CHAPTER IV

Recruitment and Training: Ethical Dimensions
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"No society can reach heights of greatness unless in all fields critical to its growth and creativity there is an ample supply of dedicated men and women"

Garner(1961:p. 154)

The preceding chapter brings out certain inadequacies in public service ethics. They manifest in the form of lack of clarity of ethical concepts and standards and absence of skills to identify and apply ethical standards, low commitment levels, greater emphasis on personal interest etc. These inadequacies are attributed to, among other things, the selection and training processes.

The quality of individuals and their capacity to imbibe essential skills and values depend upon many factors. Infact, background variable such as family, religion, education, (Gortner: 1991) age, past accomplishments etc., have a profound influence on personal traits and ethical values of individuals. The perceptions of values, like right and wrong and good and bad developed at a very early age, will guide human behaviour as they
judge rightness or wrongness of one’s actions. With this understanding, the present chapter discusses recruitment and training practices of superior civil services.

The important issues raised here are what are the constraints in attracting and retaining competent and committed personnel to the service? Whether the requisite qualifications, written and personality tests facilitate selection of competent and committed persons. Similarly what are the constraints in socialising and sensitizing the administrators with relevant ethical standards and skills? Whether training inculcates moral qualities and strength?

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses recruitment and the second, training. The section on recruitment includes: (a) representative characters of bureaucracy, (b) educational qualifications including age, (c) Social service background, and (d) aptitude test. In the second section three distinct features of training are covered: (a) the status of ethics training, leadership guidance in the service and sensitization in values through field training; (b) ethics contents in training programmes, constitutional and social values, managerial values and self-discipline; and (c) skill development for ethical administration.
4.2 Recruitment

Recruitment plays a vital role in ensuring not only efficient administration but also ethical administration. In fact, there has been an underlying assumption that credibility and stability of governments largely depend on the degree of integrity and character of the administrators. Therefore, certain qualifications have been laid down as basic requirements to ensure securing men and women of high values and integrity to serve the nation. For example, traditionally 'loyalty' is seen as the qualification and 'government by gentlemen' acquired relevance for recruitment with time. Similarly 'good character' also forms the basis of recruitment. Taking cognizance of the 'basic requirements' various reforms with regard to recruitment have been effected. In India, they recognise the need for selecting aspirants with mental and moral discipline, strength of character, integrity, commitment and dedication to the objectives and goals of the constitution (Macaulay Report: 1884, Kothari committee Report: 1976, Satish Chandra Committee Report: 1989). Even the histories of administrative reform in the United States, have their origin and inspiration in the desire to purify public life (Arora and Goyal: 1995).
Keeping this in view, we assess whether the ethical dimensions are taken into consideration in the recruitment process. This has been examined through the following which have direct influence on ethics. They are representative bureaucracy, relaxation of age and number of attempts, social service experience and eligibility, written and personality tests.

4.2 (a) Representative character

Representation to various sections in the bureaucracy is considered as one of the informal ways to secure a responsive bureaucracy. This is based on the assumption that a representative bureaucracy reflects the views and aspirations of different sections and groups therefore “dealing with everyone wishing to work for government” and guaranteeing equal employment opportunities for all citizens (Gortner: 1991). In fact “… one result of representativeness will be a civil service which is an ethical mirror of the society it serves” (Gortner: 1991).

The concept of representative bureaucracy could be found in colonial India where the crown incorporated various provisions for the entry of Indians into the superior civil services (the reason behind this action of the crown was, however, to continue its rule in India and this was followed as a
policy of appeasement). In the post-independent era, affirmative policies, amongst others, were initiated with the twin objective of bringing social equality and widening the base of bureaucracy to suit the changing needs and demands of Indian conditions.

The following discussion concentrates on to what extent this is reflected in the recruitment policies and practices of superior civil services and the views of our respondents about their effectiveness.

