Confucian Values in Public Organizations: Distinctive Effects of Two Interpersonal Norms on Public Employees’ Work Morale

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Much effort has been invested in the research of work-related values in public organizations but little attention is paid to the importance of personal values. We investigate this underexplored domain through the lens of Confucianism and focus on two Confucian values: (i) submission to authority and (ii) male dominance. We expect submission to authority to be a positive predictor of work morale, because it is consistent with the command hierarchy and formal control in bureaucracies. In contrast, male dominance should be a negative predictor as it contradicts equality of opportunity in public organizations. This is noteworthy as personnel practices in public organizations are deemed a role model for business organizations. Statistical findings based on data collected in Taiwan support both hypotheses. We conclude that public personnel practices, especially the hiring process, can benefit from our findings.

INTRODUCTION

In the literature of public administration, pertaining to the importance of values, much emphasis has been placed on work-related values such as intrinsic and extrinsic values (Lyons, Duxbury, & Higgins, 2006). Indeed, work values have a great impact on work attitude and motivation, but values may also originate from outside of the workplace. Values that individuals demonstrate in the workplace are often learned through socialization prior to entering the organization. However, public administration scholars have neglected this line of research. This study attempts to fill the gap by exploring values in Confucianism, an important system of moral value in East Asia (Frederickson, 2002). As we will address in the following paragraphs, Confucian values, as defined in this study, will interact with contextual factors in the public sector, especially public values and bureaucratic structures, and accordingly, influence public employees’ work morale.

The influence of Confucian values on East Asians is profound. Under the influence of Confucianism, East Asians tend to be more obedient, compliant, and people-oriented compared to Westerners who are more autonomous, individualistic, and law-abiding (Van der Wal & Yang, 2015). Concerning this phenomenon, business administration scholars have initiated research on Asian management (Hofstede, 2007) and Chinese management (Tsui, 2006). Some of them have further contended that the East Asian context is unique enough to hypothesize a distinct management theory (Barney & Zhang, 2009). However, it is only recently that Confucianism appears in public administration literature. For instance, an effort has been made to explore the compatibility of Confucian values and modern democracy (Chan, 2014). Some scholars investigate how various Confucian values (e.g., ren, yi, and li) are related to modern public values, and whether these values differ between the East and the West (L. Yang, 2016; L. Yang & van der Wal, 2014). Others are interested in how Confucian values affect organizational performance (Kim, Park, & Kim, 2016; Moon & Im, 2016). These recent studies signify a turning point in the study of modern public administration, which has been predominantly Anglophone. The paucity of Confucianism research...
in modern public administration literature reveals a knowledge gap that urgently needs to be filled. There is a scarcity of research that directly measures the influence of Confucian values.

Therefore, in this study, we ask whether public employees’ Confucian values affect their work morale. While Confucianism is a concept that comprises multiple political, ethical, and educational values, we are especially interested in (i) submission to authority and (ii) male dominance, two values that concern interpersonal relationships. We acknowledge that other cultures, such as the Islamic culture, also highlight both submission to authority and male dominance, according to Hofstede (1993). In addition, (high) power distance and masculinity, two dimensions in Hofstede’s theory of culture, quite resemble submission to authority and male dominance respectively. That is, the two values do not belong exclusively to Confucianism, and Confucianism should not be solely represented by the two values.

However, we argue that both submission to authority and male dominance can adequately convey the essence of Confucianism. First, the two interpersonal values frequently appear in Confucian classics, such as the Book of Rites (Liji), Mencius Selections (Mengzi), and Xunzi Selections (Xunzi). Second, in today’s academic literature across disciplines (e.g., psychology, sociology, and generic management), in both Chinese and English, the two values have been selected by scholars as a major part of Chinese people’s “traditionality” (Farh, Earley, & Lin, 1997; Lu & Ung, 2006; K.-S. Yang, Yu, & Yeh, 1991). Finally, the two values concern roles in an interpersonal relationship, and the interpersonal relationship is a core element in Confucianism. More precisely, Confucianism singles out three types of relationships that are fundamental to families and societies: the father–son relationship, the husband–wife relationship, and the emperor–minister relationship (i.e., “sangang” in Chinese, meaning the three bonds). These relationships form the basic structure of a society. To ensure social order, these relationships follow a master–follower hierarchy (Hamilton, 1990; Tu, 1998). Values of submission to authority and male dominance stem from such a belief.

