CHAPTER V

Organisational Dynamics and Public Service Ethics
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"Formal organisations are among the most powerful social structures of our time, revealing even the nuclear family in their impact"

Dean Yarwood

Keeping this in view, this chapter focuses on important aspects of organisations and their impact on ethical behaviour of administrators. Some of the important issues raised are to what extent hierarchy influences ethical behaviour? How rules and procedures influence administration? Whether ethics institutions and codes of conduct help achieve public service ethics? and Whether the existing reward (punishment) pattern influences public service ethics?

5.2 Organisational Structure and Ethics

Organisations are made up of various sub units which are related to each other. Major variables of organisational structure are complexity, formalisation, centralisation and administrative intensity. However, it is difficult to say that these per se have a direct impact on administrative ethics. "It is difficult to establish that the structure of organizations has an independent impact on ethical behaviour and outcome. More likely, organisational structure along with organizational climate, individual ethical commitments and numerous other influences work simultaneously in shaping behaviour" (Denhardt: 1994). It is the value structure and general practices of organizations, representing organisational culture, which either promote or hinder ethical behaviour. Cooper while observing the significance of organisational culture writes that it "... exercise(s) powerful influence over
the employees apart from, and sometimes in opposition to, the formal rules, regulations, procedures and role authority of the managers”.

Recognising this, we attempt to discuss the relationship between organisational aspects and ethical behaviour. Important organisational aspects include hierarchical system, leadership, peer groups, reward (punishment) patterns and ethics institutions. The hierarchical system has certain culture associated with it i.e. authoritarianism, career focus, targetosis and adaptative nature and rule orientation of the administrators; Leadership and its role in ethicising the administration i.e. setting moral codes and ethical ‘tone’ for the organisation and role modeling for ethicising the administration. Peer groups (here by peer groups we mean professional Associations) and their impact on public service ethics i.e. their function as informal agencies in setting agency specific codes, enforcing them, discussing matters involving ethical issues for their clarification and protecting members from external pressure by solidarity. Finally ethics institutions and their efficacy in upholding high ethics in administration.

5.3 Hierarchy and Ethics

The hierarchical structures, while maximizing control, reliability and discipline, fail to promote public service purpose for which they come into
existence (Denhardt 1988). They are viewed as insensitive to the dynamics of human behaviour. They are said to "erode internal and even external sides of morality, not only in matters of individual success and failure but also in issues that managers face in their daily work" (R Jackall: 1983 as quoted in Cooper: 1990). This is mainly due to the characteristics so closely associated with it (which are mentioned earlier) are discussed here.

Firstly, target orientation of hierarchical structures (means to reach organisational norms of efficiency and effectiveness) raises considerable ethical problems. It, while downplaying 'substantive' rationality, upholds 'formal' rationality.

Taking similar view, 52 per cent of our respondents also felt that "reaching targets within stipulated time" acquires great importance as it forms the basis of performance appraisal for career development. According to them, "administrators performance is measured on the basis of how much work has been carried out under his/her supervision in the department irrespective of what and how they have done it". Also that "most of the times work is shown only on paper which gives out the account of how many have worked rather than giving feedback on how it is done, who has benefited and whether it has reached the people for whom it is meant? Who knows
what is actually done?". It has many drawbacks. The most important being political pressure to reach targets. Politicians and political parties, of late, are more interested in announcing achievements of their organisations statistically to win over the vote banks, according to 57 per cent of our respondents. It limits the scope of administration and administrators for initiative and innovation and that it changes attitude towards the job. It also encourages the members of the services to view their job as task given, the fulfillment of which becomes the main concern. "Infact, they (members of service) are committed to the task, not the job" (Bennis:1966).

Secondly, rules and procedures, drawn to secure loyalty of members, are the most important components of "organizational structure which is relevant to ethical administration" (Denhardt:1988). They lay down boundaries for administrative actions and are accepted and adopted by the administrators. They are required to run the administration smoothly with continuity, consistency, impartiality and fairness and therefore, to ensure ethicality of actions. They are seen as the guidelines to take decisions without personal bias and dilemmas. However, they have been raised to the status of institutions by the systems and further reinforced by the administrators who rigidly adhere to them without deliberating over their correctness and applicability with change in time and demands on administration. Moreover,
their continuation over a long period without deliberations and subsequent amendments, they may not only become irrelevant but also may not serve their purpose.

