



Review Article

Meta-analysis on the relevance of Public Service Motivation (PSM) for public sector employees

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ABSTRACT

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As there are very few conceptual papers to discuss the current relevance of Public Service Motivation (PSM) to public sector employees, the objective of the paper is to explore the significance of PSM in explaining public sector employees in recent history. The paper would highlight the development of the construct of Public Service Motivation (PSM) and how it is being used by researchers now, whether it is still a multidimensional concept as it was developed in the 1990s. The paper would provide an extensive understanding of the concept of PSM concerning public sector employees. This research would contribute to the existing body of literature, on the usefulness of PSM in understanding the behaviour of public sector employees. It fills the gap in PSM research, by providing a meta-analysis of the empirical studies of PSM, on some of the most common areas of studies of PSM, such as Job performance, Satisfaction, commitment, person-organization fit, and so on, while showing that there are limited studies on the dark side of PSM, which needs to be studied for future research perspective. Analysis based on existing research shows that PSM alone is not sufficient to create desired work-related outcomes for public sector employees, hence organization-related factors need to be improved to create meaningful work for public sector employees.

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INTRODUCTION

The evolution of Public Service Motivation (PSM) has revolutionized the understanding of public sector administration and management from a more relevant contextual perspective. While the new public administration management theories relied mostly on borrowed concepts of management from the private sector, PSM has shed light to increase the knowledge of the public sector managers in improving the efficiency of the public sector and in improving the service delivery of public sector employees. Regardless of the ongoing research on PSM, with various elements such as job satisfaction, recruitment, job performance, commitment, and turnover intention, recent research has started questioning the relevance of PSM to public sector employees. Research on the dark side of PSM has started questioning the relevance of PSM to public administration, and whether altruism alone could create meaningful public service.

This paper, which is a conceptual paper, would understand what Public Service Motivation (PSM) is, and study how PSM affects public sector employees, by taking into consideration empirical studies conducted by other researchers. Thus provide a meta-analysis of PSM based on the existing body of empirical research. This paper would bring more clarity to the definition of PSM and its dimensions of it. It would then question the empirical research of PSM in public administration and consider the dark side of PSM. Finally, the paper would conclude by recognizing that Public Service Motivation alone would not suffice in creating benevolent knights in the public sector.

Design

This is a review article, hence based on the 49 research articles from 1999 to 2022. Therefore, this paper presents arguments based on empirical findings of previous research on the significance of Public Service Motivation in the Public Sector.

Literature Review

Theoretical development of the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM)

Employees join organizations for several reasons, such as financial benefits (Jordan et al., 2012), job security (Alcoba & Phinaitrup, 2019) in uncertain times, or as argued by public administrative researchers to serve a bigger cause (Palma et al., 2020; Sharin, 2020). As explained by O'Leary (2019) Public Service Motivation (PSM) stemmed from the need to justify the actions of public bureaucrats, by counter-proposing the argument of rationality. Public bureaucrats were painted as "budget maximizing self-aggrandizers incapable of discerning and pursuing the public will" as given in Anthony Downs's "Inside Bureaucracy" (Downs, 1967) and Williams Nisaknen's "Bureaucracy and Representative Government" as stated in O'Leary (2019). Consequently, to counter this argument PSM argues that those who join the public sector are not pursued by self-interested rationality, but rather to serve a call for duty, and to find meaning and purpose in life by working towards the well-being of others (Alcoba & Phinaitrup, 2019). This argument shows that public sector employees are highly benevolent individuals characterized by altruism, and in this regard as explained by van Loon et al. (2018) being able to contribute to society creates a person-organization fit which is the essence to commit to public service.

The theoretical foundation laid by Perry and Wise (1990) argues that Public Service Motivation (PSM) is a need-based theory and there are three motives for an individual to join the public sector which are rational (the interest in participating in the provision of public service or being able to participate in policy formulation), norm-based (being committed towards the public interest, the feeling or patriotism) and affective motive (showing empathy and being compassionate towards others). Perry & Wise (1990) defined PSM as an "Individuals predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organization". Over the years other researchers have enhanced the definition of PSM as Brewer and Selden (1998) stated PSM is "the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service" while Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) state PSM is "general altruistic motivation to serve the interest of a community of

people, a state, a nation or humankind” as stated in (Bellé, 2013). One of the most recent and widely used definitions in recent research is what is given by Vandenabeele (2007), where PSM is defined as “the belief, the values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate” (van Loon et al., 2018). In all these definitions the central idea of PSM is Altruism. While PSM is like intrinsic motivation and pro-social behaviour, further understanding of what PSM is as a construct is needed to create clarity with the definition of PSM construct.