Submission to authority and male dominance may share a similar origin, where the male in traditional East Asian families and clans represents authority. Nowadays, the distinction between the two becomes salient, because submission to authority seems to be much more carefully preserved and widely accepted than male dominance. For example, children are still asked to show salutatory respect to authoritative figures like parents and teachers (K.-T. Sung & Kim, 2001). Meanwhile, women rights have greatly improved and male dominance is increasingly seen as an obsolete and even discriminatory value given the emergence of female leaders, such as the current South Korean and Taiwanese presidents, in this region. Does our statistical analysis corroborate this trend (i.e. submission to authority being more carefully preserved than male dominance)? More importantly, how do the two Confucian values influence public employees’ work morale? Should we expect different influences because one value is better preserved than the other?

To answer these questions, three outcome variables are chosen. First, like many studies of personnel management, we capture work morale and motivation using job involvement and organizational commitment, two crucial work attitudes (Robbins & Judge, 2017). In addition, we consider public service motivation (PSM), a variable that both measures public employees’ motivation at work (Rainey, 2009) and signifies disciplinary identity of public administration (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008). In developing hypotheses, we link these outcome variables to the public sector context such as bureaucratic structures and public values. For example, submission to authority is quite compatible with the centralization of power and hierarchical control in bureaucracy (Olsen, 2006), whereas male dominance may contradict social equity, an important public value (Bozeman, 2007). They may thus lead to different consequences, as we will discuss in the following sections. To test the hypotheses, we examine data collected in Taiwan, a society that has long been under the influence of Confucianism. Theoretically, the findings advance the research on non-work values (more precisely, Confucian values) in public administration. Practically, answers to these questions
can benefit public managers in improving personnel practices, especially hiring.

SUBMISSION TO AUTHORITY

Pioneered by Yang, Yu, and Yeh (1991), submission to authority as a traditional Confucian value is frequently addressed in management, psychology, and education when scholars research Chinese traditionalism (Farh, Hackett, & Liang, 2007; Wang, Chu, & Ni, 2010; Wen & Clément, 2003). Figures of authority in a Chinese society, according to Yang et al. (1991), include parents, older brothers in a family, seniors in a clan, organization or community leaders, and political leaders of a nation. Submission to authority, in fact, originates from a more well-known Confucian value: filial piety.

When Confucius first proposed filial piety, it was keenly associated with concepts of reciprocity between parents and children (Sung, 1999). Later, the meaning of filial piety began to change as it acquired authoritarian characteristics. Yeh (2003) indicated: “The authoritarian approach of filial piety was established by social and family organizations in the form of laws, public opinions, and family rules to make sure interaction between family members is smooth and harmonious” (p.75). Under this norm, children must suppress their own desires and comply with parents’ wishes, simply to honor their parents’ seniority.

In a patriarchal society, compliance to parents can be easily transferred to compliance to authoritative figures in the society such as clan leaders. Clan leaders in the Chinese society have full authoritarian control over all household members. When disagreements arise within a clan, in order to safeguard one another’s reputation and protect harmonious “guanxi” (interpersonal relations), people tend to avoid conflicts and request third-party intervention from clan leaders. In social organizations, the mediator tends to be someone who is senior and occupies a higher position (Hwang, 1998). Today, many Chinese people continue to perceive submission to authority as an important virtue that fosters gratitude and stability (Kee, Tsai, & Chen, 2008). They see it as a valuable asset that should be inherited by future generations.

Hypothesis

We are interested in knowing whether submission to authority affects public employees’ work morale in different dimensions, namely organizational commitment, job involvement, and PSM. We hypothesize that submission to authority has a direct and positive impact on the three aforementioned variables. This hypothesis is first grounded in the view of person–environment fit (Spokane, Meir, & Catalano, 2000) or person–organization fit (De Cooman et al., 2009), both of which suggest that positive work attitudes arise when individuals perceive that the environment matches their personal values, needs, and abilities. As mentioned, submission to authority is not an obsolete virtue in East Asia. Children nowadays are expected to learn several forms of respect such as linguistic respect (using respectful language and words), presentational respect (maintaining courteous appearances), and salutatory respect (greeting, often with bows) when interacting with the elderly and figures of authority (K.-T. Sung & Kim, 2001). Paternalistic leadership, defined as a management style that combines strong discipline and authority with fatherly benevolence (Farh & Cheng, 2000, p. 91), is still an important feature in Chinese organizations today (Cheng, Chou, Wu, Huang, & Farh, 2004). Therefore, we have reason to expect that individuals who are submissive to authority, compared to those who have a strong desire for autonomy, should perceive a better person–environment/organization fit and exhibit more positive work attitudes and motivations. Empirical evidence also shows that this traditional value is positively correlated with organizational commitment (Hui, Lee, & Rousseau, 2004; Zhang, Song, Tsui, & Fu, 2014).