Affirmative policies like reservation of 22 per cent of posts, relaxation in entry age limit, unlimited number of chances to appear for examination up to the attainment of relaxed age limit, special financial assistance, special coaching etc, for weaker sections of the society have helped in providing wider representation to them. Such assistance has given necessary support for them to compete on par with others where some of them have even secured positions in the merit category. Infact, Such instances have gone up in recruitment. For example, it was around 6 to 16 per cent for scheduled castes and 3 to 4 per cent for scheduled tribes during 1983-87 (Sangita and Vaidya: 1996).
The basic question here is whether these policies and programmes have helped in selecting the best from various sections with required competence and commitment. It becomes pertinent in the context of disagreement over this issue by different sections including people from reserved categories.

The proposition that 'merit alone should be the criterion for selection' is welcomed unanimously. 80 per cent of the respondents feel that merit should be the most essential requirement even in cases of reservations but all other facilities (including extra number of attempts) extended to them should be retained. In the view of a respondent "excessive quota in recruitment policy is faulty. For example, while recruiting to expert services if you lay stress on quota then how is it possible to secure ethics? Instead give backward classes all facilities but let merit be the sole criterion for selection". About 43 per cent of the respondents bitterly criticised the government policy of extending relaxation even to the marks obtained and preference in matters of promotion to the reserved categories, which they feel have caused great demoralisation and therefore, have contributed for the falling standards of public service ethics. A retired administrator said that "the promotion based on quota will not only bring down the morale of personnel but also ethics in public service" Another officer mentioned that
"the government policy of out of turn promotion based on caste not only
brings in inefficiency and demoralisation but also causes harm to ethical
practices in administration". Similar view is taken by an ICS officer, who
writes, "while the calibre of those at the top is almost as good as that of the
service before independence but the majority is not in the same class partly
because of the current educational standards and acquisition of dubious
degrees and partly on account of substantial reservations for backward
classes and tribals, whose intellectual levels for no fault of theirs is not of the
same quality" (Mohan: 1985). However, it is an unsubstantiated issue about
which nothing can be authentically written.

Similarly, the increased number of attempts for appearing for com­
petitive examinations is also not favoured by a majority of our respondents.
A retired administrator analysing its impact said that "it provides
opportunity for people who have lost eagerness to explore developmental
options, who have lost enthusiasm and desire to work for the country and
who have lost interest in public service". This appears to be the general
opinion of the respondents. Writing on similar lines a retired civil servant
views that "the earlier practice of permitting not more than three chances
needs to be restored to improve the standards of recruitment to the services.
All available evidence shows that those candidates who pass with each
succeeding chance contribute increasingly to the erosion of standards in the services (Godbole: 1997).

4.2. (b) Educational qualification

Next in importance to family in creating impression about right and wrong, good and bad and help in the formation of the concept of self, is the education. It assists in the development of perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and values among individuals and prepares them to handle various types of interactions, arising within and without the organizations. In short, education helps in the assessment of various options open to the administrators to take ethical decisions and actions therefore, its importance has been emphasised throughout the administrative history.

However, with changes and development in the field of administration world over liberal education with sensitivity to democratic ethos is emphasised. Its reflections could be seen in the subjects choice offered for superior civil services examination in India which is not restricted to statecraft and ethics. Therefore, it is delinked from the jobs undertaken in the services. At present 45 optional subjects are offered for the main examination. However, subjects pertaining to administrative ethics, philosophy, ancient Indian political thought etc., to test the aspirants
familiarity with various relevant standards and their usage have not received their due place (Sangita and Vaidya; 1996). Examining the inputs of civil service recruitment (based on subjects prescribed and pattern of examination) a study analyses that knowledge about the functioning of administration and democracy together occupies 60 per cent, while knowledge of universal values occupies 20 per cent at the eligibility test stage. The same trend is seen in written examination and personality test also. Personality test, introduced as a device to test aptitude of the aspirants, has been diluted over the years. Even its weightage to the total marks has been brought down to 12.2 per cent (Sangita and Vaidya; 1996). According to a very senior administrator "we used to go through very tough examination which is not so at present. Also that we were expected to possess qualities like ethics, enthusiasm, intelligence and dedication which appear to be downplayed now". These efforts highlight that recruitment process does not stress on techniques of identifying qualitative aspects like commitment, responsiveness, accountability and willingness to accept responsibility. The underlying assumption appears to be that they could be inculcated through institutional training (considered as new socialisation process) and exemplary behaviour of senior members of the service. This pattern is adopted as the focus of the recruitment is on selecting competent persons only, rather than competent and committed both. The reforms while
recognising the need for selecting committed and honest personnel for administering "the tasks and challenges which face the country" (Kothari Committee Report: 1976) have further reinforced the selection of 'intelligent, competent manager of affairs'.