While some researchers may use intrinsic, pro-social behaviour, and Public Service Motivation (PSM) interchangeably, it needs to be distinguished, and PSM is not the same as these concepts. One of the most logical explanations for the difference between PSM and pro-social behaviour is as given by Schott et al. (2019), that explain PSM as “a general motivation directed at unidentified individuals or society at large and has a rather long-term temporal focus, and that public service individuals will continue to engage in societal altruism” while prosocial motivation as “a role-dependent type of motivation directed at either individuals and or groups in one’s direct contact or employing organization with a temporal focus on near future”. While both PSM and prosocial will lead to altruism, conceptually both concepts are different, as PSM is not intended to benefit any groups which may be interested in prosocial motivation. The ideology of PSM is simply doing what is good for society, in a way that will benefit everyone, without being recognized or receiving any praise by any intended beneficiary groups. Hence this makes PSM a unique concept, which is more relevant and applicable to public sector organizations (Schott et al., 2019). On the other hand, intrinsic motivation is not associated with public sector ideology as intrinsic motivation is seen as self-oriented behaviour, which results in a personal benefit or an increase in own personal satisfaction (Vandenabeele et al., 2018). Hence PSM is altruism, which is intended to benefit society, at large.

Public Service Motivation (PSM) as originally developed by Perry and Wise, 1990 is seen as a multi-dimensional concept. The initial concept of PSM included 6 dimensions measured on 40 items measurement scale, which included Attraction to Public Policy, Commitment to Public Interest, Social Justice, Civic Duty, Compassion, and Self Sacrifice (Zhu & Wu, 2016). These dimensions were later reduced to (4) four after Confirmatory Factor Analysis, and hence it has been used as four dimensions by many researchers, which are Attraction to Public Policy, Commitment to Public Interest, Compassion, and Self Sacrifice. Although there are debates to remove certain dimensions or add new dimensions such as democratic governance and modification of Attraction to Public Policy to Attraction to Public Service, and Commitment to Public Interest to Commitment to Public values (Vandenabeele et al., 2018), recent research still uses the dimension as it is. The initial proposition of Perry & Wise (1990) has not changed much. Attraction to Public Policy is seen as the desire of a person to participate in the provision of public service, engage in the community, interest in policy formulation, while Compassion is the degree to which a “person would identify with the needs and the suffering of others” (Schott & Ritz, 2018). On the other hand, Commitment to Public Interest is the “extent to which an individual’s interest in public service is driven by their internalization of and interest in pursuing commonly held public values such as equity, concern for future generations, accountability and ethics” given by Kim et al., 2013 as stated in Schott and Ritz (2018). Self-Sacrifice is the extent to which a person is willing to forgo personal benefit or gains to provide service to society and do something for the greater good. This could also mean accepting lower rewards or pay.

Over the last 30 years, there has been a growing interest among researchers to understand what is Public Service Motivation (PSM) is and how it affects the individual behaviour of those in the public sector especially as argued by Schott and Ritz (2018), that PSM is supposed to motivate employees to achieve organizational goals in times of reduced financial resources and high workload ((Kickert, 2012 as stated in (Schott & Ritz, 2018). Hence this raises an important question, what causes PSM, and is PSM a stable trait over a period? Researchers argue that (Ritz et al., 2021; Vandenabeele, 2007; Vandenabeele et al., 2018) the determining factor of Public Service Motivation (PSM) is the extent to which individuals’ values are in congruence with the organizational values. The public sector organizations enable those who have PSM values, to meet their needs, whether it’s’