One may also reach the same conclusion by considering the nature of public sector bureaucracy. External control from elected officials, upper-level agencies, and formal rules, is pervasive in the public sector (Rainey, 2009). Evidence shows that public employees, in general, perceive themselves to experience more red tape and have more ambiguous goals and less autonomy than their business peers.
Accordingly, they exhibit poorer organizational commitment and job involvement (Boyne, 2002; Rainey & Bozeman, 2000). Individuals tolerate bureaucratic control to varying extents, and those who are more submissive to authority should demonstrate a higher level of tolerance, perceive less control, and exhibit more positive work attitudes.

Hypothesis 1: Submission to authority has a direct and positive relationship with job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM.

MALE DOMINANCE

Generally speaking, attitudes toward gender roles are more conservative in Chinese culture compared to the West (Helgeson, 2012), and Confucianism is often deemed the main cause of male dominance over women (Guisso, 1981; Ko, Haboush, & Piggott, 2003; C. Li, 2000). In Chinese history, Confucianization was a civilizing process that promoted a harmonious social order by transforming morality (Ko et al., 2003). Yet, this Confucian view of civilization has infamously given power to the privileged few, that is, the ruling class dominated by men. Concerning male dominance, Confucian literature has never explicitly stated that women are inferior to men or that feminine roles are less important than masculine ones (Y.-N. Li, 1992). Instead, Confucianism suggests that there is an innate difference between men and women (Guisso, 1981, p. 48). Closely analogous to the distinction and interdependence between yin and yang, in order to achieve harmony in life, both men and women have specific roles to play and these roles complement each other (Lin, 1943). A typical example is that a husband acts as the provider, protector, and leader in the family, whereas the wife follows his instruction to take charge of household affairs and to continue the family line (M. H. Sung, 1981). When familial roles are fulfilled, women would then be praised and respected. Men, on the other hand, do not need such social respect as they are in power.

For centuries, the Confucian conviction of male dominance—as a result of the pursuit of social harmony—has ironically translated into oppressive practice towards women. In a traditional family, the husband could use this doctrine to “turn the wife into a virtual house slave” (C. Li, 2000, p. 5). In the society, there is also pressure for women to be virtuous; these women are known as lieh-nü (lienü) (M. H. Sung, 1981). It is believed that the tradition of lieh-nü (lienü), coupled with filial piety and other moral principles, builds the basis of the social life of Chinese people. This belief, however, leads to punishment for disobedience. This is particularly evident in ancient China where discriminatory practices like chaste widowhood were institutionalized. Legal and social restrictions were present to offer a model for female behavior. Those who did not fit into the prescribed model would be despised, humiliated, expelled, or even threatened with death.

Hypothesis

Through the process of self-cultivation, Confucianism aims to transform people into noble men and virtuous women, though ironically men rather than women defined the virtues that women ought to embody. For centuries, moral virtues have been cemented as unbreakable social norms that entrap Chinese women for the purpose of maintaining social harmony. Now, however, we are conscious of the influence of male dominance and no longer accept it as natural and unquestionable (Y.-N. Li, 1992). Male dominance is arguably universal but universality does not imply inevitability (Goldberg, 1993). In recent decades, traditional gender roles have been challenged as the world gradually rejects any form of gender inequality or discrimination against women. For instance, since 1995 the United Nations has been advocating the idea of “gender mainstreaming” among its member countries in the hope of promoting gender equality. Confucian teachings might have helped the Chinese establish a well-functioning society for over two millennia but some of those teachings are no longer compatible with values treasured by contemporary society. Thus, the concept of male dominance appears to contradict the value of social equity we all espouse.

In public administration, social equity has long been regarded as the “third pillar,” joining economy and efficiency as general principles to which public
servants should adhere (Frederickson, 1990). It is said that administrators should contribute to a fairer, more just, more equitable society through the making and implementation of public policy. Over the years, social equity has been applied to many aspects of public administration, such as employment, citizen participation, and service delivery, as well as to discriminatory practices against women. Yet more needs to be done. In order to incorporate gender considerations into public administration, gender equality remains one of the most urgent challenges faced by governments.

Considering the current emphasis on social equity in public administration, if public employees love the work they do, then they will help the government combat any form of injustice, including male dominance. If they are committed to their organizations, then they will strive to achieve gender equality at work because government practices are deemed models for business organizations. If PSM inheres in them (Vandenabeele, 2008), then their altruistic quality will lead them to resent unfair treatment of women, particularly in a male-dominated world. In short, male dominance should be a negative predictor of job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM as it contradicts social equity, one of the core values of public administration.