4.3 Selection of Committed Personnel

The purpose of securing virtuous and committed personnel along with intelligent and competent managers of affairs, as suggested by various committees, could be attempted by three ways. Though they may not be foolproof in themselves they are mooted to assist in the identification and inculcation of relevant values, specific to public service ethics, among the aspirants.

They are: Select them young, training in social service at an young age, and elaborate scientific attitude test.

4.3(a) Select them young

Many studies in psychology bring out that it is easy to socialise young minds to suit the requirements of purposes to be served. With this understanding the age limit for entry was fixed between 21 and 24 even during British time which was followed in post-independent India. On selection they were trained in various aspects of administration which
would widen the young recruits' vision. However, due to changes and
demands made by changes the entry age limit was raised to 28. This is not
welcomed by majority of the respondents who think that advanced age
makes trainees less trainable. The following paragraphs explain the same in
detail.

For the question whether age limit for entry into civil service should
be reduced from the present 28 years, 88 per cent of the administrators
preferred reduction. An administrator of first generation said that "early
entry is more beneficial. That is the right time as it would be much easier to
train them". More than one quarter of them (27 per cent) even felt that the
aspirants should be 'inducted' as early as 17 or 18 years of age i.e. after plus
two level so as to mould their thinking to suit public service ethics. "Young
people, at the age of 17 or 18, should be intensively trained. Because
exposure to various situations at the young age make one capable of
handling various situations in the future... . The difference lies in attitude -
moral attitude - training" said a respondent (discussed later in the chapter).

Supporting this claim, a retired civil servant writes that "by the time a
person enters an All-India service at such an advanced age, he is no longer
amenable to healthy influence, and often has set ideas of a number of issues.
It is difficult to build a feeling of *esprit de corps* in a group of older trainees. Furthermore, the qualities of idealism and zeal which were the hallmark of the young direct recruits in olden days is often arising, particularly in the recruits belonging to older age groups" (Godbole: 1997).

However some of them are skeptical and they think that the process of moral development among individuals would have completed at a very young age and therefore, it is not possible to orient their thinking effectively. They accounted for about 12 per cent.

4.3 (b) Training in Social Service at young age

A study observes that the aspirant’s past association with and experience in social service activities through programmes like National Service Scheme, National Cadet Corps at the school and college level would develop inclination towards public service as it would expose them to social problems and realities (Sangita and Vaidya: 1996). Even other studies (e.g. Bogaard’s study and also first generation respondents of our study) have brought out that field training, after entry into service, which would bring the trainees face to face with social problems like poverty would condition the mind of administrators (from one of status conscious) to serve the poor.
Drawing from this, we asked the respondents whether in their view, participation in social service activities at school and college levels would inculcate values like service to humanity, empathy, self-discipline etc., essential for ethical administration?. The views held by the respondents are divergent. However, it did not receive enthusiastic thinking from the administrators.

An administrator occupying a very high office opined that "weightage to social service is not a feasible proposition because most of the private colleges do not have social service on curriculum. Moreover, even if somebody spends 15 or 20 days in social service does it establish his/her dedication, honesty etc., ?", Taking similar view another officer said that "it may not be possible for very good candidate to have social service background. Therefore, to say that one should have community service background is not right". 39 per cent of the respondents opined that "certificate/s showing social service experience may dubiously be secured by "contacts' or by "bribing'. 42 per cent said that they "could not think anything with regard to that" and therefore "did not know what to answer". However, 17 per cent felt that it may contribute to widened perception of social problems and develop empathy among people involved in such
service during schooling". Therefore, according to a respondent, "the candidates with experience in social service (at the school and college level) should be given more weightage at the interview stage". Some of them even suggested for a separate quota for experience in social service.