rational, norm-based, or effective, because of what these organizations are expected to do. Hence those who join certain public sector organizations are trying to match their values with the organization's values. In this regard, PSM is created through institutional socialization within public sector organizations as elaborated by Vandenabeele et al. (2018). Therefore, institutions play a crucial role in enhancing PSM, especially by communicating, the mission and the vision of these organizations, and by showing sincerity and commitment towards public service provision at an organizational level. These values are driven at the top, and it is communicated through the way the services are provided, and by engaging employees to provide meaningful public service. If the organization fails to realize its mission and vision and demonstrate the reason for its existence, it may fail to instil pride and PSM among its employees. As the work context seems to be significant for public sector employees, the work context needs to provide opportunities to contribute to society in a meaningful way. Public Service Motivation (PSM) is, therefore considered to be a rather stable trait (Ritz et al., 2021; Vandenabeele et al., 2018), as a longitudinal study over 16 years conducted on German employees confirmed this relationship (Vogel & Kroll, 2015) as stated in Alcoba and Phinaitrup (2019). However, some researchers argue that it may change, for instance, it may change, when employees change in an organization or it may change during dramatic situations such as war, education, or when someone starts a new job (van Loon et al., 2018). On the other hand, recent research shows that PSM may decline due to the reality shock experienced at the workplace after joining the public sector (Schott et al., 2018). This is demonstrated in the qualitative study undertaken by Schott et al. (2019) using Dutch veterinary inspectors, collecting data at two different periods; when they joined their work, and later collecting data after 15 months. The analysis based on this research shows that PSM may change due to the reality of work, deviating from what was expected, stress, work overload, and most importantly lack of organizational support. Hence just hiring individuals with higher PSM is not sufficient unless human resource policies are designed to help and support employees meet their daily work demands.

Did Public Service Motivation (PSM) deliver its promises?

Public Service Motivation (PSM) is seen as the ultimate tool or the secret ingredient to bring the desired behaviour out of public sector employees. It has been said that public sector employees are expected to perform efficiently due to their benevolent behaviour, to put their work, commitment, and dedication first to make a strong impact on the community or the public in general (Houston & Cartwright, 2007 stated in (Alcoba & Phinaitrup, 2019). This argument indicates several prepositions, such as PSM would lead to higher job satisfaction, higher job performance, lower turnover intention, less stress, higher organizational commitment, and willingness to work with lower pay. Overall, an individual with a higher PSM is more likely to be satisfied with a job and would show positive work-related outcomes. Hence this should solve all the problems, in public administration literature related to individual work performance and work ethics. However, is this a very rosy picture painted by scholars, as an alternative explanation for rational bureaucracy, or does it have enough weight to support this argument? If there is enough research evidence to show over the last 30 years of work, then it's plausible to recruit individuals with higher PSM, train and create PSM, and sustain PSM values among public sector employees. This section would consider existing research articles to understand how PSM has affected these work-related outcomes. The table given below depicts a meta-analysis of public service motivation and its related areas of study from existing literature.

Table 1. Empirical Table on PSM and Organization-Related Behavior

Variables Studied	Empirical Evidence	Significance in Relationship
PSM and Job Satisfaction	(Abane & Phinaitrup, 2022; Bayram & Zoubi, 2020; Breugh et al., 2017; De Simone et al., 2016; Naff & Crum, 1999; Steijn, 2008; Thuy & Phinaitrup, 2021; Tran et al., 2020; Vandenabeele, 2009b;	Significant

	Yudiatmaja, 2019)	
PSM and Organizational Performance	(Ritz, 2009; Zhu & Wu, 2016)	Significant
PSM and Job Performance	(Bayram & Zoubi, 2020; Bellé, 2013; McCarthy et al., 2019; Miao et al., 2019; Naff & Crum, 1999; Palma et al., 2017; Pratama & Hidayah, 2019; van Loon et al., 2018)	Significant
	(Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Cheng, 2015; Gross et al., 2018; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Palma et al., 2020; Vandenabeele, 2009b; Xu et al., 2019)	No significant relationship
Public Service Motivation and Person Organization Fit	(Bright, 2007; Jin et al., 2018; Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Steijn, 2008)	Significant
Public Service Motivation and Organizational Commitment	(Jin et al., 2018; Pratama & Hidayah, 2019; Ritz, 2009; Tran et al., 2020; Vandenabeele, 2009b; Yudiatmaja, 2019)	Significant
PSM and Turnover Intention	(Campbell & Im, 2016; Naff & Crum, 1999)	Significant
PSM and Service Orientation	(Palma et al., 2020; Palma et al., 2017)	Significant
PSM and Service Orientation	(Yudiatmaja, 2019)	Significant
PSM and Societal Impact Potential	(van Loon et al., 2018; van Loon et al., 2015)	Significant
Public Service Motivation and Innovation	(Rosa et al., 2020)	Significant
Quality of Political Leadership, Quality of Administrative Leadership, Public Service Motivation and Employee Engagement	(Ugaddan & Park, 2017)	Significant
Public Service Motivation and Whistleblowing Behavior	(Brewer & Selden, 1998; Caillier, 2015)	Significant