Hypothesis 2: Male dominance has a direct and negative relationship with job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM.

METHODOLOGY

Data
To test the hypotheses, we used variables from the Taiwan Government Bureaucratic Survey (TGBS) data. Often considered as a major part of Chinese culture but politically separated from Mainland China, Taiwan employs the system of separation of powers that resembles other democratic presidential systems in the world. The Taiwanese government uses a fourteen-grade public service system, in which Pay Grades 1–5 make up the lowest (Level 1), Pay Grades 6–9 make up the middle (Level 2), and Pay Grades 10–14 make up the highest (Level 3).

Collected in late 2011 and early 2012, the TGBS data was not officially released for public use until 2016. TGBS focused on all Taiwanese central government employees. The population list was provided by the Central Office of Personnel Administration. By definition, the central government does not include the police, army, state-owned enterprises, public hospitals, and public schools. In order to ensure the representativeness of the sample, stratified sampling technique was used to systematically cover (i) three different grade levels and (ii) 34 different central government agencies.

The survey team employed face-to-face interviews to collect data: the survey team phoned to confirm the interview date in advance, delivered the questionnaire to the respondent on the confirmed date, provided assistance when necessary, collected the questionnaire, and put it in a sealed envelope to ensure the anonymity. To ensure the quality of data, the survey team conducted a pilot study with a focus group of 51 public employees working in the Taiwanese central government. According to the result, the survey team revised the questionnaire, including wording. The survey team expected to reach the sample size of 2,000 (607 from Level 1, 1,147 from Level 2, and 246 from Level 3) but at the end of the survey, a sample size of 1,273 was achieved, delivering a response rate of 61.85% (see Appendix B). We attribute this satisfactory response rate to the method of face-to-face interview. In addition, an after-the-interview gift also partly contributed to respondents’ willingness to accept the interview. TGBS determined failure cases to be as follow: (i) the respondent refused to accept interview in the invitation phone call; (ii) there was a change of grade of the respondent; (iii) the respondent was transferred to a new agency; (iv) the respondent was on long-term leave; (v) the research team failed to reach the respondent over the phone after eight attempts.

Variables
The main independent variables, submission to authority and male dominance, were first proposed
by Yang (1991) as major components of the Chinese people’s traditionality. In the initial design, both concepts were measured with 15 Likert-scale items. The present study adopted the shortened version of Chinese people’s traditionality from two more recent studies (Lu, Kao, & Chen, 2006; Lu & Ung, 2006), in which both submission to authority and male dominance were each measured with three Likert-scale items (1=strongly disagree; 6=strong agree). Cronbach’s α values for the two constructs are .79 and .85 respectively.

There are three outcome variables in the present study: job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM. First, job involvement captures the extent to which employees are engaged in their jobs (Paullay, Alliger, & Stone-Romero, 1994). Items used to measure job involvement are adopted from an earlier study by Hassan and Rohrbaugh (2011) (Cronbach’s α = .81). A few recent studies used similar items (Boardman, Bozeman, & Ponomariov, 2010; Chen, 2012). Second, organizational commitment is the desire to maintain membership in an organization. In public organizations, the primary dimension of commitment is affective commitment (Liou & Nyhan, 1994); that is, people experience positive feelings of identification with the current organization. For this, we extracted three items of affective commitment from the affective commitment scale (Meyer & Allen, 1984; Nyhan, 2000) (Cronbach’s α = .81). Finally, regarding the measurement of PSM, we employed the shortened five-item scale created by Alonso and Lewis (2001). It is worth noting that some items were slightly modified during translation so Chinese readers may be more comfortable with the expressions. Cronbach’s α value reached .79 for the five items. Please refer to Appendix A for variable measurement.

Because all latent variables mentioned above have been established in literature, confirmative factor analysis (CFA) was performed to assess their construct validity. The result shows that none of the correlations between latent variables were extremely high (.65 the highest), suggesting discriminant validity among these factors. As for convergent validity, path coefficients of the CFA model all exceeded .45, meaning each question item explained over 20% of its corresponding latent variable. Fit indices, i.e., CFI = .950, TLI = .939, SRMR = .047, RMSEA = .053, also rendered support to the use of those variables. Due to the cross-sectional nature of the dataset, common methods variance is a possible concern. In the TGBS data, items of the study variables were placed in different sections of the questionnaire. Podsakoff and colleagues (2003) noted that the separation of the independent and dependent variables can effectively reduce problematic response styles. However, this procedural remedy was not sufficient. Thus, the severity of common method variance was further assessed by adding a common latent factor into the CFA model (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012). As a result, all items were related to the common factor in addition to their corresponding factor. These newly added paths were constrained to be equal, because presumably the influence of common methods variance should be constant across the model. We also fixed the value of the common factor in order to estimate path coefficients. The unstandardized coefficient for paths from the common factor was .32, suggesting that the total variance explained by the common factor was only 10%. On the basis of this finding, we concluded that the threat of common method variance in the present research is minimal.