4.3 (c) Elaborate Scientific Aptitude test

Personality test was introduced to test the candidates suitability for superior civil services, particularly their "social traits, mental alertness . . . and intellectual and moral integrity". However, it has been diluted over the years by reducing its importance (Sangita and Vaidya: 1996). It has become more of a 'ritual' where candidates' knowledge, assimilation and expressional power are tested ignoring the other aspect. Though personality tests conducted by the British Civil Service System and National Defense Academy are more elaborate and scientific they are not favoured for superior civil services in India for several reasons (Sangita and Vaidya: 1996).

Conducting scientific aptitude test was welcomed by self-claimed radicals of the service. They viewed that "when such tests are developed and tried with accuracy and objectivity they may identify specific qualities required". Making observation on this lacunae, an administrator viewed
that "this limitation could be made over at the training stage and by lead by example".

4.4 Training: Ethics and Values

Professional education socialising the participants in the duties and responsibilities of the respective fields strengthen their internal commitments to professions and organisations (Carton and Denhardt: 1994). Such socialisation is considered as the best "first line of defense against unethical behaviour" (Wakefield: 1976). Therefore, "educators in any profession or discipline are responsible for ensuring that the curriculum prepares students to carry out the duties and responsibilities required of those who practice in the field" (Carton and Denhardt: 1994). In order to find out, whether this is reflected in the training programmes organised for personnel of superior civil services in India, an analysis is undertaken.

In this section an assessment of the efforts, constraints and results of training programmes - both induction and in-service, in cultivating and inculcating relevant values and skills among the trainees is made. The questions raised here are what place ethics occupies in the training programmes? Whether development of managerial skills only or both
managerial skills and ethics is emphasised in training courses and what are the contents of ethics training?

4.4 (a) Status of Ethics in Training

The significance of imbibing ethics, both in terms of familiarity with relevant standards for ethical administration and professional ethics, has always been emphasised by both training academies and professional institutions. It could be found in the 'normative vocabulary' used in the formal content of the training (Potter: 1996). The Krishnamachari Report on Indian and State Administrative Services (1962) on training, expresses "that officers of higher services acquire an understanding of the constitutional, economic and social framework within which they have to function ... . The foundational course is also intended to convert such matters as aims and obligations of the civil service and the ethics of progression objectivity, integrity thoroughness, impartiality etc"., (as quoted in Potter: 1996). This aspect has been reinforced, from time to time, by administrators themselves through their lectures and reports. For example, a Syndicate Report² by the IAS Probationers (1976) concludes that administrators are expected to possess special qualities of mind and strength of character like efficiency, loyalty, integrity, impartiality and self-discipline.
However, content analysis of the course material of training shows that emphasis is more on the managerial skills rather than on both managerial and ethical aspects. 80 per cent of induction training time is devoted to management and related subjects like public administration, economics, law, political theory, computers, language, Indian history and culture (Sangita and Vaidya: 1996). Similar results are arrived at the content analysis of in-service training courses also. 70-80 per cent of the course contents of in-service training offered to Indian Administrative Service personnel during 1994-95 were managerial focusing on organizational behaviour, motivation, leadership, communication skills, conflict management, policy analysis, decentralized planning, team building etc., (Sangita and Vaidya: 1996). Though, in recent times, attempts are being made to include issues with ethical implications like environment, human rights, rural development, social welfare, tribals, dalits etc., they are not viewed from ethical angle. This is supported by our respondents' views as given below.

A majority of our respondents view that learning of skills essential for efficient administration occupied major part of trainees' time. They accounted for 67 per cent (see Table 4.1). However, values like impersonality, esprit de corps and empathy are also attempted to be built
through training according to some of them. Similarly development of qualities like integrity, impartiality, loyalty, sincerity etc., (though personal traits their development for the administration is said to be possible with informal training mostly through exemplary leadership) has not been stressed by the training academies which are skeptical of the outcome. In the words of a former top bureaucrat "it must be admitted that the training imparted to the new recruits does not equip them adequately to face the difficult reality. The training programmes do not place adequate emphasis on building strong morals and a value system which can see them through the unimaginable rot which has afflicted society" (Godbole: 1997).