Job performance and Public Service Motivation (PSM) have remained to be one of the most debatable and critical areas of study for those researching PSM. While it is difficult to establish a direct relationship between PSM and job performance, few studies show PSM is significant in explaining job performance, while other studies detest this idea. One of the earliest and most widely taken examples on PSM and job performance was undertaken by Naff and Crum (1999) on 10,000 federal employees of the USA. This research tested several propositions of PSM, including job satisfaction and turnover intention. This study established a strong direct relationship between PSM and job performance, especially those with higher PSM are more likely to have outstanding performance, which is a 52% probability of receiving outstanding performance(Naff & Crum, 1999).

Further, this also provided a strong implication for Perry's scale, especially in how employees think about working for the government. Few other research such as experimental research into the relationship between PSM and job performance conducted on nurses in public hospitals by Bellé (2013) and another research by van Loon et al. (2018) on Dutch public sector employees taking societal impact potential as a mediating factor have also shown a positive association. The research by van Loon et al. (2018) is a longitudinal study, hence showing the strength in the argument of PSM and job performance, especially as job performance was taken as the task done by employees. In a similar fashion research by Leisink and Steijn (2009) and Vandenabeele (2009a) did also show a positive association.

While several researchers argue that Public Service Motivation would lead to better job performance, some studies do not, and especially there is a lack of studies to confirm this direct relationship across countries using more reflective measurements of job performance. For instance, Palma et al. (2020) noted that it is not clear whether PSM had a direct positive effect on individual performance, and PSM and Individual performance are not always valid. Hence more comprehensive research is needed with other mediators and moderators to show that PSM and Individual performance relationships exist. This is in support of the research undertaken previously on 35,000 federal employees of the USA, demonstrating that there is no evidence to show that PSM and job performance had any association according to a study done by Alonso and Lewis (2001). Similarly, research undertaken on Chinese public sector officials also indicated that both monetary and non-monetary factors are responsible for work performance, hence PSM alone is not sufficient enough to create higher job performance; Xu et al. (2019). Henceforth the conclusion on PSM and job performance, is that there is still a lack of research to show that PSM and job performance are positively associated, since there are other mediators used to establish this relationship, and as argued by Ritz et al. (2016) results of the studies are mostly influenced by sample size and the items used, and more robust measures are still needed. While most of the research on PSM has been centred around its association with performance (Vandenabeele et al., 2018), some other organizational outcomes have been looked into such, as how it affects job satisfaction (Breaugh et al., 2017; Naff & Crum, 1999), turnover intention and change-oriented organizational citizenship behaviour (Campbell & I'm, 2016), higher organizational commitment (Potipiroon & Ford, 2017) and whistle-blowing behaviour (Brewer & Selden, 1998; Caillier, 2015) all of which is supposed to lead to positive outcomes. Nevertheless, researchers now begin to consider the dark side of PSM, whether PSM is as it is described, or whether it could lead to dissatisfaction, red tape, burnout exhaustion, and frustration (Vandenabeele et al., 2018)

The effect of the Dark Side of PSM on Public Sector Employees' Behavior

While research on Public Service Motivation (PSM) continues, studies also show that there is no relationship between PSM with job satisfaction, which is critical to lead toward benevolent public sector employees. The lack of significant relationships has been seen due to frustration and red tape, insufficient resources (Rayner et al., 2018), which is what researchers describe as the dark side of PSM. The higher demands placed on public sector employees, especially when one believes it's an important duty to serve in the public sector has shown to create burnout. Therefore, as explained by Rayner et al. (2018) burnout would lead to, emotionally being exhausted, lower interest, and cynicism in the work context. Consequently, the dark side is counter-reacting to all positive associations of PSM which is lower absenteeism, lower turnover intention, job satisfaction, and job performance. Therefore this question is whether those with higher PSM are more likely to get frustrated in a work setting with a higher workload, lack of adequate resources, and lack of appreciation in the work environment. What does the empirical literature confirm in today's work setting after the development of the Perry Scale over 30 years ago?