Finally, several variables, including demographics such as age, gender and education (1=high school and lower; 2=college or a professional degree; 3=bachelor’s degree; 4=master’s degree and higher) were controlled. We also considered a few job-related factors that may influence work attitudes and PSM (Boardman et al., 2010; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007): respondents’ tenure in the current job, whether respondents had working experience in private and nonprofit organizations, how many times they had changed agencies, and whether they had a managerial position when they participated in the survey.

**ANALYTICAL RESULTS**

Before testing hypotheses, we present descriptive statistics in Table 1. Survey respondents were, on average, 44.82 years old and had worked in the
current job for about 5 years. Both male and female civil servants were well represented in the sample, though the proportion of females was slightly higher. The majority of respondents were non-managers and only 24% of them held a managerial position. With respect to work experience, approximately 40% of respondents reported that they had only worked in the public sector. As for our main variables, the sample demonstrated a high degree of job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM. The level of

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

|                         | N    | Mean | SD  | Min | Max |
|-------------------------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| Job Involvement         | 1235 | 4.26 | 0.86| 1   | 6   |
| Organizational Commitment| 1225 | 4.42 | 0.94| 1   | 6   |
| Public Service Motivation | 1233 | 4.57 | 0.58| 2   | 6   |
| Submission to Authority | 1229 | 4.05 | 0.89| 1   | 6   |
| Male Dominance          | 1233 | 2.28 | 0.88| 1   | 6   |
| Age                     | 1233 | 44.82| 8.77| 23  | 65  |
| Gender (male=1)         | 1238 | 0.49 | 0.50| 0   | 1   |
| Education               | 1233 | 3.36 | 0.76| 1   | 4   |
| Pay grade               | 1237 | 7.77 | 2.29| 1   | 14  |
| Managerial position (yes=1) | 1234 | 0.24 | 0.43| 0   | 1   |
| Job tenure              | 1232 | 5.04 | 5.83| 0   | 43  |
| Public sector only (yes=1) | 1236 | 0.40 | 0.49| 0   | 1   |
| Times of agency switching| 1233 | 1.35 | 1.47| 0   | 10  |

Table 2. Correlation Matrix

|                  | 1    | 2     | 3     | 4     | 5     | 6     | 7     | 8     | 9     | 10    | 11    | 12    | 13    |
|------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. Job Involvement | 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 2. Org Commitment  | 0.65*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 3. PSM             | 0.33*| 0.29*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 4. Submission to authority | 0.15*| 0.19*| 0.30*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 5. Male dominance  | -0.06| -0.06| -0.04| 0.25*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 6. Age             | 0.23*| 0.12*| 0.30*| 0.17*| 0.14*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 7. Male            | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.15*| 0.04 | 0.20*| 0.13*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 8. Education       | -0.01| -0.01| 0.02 | -0.10*| -0.01| -0.19*| 0.24*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |       |
| 9. Level           | 0.17*| 0.11*| 0.16*| 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.36*| 0.26*| 0.44*| 1.00 |       |       |       |       |
| 10. Managerial position | 0.18*| 0.14*| 0.14*| -0.01| 0.02 | 0.26*| 0.13*| 0.20*| 0.48*| 1.00 |       |       |       |
| 11. Job tenure     | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.10*| 0.08*| 0.09*| 0.36*| -0.05| -0.26*| -0.08*| -0.12*| 1.00 |       |       |
| 12. Public sector only | 0.01 | 0.03 | -0.02| 0.00 | 0.01 | -0.01| 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.11*| 0.06 | 0.03 | 1.00 |       |
| 13. Job switching  | -0.04| -0.07| -0.02| -0.01| 0.00 | -0.01| -0.05| 0.06 | 0.11*| -0.01| -0.17*| -0.01| 1.00 |       |
submission to authority was also noticeable. The mean for the male dominance scale, on the other hand, was low and below the middle point of the scale (3.5 in a 1-6 Likert scale), suggesting that the global movement for gender equality has transformed the Confucian view of gender roles in Taiwan.

