v1_6 v1_7
      v2_1 v2_2 v2_3 v2_4 v2_5 v2_6 v2_7 v2_8 v2_9 v3_1 v3_2 v3_3 v3_4 v3_5
      v3_6 v3_7 v4_1 v4_2 v4_3 v4_4 v4_5 v4_6 v5_1 v5_2 v5_3 v5_4 v5_5 v5_6
      v5_7 v5_8 v6_1 v6_2 v6_3 v6_4 v6_5 v7_1 v7_2 v7_3 v7_4 v7_5 v7_6 v7_7
      v7_8 v8_1 v8_2 v8_3 v8_4 v8_5 v8_6 v8_7 v8_8 v9_1 v9_2 v9_3 v9_4 v9_5
      v9_6 v9_7 v9_8 v9_9 v9_10 v2_9R v4_3R v4_4R v4_5R v4_6R v5_6R v5_7R
      v5_8R v6_1R v7_1R v8_4R v8_6R v8_7R v8_8R r1 r2 r3 r4 r5 r6 r7 r8
      r9 r10 r11 r12 r13 r14 r15 r16 r17 r18 r19 r20 r21 r22 r23 r24 r25
      r26 r27 r28 r29 r30 r31 r32 r33 r34 r35 r36 r37 mah_1 filter_0;
  Missing are all (-9999) ;

ANALYSIS:
    TYPE = GENERAL;
    Estimator MLM;
    ITERATIONS = 1000;

USEVARIABLES ARE
    inf_2 inf_3 inf_4 inf_5 inf_6 inf_7
    ss_3 ss_4 ss_5 ss_6 ss_8 cpi_2 cpi_5
    contb_2 contb_3 contb_4 contb_5 contb_6
    com_1 com_2 com_3 com_5;

MODEL:
    INFLU BY inf_2 inf_3 inf_4 inf_5 inf_6 inf_7;
    SS BY   ss_3 ss_4 ss_5 ss_6 ss_8 cpi_2 cpi_5;
    CONTB BY contb_2 contb_3 contb_4 contb_5 contb_6;

COM BY com_1 com_2 com_3 com_5;
PSM BY *INFLU SS CONTB COM;
PSM@1;

OUTPUT:
 MODINDICES (5);
 STDYX;
 TECH4;

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