In recent years, emerging themes on the dark side of Public Service Motivation (PSM) include stress, burnout, resigned satisfaction, involuntary or long-term absenteeism, and attending to work

while being sick, all of which have shown a significant relationship with PSM (Schott & Ritz, 2018). Similarly, empirical research also shows that PSM could be associated with turnover intention and withdrawal behaviour due to reduced job satisfaction ((Quratulain and Kahn 2015 as stated in (Schott & Ritz, 2018). One of the arguments presented by researchers as mentioned earlier is that PSM is likely to increase presenteeism (attending to work even when a person is sick), which could lead to absenteeism, in this regard a study done on the Danish public and private sector employees, affirms this relationship (Jensen et al., 2019). As argued by Jensen et al. (2019) attending to work while a person is sick creates long-term implications, which is employees getting sick later due to a long-term decline in the general health of the workforce. Therefore, it is not right to expect those with higher PSM to have lower absenteeism. The following table discusses some of the existing research on the Dark Side of PSM.

Table 2. Empirical Table on the Dark Side of PSM

Authors	Variable studied	Significance
(Jensen et al., 2019)	Public Service Motivation, Presenteeism and Absenteeism	A strong relationship between Presenteeism and PSM. PSM and absenteeism are mediated by Presenteeism
(Rayner et al., 2018)	Public Service Motivation, Burnout and Job Satisfaction	No Effect of PSM on Job Satisfaction or Burnout
(Schott et al., 2018)	Public Service Motivation and Reality Shock	Clear expectations and coping strategies lead to retaining PSM. This study showed there was a decline in PSM among individuals who experienced a reality shock, and hence PSM may change
(Giauque et al., 2012)	Public Service Motivation, Red Tape, Resignation and Resigned Satisfaction	Resigned Satisfaction is caused by unmet expectations. Compassion and Self Sacrifice of PSM dimension could lead to resignation. Red Tape can lead to a decrease in satisfaction
(van Loon et al., 2015)	Burnout; job satisfaction; public service motivation (PSM); societal impact potential (SIP)	PSM and Job Satisfaction, and PSM and burnout depends on institutional setting and organizational logic. Organizations that did not allow contributing, could result in burnout for employees with high PSM

It is quite common for public sector organizations to expect public sector employees to be satisfied, as they seem to like what they are doing, especially given that these are the employees who pose public service motivation (PSM). However, on the contrary, the dark side of PSM argues, that the same public sector employees reduce their expectations from the organization which might lead to reduced job satisfaction, while not being bothered about their inner thoughts on the job, later creating resigned satisfaction (Giauque et al., 2012). Resigned satisfaction is a result of unmet expectations. Especially when the work environment does not provide the opportunity to contribute, particularly due to the high workload (Giauque et al., 2012). As a coping mechanism, these employees reduce their expectations of the organization, which implies that they would modify their contribution to the organization. Further to reducing their aspiration for their organization, they may be frustrated with the organization, which could result in job dissatisfaction in the long term (Giauque et al., 2012). It should also be noted that resigned satisfaction could lead to resignation, hence although PSM seems to be a positive attribute of public sector employment, higher PSM could lead to long-term dissatisfaction and possibly leaving the organization, if the situation, does not improve.

Given that public service-motivated individual are required to attend their call of duty regardless of how they feel, the misfit with the work environment may lead to burnout (Schott & Ritz, 2018). As claimed by van Loon et al. (2015), higher public service motivated individuals to sacrifice too much leading to potential burnout. Burnout causes emotional exhaustion due to work pressure, having to work with fewer resources, and using one own personal resources to complete the task. The ultimate effect is a long-term effect on their mental well-being, and unable to deliver higher service standards, although they may have higher PSM (Jensen et al., 2019). The dark side of Public Service Motivation (PSM) seemed to be associated with the incompatibility of individual characteristics of an individual and with the individual work environment. The misfit as explained by researchers of PSM seems to explain what goes on with an individual with a higher PSM when the work environment is unable to deliver the promises. As such two important misfits that are likely to be seen are complementary and supplementary (Rayner et al., 2018; Schott & Ritz, 2018). Complimentary misfit is when an individual need is not met by the current work environment, or when the work environment is not challenging enough to encourage and motivate an employee.