We provide correlation matrix in Table 2. As we can see, submission to authority is positively correlated with male dominance, although the first one is still a dominant value whereas the second one is considered obsolete. In addition, submission to authority is positively correlated with age, but negatively

| Independent Variables | Job Involvement | Organizational Commitment | Public Service Motivation |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Submission to Authority | 0.153*** (0.00) | 0.228*** (0.00) | 0.198*** (0.00) |
| Male Dominance        | -0.116*** (0.00) | -0.133*** (0.00) | -0.110*** (0.00) |
| Controls              |                 |                           |                           |
| Age                   | 0.017*** (0.00) | 0.05 (0.19) | 0.017*** (0.00) |
| Gender (male)         | -0.033 (0.51) | 0.008 (0.88) | 0.124*** (0.00) |
| Education             | -0.011 (0.78) | -0.034 (0.43) | 0.062** (0.01) |
| Pay grade             | 0.028* (0.06) | 0.024 (0.14) | -0.001 (0.88) |
| Managerial position   | 0.194*** (0.00) | 0.269*** (0.00) | 0.079* (0.06) |
| Job tenure            | -0.005 (0.27) | -0.005 (0.37) | 0.002 (0.48) |
| Public Sector only    | 0.004 (0.93) | 0.021 (0.70) | -0.022 (0.48) |
| Times of agency switching | -0.030* (0.07) | -0.056*** (0.00) | -0.004 (0.72) |
| Constant              | 2.976*** (0.00) | 3.520*** (0.00) | 2.979*** (0.00) |
| N                     | 1203 (0.00) | 1191 (0.00) | 1201 (0.00) |
| F                     | 13.52 (0.00) | 11.20 (0.00) | 30.24 (0.00) |
| R-square              | 0.102 (0.094) | 0.086 (0.079) | 0.203 (0.196) |
| Adj R-square          |                 |                           |                           |

Note: p values in parentheses; *statistical significance p< .10; **statistical significance p< .05; ***statistical significance p< .01.
correlated with education. That is, youngsters, especially those who are well educated, are less submissive than their senior peers. Male dominance is positively correlated with older age and the male gender. Indeed, it should not be surprising that older generations who received more traditional education may not highly value gender equality. Men, who may benefit from gender inequality, may have more favorable view on male dominance. Finally, we also notice that age is positively correlated with both submission to authority and male dominance. It may imply that both Confucian values are diminishing, but the speed is faster for male dominance.

To put our hypotheses to the test, we conducted ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. In all Models, submission to authority was positively related to job involvement ($\beta = 0.153$, $p = .00$), organizational commitment ($\beta = 0.228$, $p = .00$), and PSM ($\beta = 0.198$, $p = .00$), which was in line with H1. In addition, the results of OLS regression revealed that male dominance was significantly, negatively related to all three outcome variables—job involvement ($\beta = -0.116$, $p = .00$), organizational commitment ($\beta = -0.133$, $p = .00$), and PSM ($\beta = -0.110$, $p = .00$). All in all, the main effects showed in Table 3 confirmed our conjecture. As for control variables, age, gender, and a managerial position were statistically significant in all models. Those who were older were inclined to show stronger job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM. Moreover, these positive work attitudes and motivation were more likely to be found in managers and women. Finally, education positively predicted PSM, but not the other two attitudes. Grade level positively predicted job involvement, but not the other two variables.

**SUMMARY**

In recent years, Asian scholars have emerged and exerted a growing influence over the development of generic administrative theory. However, a surge in the number of Asian scholars has not yet resulted in the rise of Asian public administration research. To foster meaningful dialogue between the East and the West, we bridge Western theorization with Asian values by testing whether public employees’ Confucian values affect their job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM. Two Confucian values that concern interpersonal relationships, submission to authority and male dominance, are considered in this study. We hypothesize that submission to authority has a direct and positive relationship with job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM. Concerning the effect of male dominance, we expect this value to be detrimental to work attitudes and PSM because of its innate conflict with the common belief of social equity.

Regression results support these hypotheses. First, submission to authority is a positive predictor of work attitudes and PSM. It has a mean value of 4.05, which is slightly above the middle point. It implies that this Confucian value is still well accepted among Taiwanese, and people who are more submissive to authority are more likely to find a good fit in the public sector. Second, male dominance is a negative predictor with a mean value of 2.28, which is below the middle point. Although Taiwan is often depicted as a traditional society where Confucian values are well preserved (especially compared to Mainland China), the Taiwanese now tend to deem this particular value obsolete. However, based on an additional analysis, Taiwanese men (mean = 2.45) still place a higher score than women (mean = 2.10) on this value ($p = .000$), showing some room for improvement in the future. In short, this study advances the Western theory of public administration by integrating it with Asian elements, represented in this study by the two aforementioned Confucian values.