In order to understand as to how our respondents perceive the relevance of rules and procedures and 'use' them in their functioning (i.e. whether the rules assist in ethicising administration or come in its way? And to what extent they need to be adhered?), we prepared a few statements and secured answers. The results are shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1
Perceptions about administrative procedures as means of ethical administration
N=60, (Figures in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observance of all rules amounts to a lot of paper work but very little</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concrete work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If an official can solve problems by ignoring the rules, he should</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not hesitate to ignore them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table, it could be inferred that though 65 per cent of our respondents think that observance of rules amounts to a lot of paper work and demand more concentration on "files than on lives". On the other hand 47 per cent of them think that they are flexible and 'liberal' in their view in the observation of rules when "it comes to downplaying rules for assisting
the cause of public interest” for which they ‘provided explanation to the
government later’. However, they think that “they always function within
the purview of law” irrespective of their (laws) moral correctness as they are
sanctioned by the elected bodies. In other words, a majority of them
preferred to adhere to rules regardless of the consequences on the purpose of
administration particularly in terms of delays, lost significance of actions and
injustice. Therefore, they are adaptors and refuse to take risks to improvise
and ethicise administration. Two important defense frequently mentioned for
the above are (a) solving problems "out of procedural context may place them
in difficulty" therefore, involving risks, and (b) to avoid political and other
pressure. Our respondents think that they adopt them to avoid political
pressures ninety per cent of the times. From this interpretation it may be said
that our respondents are also rule focused and defend their actions.

Thirdly, various forces at interplay (mainly the pivotal position
occupied by members of superior civil services, availability of information
and self-perception that ‘they are of intellectually of high caliber’) in the
organisational context made them ‘less consultative’ in their functioning
(Singh and Bhandarkar: 1974). However, our respondents hold different
views on the issue of consultations. 45 per cent of them hold that they are
‘interested in consulting with the concerned parties but required interaction
and participation is not forthcoming from them'. But on further enquiry as to how (what channels) they would like to go about consultations, many did not have constructive ideas. While some suggested bodies like community meeting, citizen fora as the best means others expressed that they are not effective and that they have lost their significance. 15 per cent of them maintain that ‘urgency of matters often do not allow them the required time to go for detailed consultation', and the remaining hold that”, since they know better what is good for public interest”, they do not find wider consultation necessary.

The structural aspects of organisation orient the members to develop certain attitudes as discussed above. These, make them career oriented, centralise powers, arrogant, rule-oriented, inaccessible, non-innovators, sidelining the more important aspect of 'service to the public' which is the highest ethics in any democratic system. An in-depth analysis of these findings in terms of behaviour predisposition and action profile would suggest that a group characterised with the above orientation is likely to be "concealed", indulge in ruthless career advancement and demonstrate low value for contribution to organisational growth and social development’(Singh and Bhandarkar: 1994).
The shortcomings presented by organisational structures (which are imminent and cannot be avoided) can be effectively dealt with by the leadership. Leadership, shapes organizational climate by laying down norms and values. It can also orient and/or re-orient value structures of the organisations by adopting appropriate policies and practising them. It is “hailed as the crucial variable in the changing or re-orienting of organisational cultures” (Grosenick:1994). It forms the matter of discussion in the next section.

5.3 Leadership and Public Service Ethics

Leadership plays a very critical role in maintaining organisational ethics. In fact, its role is considered as that of re-orienting organisational culture and ethics. Schein (1985) writes that “the unique and essential function of leadership is the manipulation of culture”. The leaders shape the ethical norms of the organisation by deliberate role modeling, by allocating rewards and status and by fixing criteria for recruitment, selection, promotion, retirement and ex-communication (Cooper: 1990). However, it is their adherence to set ethical norms which is more important in building organisational culture. “... if you verbally encourage ethical conduct but make exceptions for yourself, your subordinates will pay attention to the moral
exceptions rather than your nice words and the organisation will be shaped accordingly" (Cooper;1990).

In order to find out about the influence of leadership, we asked our respondents as to whether seniors are/were acting as role models in the maintenance of high public service ethics? Reflecting on modern day administration (particularly post-1970's) 67 per cent of our respondents feel that "role-modeling has no more remained in the service" (both within and without the hierarchy). Though both first and second generation respondents hold this view, more number of second generation administrators appear to have experienced this. They strongly feel that if the superiors are strict in the observation of rules and codes "others in the organisation automatically follow the suit". A senior administrator with 15 years of experience felt that "between five and ten years after recruitment it is possible to inculcate ethical values among the juniors provided the seniors in the service guide them in right direction. ... if the seniors are responsive, ethical and qualified, the younger generation will inculcate these values by trying to adopt them in their behaviour and therefore, they can be moulded to be ethical, sensitive and responsive".