The supplementary misfit occurs when an individual own value seems to differ from the organization's values. Thus, a misfit with the organization may result in the intention to leave, resign from the job, withdraw from the work, or higher stress and burnout (Schott & Ritz, 2018). Much of what can be seen as the dark side of PSM is not just a result of PSM, but also due to red tape which is very common in public sector organizations (Schott & Ritz, 2018). As a result, the feeling of helplessness, and being utterly dissatisfied is not because of PSM, although this feeling is more prevalent in an employee with higher PSM. Hence the existing Research does not provide clear evidence that PSM would lead to burnout, corruption, stress, or lack of job satisfaction. It points towards the institutional weakness of public sector organizations, and lack of administrative capacity to create meaningful public service (van Loon et al., 2015), therefore due to a lack of research on the dark side of PSM (Schott & Ritz, 2018), more constructive analysis is needed to explore the dark side of PSM.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This paper has explored Public Service Motivation (PSM) from a conceptual level, looking into its origin, and how the construct has evolved. PSM is considered to be a multi-dimensional concept, and given the current research, it's still seen as one of the most relevant and useful concepts in explaining the work-related behaviour of public sector employees (Ritz et al., 2021; Vandenabeele et al., 2018). Public Service Motivation beyond doubt has shown a significant effect on several work-related aspects, such as job performance, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behaviour, lower turnover intention, and many more. However, this is not to say that it's like a magic wand, to solve all the problems. It has its' dark side as well. Although very little research has been conducted, researchers are beginning to unfold the dark side associated with PSM, such as burnout, resigned satisfaction, presenteeism-related absenteeism, and red tape and perhaps resignation. Some important implications based on the review of findings of previous studies of Public Service Motivation are summarized as follows:

1. In most of the OECD countries public sector plays a huge role and represents 20% of employment, hence public sector employees who are not committed and motivated enough will not contribute to delivering an excellent service, whether in health care, defense, or public service, hence improving PSM level would result in more committed and efficient public service.
2. Public Sector organizations around the world are more HR intensive, and individual performance has become more significant in the public sector, as public sector organizations have shifted from offering job security to loyalty to employability to job performance. Most public sector organizations are HR intensive, hence HR cost



represents a significant expenditure, and therefore using Public Service Motivation to manage and improve employee performance would be highly beneficial.

3. Previous research has shown that extrinsic rewards are not effective in the public sector (Weibel et al., 2009), hence hiring employees with a higher level of PSM and improving PSM through training and organization identification would be more effective in the public sector.

Public sector managers need to ensure that employees have sufficient resources to deliver their objectives. They should also ensure that the work environment is challenging and allows participating in decision-making and providing meaningful public service. Leaving public sector employees to perform task's which seems to be minor and less significant, will create frustration and resigned satisfaction, as PSM is created and enhanced by the organization (van Loon et al., 2018). Organizations that are prone to higher red tape and corruption (Giauque et al., 2012), will create emotional exhaustion, withdrawal, and the resignation of employees who initially joined the public sector due to their feeling of patriotism. The positive side of PSM hence tends to create an emotional conflict with negative aspects which is observed in the public sector, especially red tape, lack of challenging work environment, meagre resources, and inefficient public sector managers. The result of such conflicts may provoke highly benevolent employees also not to perform

In conclusion higher PSM alone will not suffice to create an efficient public sector, it should be accompanied by a good work environment, with public sector managers who can align the needs of public sector employees with the needs of an organization. This conceptual paper complements and affirms existing literature on public service motivation (PSM), by identifying the need to create the relevant organizational context to create the desired behaviour. The major contribution is providing an empirical analysis of the concept of PSM and arguing that it's not that public sector employee's lack PSM, but it's the environmental context that does not allow highly motivated public sector employees to perform well.

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