In practice, managers who experience submission to authority and male dominance in their cultures (including China and beyond) can benefit from this study. If job involvement, organizational commitment, and PSM are what organizations pursue, perhaps the findings can be applied to personnel practices, such as hiring. For example, in job interviews, public managers can employ a value test that includes a set of Confucian value questions, particularly questions similar to those used in the present study. By doing so, they can winnow out individuals who are less
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submitive to authority and subscribe to the tradition of male dominance. However, a submissive attitude may be accompanied by some side effects. A concept closely related to submission to authority, authoritarian filial piety (Yeh, 2003), can cause children’s passive, uncritical, and uncreative orientation toward learning (Ho, 1996). Scholars argue that the “stress on creativity” in Asia can stem from submission to authority as well as authoritarian leadership (Ho & Ho, 2008). In cases where creative thinking is highly valued in organizations, hiring those who are highly submissive to authority may result in a misfit.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In interpreting the findings, we encourage readers to use caution as TGBS data are cross-sectional. As we addressed earlier, common method variance is an important limitation. Experimental design can be used in the future to improve the quality of research. In addition, the data were collected in 2011. Considering the quick change of Asian societies and traditional values, the newness of data is a potential threat. Scholars interested in Confucian values may consider collecting more recent data for new analysis. Despite these limitations, this study proposes a new approach that allows public administration scholars to understand Confucian values. With a focus on incumbent public employees’ work attitudes and PSM in Taiwan, this study leaves many potential topics for future research. As statistical results show that submission to authority is still prevalent nowadays whereas male dominance is not, the following suggested directions will center on submission to authority.

First, multi-angle dependent variables are desirable in order to obtain a more balanced view on submission to authority. Following the last point in the discussion section, for example, scholars can consider creativity and innovativeness, the measurement of which public management scholars have been trying to improve (Pandey, Pandey, & Miller, 2016). This permits more careful examination of possible tradeoff between high work morale and high creativity. In addition to innovativeness, another pertinent issue is ethical judgment in situations where public values conflict. Public service emphasizes different and sometimes contradictory public values, such as lawfulness, impartiality, obedience and social justice. The prioritization of these values often varies among individuals (Van der Wal, De Graaf, & Lasthuizen, 2008). In cases where administrative orders infringe upon social justice and lawfulness, do people who are highly submissive to authority dare to disobey the orders? The likelihood may not be high (L. Yang, 2016), but when they do, is it due to a personnel system that allows them to challenge the authority (e.g., supervisors not in full charge of performance appraisal)? Designing some vignette questions to solicit the answers is a possible alternative.

Second, instead of studying incumbent public employees, scholars may expand the target of research to include future public employees, especially university students. As we reviewed earlier, individuals who are submissive to authority, compared to others, are more likely to find a good match in government organizations where hierarchical control is more pronounced. Does it imply that submissive students are more inclined to choose government jobs? We have learned from the PSM literature that a prosocial propensity enhances the willingness to accept a public sector job or a public service-related job (Christensen & Wright, 2011; Liu, Hui, Hu, Yang, & Yu, 2011). Does submission to authority also drive students to seek a public service career? Compared to PSM, does submission to authority play a more crucial role in job selection?

Finally, while this study examines a single Asian country, future research can compare the effects of submission to authority across the borders, especially between the East and the West. Does submission to authority also exist without the presence of Confucianism as a societal culture? The answer seems positive. Submission to authority can be found in the Western society as well (Kemmelmmeier et al., 2003), albeit to a smaller extent as compared to the East. It is because the root of compliance in the West is not societal culture such as Confucianism but instead religiousness (Van Cappellen, Corneille, Cols, &
Saroglou, 2011). In this situation, should we expect the same level of submission to authority among public employees in the West? Should we expect the two forms of submission to authority, grounded in different philosophical thinking, to lead to similar consequences such as organizational commitment, job involvement, and PSM? To answer these questions, we would need another research journey.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we investigate two predictors of work morale through the lens of Confucianism. It is postulated that submission to authority is a positive predictor of work morale because it is consistent with the command hierarchy and formal control in bureaucracies. In contrast, male dominance should be a negative predictor as it contradicts equality of opportunity in public organizations. Statistical findings based on data collected in Taiwan support both hypotheses. However, the findings are not universally applicable because a theory with wide generalizability cannot be isolated from cultural settings. Additionally, we acknowledge the concerns of using cross-sectional data, such as undetermined causal link and the presence of common method variance. We also note that Confucianism is a legacy shared by multiple nations, and the source of data from a single country implies the omission of others. These are limitations that should be addressed in the future. This study is just the beginning of many subsequent steps.