Table 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details about values emphasised in training programmes</th>
<th>Mostly</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 60, (figures in Percentage)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills essential for administration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work ethics</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impersonality</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathy</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total does not add upto 100 in some cases as some did not answer)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.4 (b) Ethics Related Issues in Training

Unlike in USA where conflicts-of-interest laws (issues like lobbying, gifts, honoraria and prizes offered to state employees are discussed)
lobbying regulation, ethics legislation, whistleblower acts etc., formulating training in ethics, in India, concentration is more on administrative standards. In fact, 50 per cent of ethical aspects of training are reflected in topics like administrative accountability and responsibility, professionalism, anti-corruption laws, codes of conduct, and official dissent. Similarly ethical values covered by the constitutional values like secularism, socialism, social justice, equity, etc., constitute 20 per cent of ethics training. However, these values appear to be mere rhetoric for civil servants and at best help them “stay out of trouble”.

4.4 (c) Skill Development for Ethical Administration:

As mentioned earlier skill development for efficient administration is emphasised, while marginalizing inculcation of skills for ethical administration. However, case studies and projects, field training, competent and committed resource persons' efforts and other such processes of training help inculcate some skills which develop sensitivity to people's problems among the trainees.

The field training is effective for the inculcation of essential values. The trainees, after formal training at the Academy, are 'attached' to various offices at all levels of the district, under the overall supervision of the District
Collector. Here, they are exposed to the local socio-economic conditions, culture and heritage. They are attached to village offices, where they are required to study the impact of anti-poverty and other programmes on social development. In recent times, they are also 'attached' to Urban Non-Governmental Organizations to understand problems peculiar to urban areas like slum dwellers, streets children, destitutes and so on. The result of such training is viewed to be very effective in sensitizing the administrators to the problems of poor and downtrodden. Building of empathy is done mostly through field training where the trainees are exposed to realities of life, more so of the poor. The same is confirmed by another study conducted in Andhra Pradesh (Bogaards: 1997). The author of the study quotes his respondents. "Dedication to development came when I saw the poverty of rural people. They lived worse than animals". Similarly another respondent said that "Dedication came after seeing the tribals. It was an eye-opener for me that there were such poor people in India. After seeing so much of poverty, so much suffering, I could never be the arrogant IAS officer".

Effective self-discipline and development of skills are attributed to competent and committed resource persons at the Academy and informal training by district administrative heads. In fact their innovativeness, their capacity to transfer relevant skills for efficient and ethical administration
would go along way in shaping young administrators thinking and behaviour (discussed later in the chapter)

4.5 Issues For Ethical Training (Induction) : Administrators' Views

Many did not think training in ethics as important and therefore, they did not have much to add in this regard. They, in fact, were skeptical of the outcome of ethics training as they thought that it can hardly have positive impact on employees' behaviour. General opinion is that 'whatever it is, my ethics is my ethics I cannot change them'. A senior administrator said that "he has never accepted invitations from training schools to give lectures on ethics" as he believed that ethics cannot be inculcated through training programmes and that ethical behaviour is the reflection of the overall personality of individuals. "I do not think training can impart values specially when you are dealing with adults. ...high age of entry makes candidates less trainable" said another administrator. However, while recognizing this view Kernaghan (1993) writes that "while no one is likely to learn morality in training courses, such courses can improve ethical behaviour by sensitising participants to the importance of enduring ethical principles and can help develop skills for analysing the application of such principles to ethical and value issues". Writing on similar lines Stahl (1971) says that "A continuing strengthening of the moral base for public adminis-
tration is not likely to be inspired by further tightening of conflict of interest laws,..." but "steady and durable progress can be found most dependably in entry education and inservice training...." . The value of such training courses acquires greater importance when they are imparted in the beginning of the service. "What is learnt at entry often conditions a whole career" (Kernaghan: 1993).