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ENDNOTES

1. The authors of the two articles use “traditionality” in place of “submission to authority.” However, most items (four out of five) used to measure traditionality are in fact measurement items for submission to authority in the original design by Yang et al. (1991).

2. Exceptions accompany the general finding that a more bureaucratic structure in the public sector can destroy employee’s work morale. For example, Bozeman and Loveless (1987) find that the amount of red tape differs little between the public sector and private sector R&D units; Langbein (2000) find that electrical and electronic engineers working in the public and private sectors show little difference on perceived constraints and discretion. Not surprisingly, some studies indicate that public and private employees demonstrate little difference on their organizational commitment (Balfour & Wechsler, 1996; Steinhaus & Perry, 1996).
Appendix A. Variable Measurement

Submission to Authority (Cronbach’s alpha = .79)
• When people are in dispute, they should ask the most senior person to decide who is right.
• Showing compliance to the authority and showing respect to the senior are important virtues that every child should learn.
• Those who are respected by parents should also be respected by their children.

Male dominance (Cronbach’s alpha = .85)
• When disagreement occurs, the wife should be submissive to the husband’s decision.
• Man is the owner of a household; he should be in charge of everything.
• In all cases, women should stay away from politics.

Job involvement (Cronbach’s alpha = .81)
• It is hard for me to get very involved in my current job (reverse coding).
• At the end of the day, I feel good about the work I do in this organization.
• Time seems to drag while I am on the job (reverse coding).

Organizational commitment (Cronbach’s alpha = .81)
• I feel like “part of the family” at my current organization.
• I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with my current organization.
• I don’t feel emotionally attached to my current organization (reverse coding).

Public service motivation (PSM) (Cronbach’s alpha = .79)
• Meaningful public service is an important duty of mine.
• I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on one another.
• Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.
• I am prepared to make selfless contribution for the good of society.
• I am not afraid to go to bat for the rights of others even if my interests are harmed.

Appendix B. Sample

| Agency                                | Expected | Final |
|---------------------------------------|----------|-------|
| Ministry of Interior                  | 205      | 146   |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs           | 74       | 47    |
| Ministry of Finance                   | 108      | 64    |
| Ministry of Education                 | 58       | 24    |
| Ministry of Justice                   | 48       | 35    |
| Ministry of Economic Affairs          | 317      | 230   |
| Ministry of Transportation and        | 197      | 122   |
| Communications                        |          |       |
| Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs         | 6        | 5     |
| Commission                            |          |       |
| Overseas Community Affairs Council    | 27       | 25    |
| Directorate General of Budget,        | 45       | 33    |
| Accounting and Statistics             |          |       |
| Central Personnel Administration      | 25       | 2     |
Appendix B. Sample (Continued)

| Agency                                                      | Expected | Final |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------|
| Government Information Office                               | 39       | 25    |
| Department of Health                                        | 186      | 69    |
| Environment Protection Administration                       | 46       | 25    |
| National Palace Museum                                      | 18       | 9     |
| Mainland Affairs Council                                    | 20       | 20    |
| Council for Economic Planning and Development               | 33       | 17    |
| Financial Supervisory Commission                            | 101      | 55    |
| Veterans Affairs Council                                    | 38       | 38    |
| Youth Development Administration                            | 7        | 7     |
| Atomic Energy Council                                       | 23       | 23    |
| National Science Council                                    | 12       | 12    |
| Research, Development and Evaluation Commission             | 29       | 28    |
| Council of Agriculture                                      | 145      | 88    |
| Council for Cultural Affairs                                | 10       | 10    |
| Council of Labor Affairs                                    | 67       | 41    |
| Fair Trade Commission                                       | 22       | 22    |
| Council of Consumer Protection                              | 6        | 5     |
| Public Construction Commission                              | 17       | 14    |
| Council of Indigenous Peoples                               | 16       | 6     |
| Sports Council                                              | 11       | 0     |
| Hakka Affairs Council                                       | 8        | 6     |
| Central Election Commission                                 | 6        | 1     |
| National Communications Commission                          | 35       | 19    |
| **Total**                                                   | **2000** | **1273** |

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