Keeping this in view we presented a few statements as possible contents for ethics training (see table 4.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details about important issues in Ethics Training</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 60, (Figures in percentage)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Developing skills for ethical decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Exemplary behaviour of senior members of the service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Creation of separate knowledge to deal with discretionary power ethically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Familiarising the trainees to the frequently occurring ethical issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>(e) Any other</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The necessity for `developing skills - theoretical and analytical - for ethical decision-making' is identified as most important by a majority of the respondents. They accounted for 68per cent. To quote one of the
administrators "training should be on specific subjects like social welfare, equity, finance, public interest etc., and that it should be a well structured programme". Familiarising the trainees with ethical issues involved in matters by discussion, developing or adopting appropriate methods of moral reasoning and developing sensitivity to identifying ambiguity in ethical situations is favoured by 66 per cent of our respondents. Ethical issues could be, in the view of administrators, identified and listed from information collected through experienced members of the service. Assessing the ethical complexities faced by the administrators in day today administration an officer observed that "though it may not be possible to identify and list each of such issues at least some ethical complications which commonly arise need to be listed and incorporated in the training schedule and analysed".

Training by role models is considered as the most appropriate and effective, by 57 per cent of the respondents, particularly at the field level training and also thoughtout the service. In the words of a respondent, "at the recruitment stage itself it is not possible to judge the character of persons so merit should be the main criterion... . Once after recruitment, within 5 to 8 years , it is possible to inculcate ethical values provided the seniors are ethical. If senior members are good, qualified and ethical the junior members can easily be moulded on similar lines". District level training (where trainees work under senior members of the service and are attached to offices for practical training) is considered as the practical guide for future behaviour of civil servants. Administrators interviewed by Potter (1995) also
stress on the influence of district collector on their subsequent behaviour. However, a large section of our respondents express concern that, of late, field training gives the impression that most of the times it is necessary to make themselves acceptable to politicians as the person under whom they are getting trained tend to exhibit such behaviour. "... and their method of making themselves acceptable to politicians often gives a wrong impression to the young officers under training (Mohan:1985). The development of qualities like empathy is largely seen as the result of self-learning process unlike in pre-independence and immediate post-independence period when the seniors were looked up to for overall guidance and spirit.

Creating `a separate set of knowledge to solve ethical issues` is favoured by 37 per cent of administrators. This, according to them, could be achieved by developing standards based on most frequently occurring ethical issues in administration.

From the above discussion, it may be inferred that though the administrators do not think ethics training as useful for inculcating ethics they feel the necessity of evolving standards for dealing with ethical dilemmas faced in administration.
4.6 Overview

The recruitment system lays emphasis on 'competence' alone rather than on 'competence' and 'commitment' both in selecting the personnel. The respondents think that the age of entry should be reduced to 17 or 18 from when they should be provided with special schooling in the requirements of ethical administration. Similarly they favour only merit as the criterion for entry into service. They do not think that making social service background (through NCC, NSS etc., during schooling) as an essential qualification would contribute to the enhancement of public service ethics. However, those in favour of the thinking (a small per cent) see it as an added qualification as it provides better perception of social problems and such other qualities.

Similarly, training programmes appear to orient the trainees more in skills for administration than skills and ethics in administration. Topics like democratic ideals, accountability, responsibility, ethics codes and legislations which constitute a part of training in ethics are mere rhetoric for them. This may be due to lack of conceptual clarity of the term ethics in administration among them. The administrators, however, support that there should be training to identify, analyse and solve ethical dilemmas in administration. "Its absences" in their view, "may have caused ethical
erosion". This along with exemplary behaviour of superiors, the revival of accepting public service as a matter of honour requiring sacrifice would greatly help in establishing and maintaining high public service ethics.
Notes

1. This thinking has been contradicted by the findings of James Rest, a social psychologist. His findings exhibit that moral development can also take place in 20's and 30's, 'dramatic and extensive changes occur in young adulthood (20's and 30's) in the basic problem solving strategies used by the person in dealing with 'ethical issues' and 'deliberate educational attempts (formal curriculum) to influence awareness of moral problems and to influence the reasoning/judgment process can be demonstrated to be effective' (as quoted in Kernaghan, 1993).