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About 50 per cent of the first generation respondents felt that their seniors were worth emulating and that they did guide their behaviour effectively. Potter's study (1996) brings out this aspect most effectively. The author quotes a respondent (of 1958 batch) saying 'If I am a good officer today, then the credit is mainly due to my collector'. The training in norms and values of the service, by the leaders within the service, begins at the Academy itself and continues for a few years into the service (particularly during early postings). Though many examples of inculcating values through exemplary leadership may be found in the administrative history of India, P.S. Appu's instance is very often quoted. The said officer, while working as the director of the National Academy of Administration, recommended to discharge a trainee officer for "he did not possess qualities of mind and character needed for the service". On disagreement with the government, Appu sought premature retirement (and subsequently the officer charged of 'uncalled for behaviour' was discharged). His argument for exemplary leadership in the service and stringent action against unethical behaviour was based on the observation that there are 'declining standards of personal and public conduct' and a 'break-down of long-cherished values' which have darkened our future at the moment. It, therefore, is necessary that we insist on 'impeccable conduct and ruthlessly weed out persons lacking qualities of mind and character needed for the service' (as quoted in Potter 1996).
The leadership within the hierarchy becomes so significant that it shapes the behaviour of administrators for their entire tenure. Respondents of the same study felt that seniors encouraged juniors to follow established norms of services. Mukerji, who served as Chief Secretary of Rajasthan in mid-1970s, said "when I was a junior he (referring to Mehta B, Chief Secretary of Rajasthan from 1958-66) encouraged me and others to treat him like an affectionate older brother, argue with him on governmental matters with frankness". This culture was further carried out by others. Continuing Mukerji said that in doing so 'he laid down norms of office behaviour and we, in turn, have become senior and try to follow his example' (Potter:1996).

However, the same cannot be said of our second generation respondents. They feel that the seniors do not give "required amount of attention and interest to their administrative difficulties". Thinking alike, a first generation respondent said that "the senior officers appear not to reflect on their responsibilities and its impact on the ethical behaviour of the junior members of the service". This reflects to have affected the service orientation of the personnel. An administrator feels that "if ethical officers are encouraged public administration will become service oriented. But exactly opposite is occurring making it more non-service oriented. Sixty percent of
the seniors do not encourage good work and honesty. Therefore, honest officers are discouraged".

From the above reflections it may be inferred that the leadership, which was of very high standards, is gradually deteriorating in its quality leaving the younger members of the service 'directionless' and 'shaping' them inappropriately. However, this deficiency could, to a very minute extent (as there is no effective alternative to leadership), be filled by peer groups which serve an informal but significant role in 'shaping' human behaviour in the organisation. It formulates the contents of our next section.

5.5 Peer Groups

Peer groups are considered as effective for "integration of ethical awareness and a sense of moral responsibility into agency culture" (Truelson:1991). When strong and united they play a dominant role in various respects for maintaining high public service ethics. Most important roles that could be performed by them are:

(a) Setting agency specific codes for greater effectiveness;

(b) Arranging discussions on ethical issues frequently occurring in the administrative sphere for their satisfactory solutions and therefore, 'right action';
(c) Supporting the rightful claims of the members against external pressures; and

(d) Performance appraisal of the work of their members.

In order to examine their influence we asked our respondents how peer groups functioned in the Indian context?

In the experience of 66 per cent of our respondents peer groups had neither supported them nor opposed them by taking a neutral stand. On the contrary they do not even protest when service members are 'not cordially treated' by the people in power leading to, among other things their untimely transfers and that too to less powerful positions. Said a first generation respondent, "the associations do not react to cases where an administrator has been wronged by a politician, has been humiliated by transferring him/her without rhyme or reason. They do not even criticise instability of tenure...". Many examples could be noted in this regard.

The public statement of the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi about changing his Foreign Secretary made him resign from the post next day in protest. The Prime Minister's action was neither condemned nor opposed by the Officers Association. Similar instances have occurred at the state level.
also. For instance, in Karnataka, the then Congress Chief Minister removed his upright Chief Secretary (for his 'non-co-operative' attitude towards the Chief Minister) to be replaced by an administrator who had several charges of corruption and cases pending in both civil courts and Lokayukta. In this case also the professional associations did not put up a strong protest against the move. The 'silver lining' in this regard was the signature campaign conducted by a group of young administrators against the government order. However, it was not forcefully brought before the government which continued with the 'new Chief Secretary'. Another instance which got maximum attention was the transfer of the Chief of Police in Karnataka on deputation to the Central Government within a few months of assumption of office "for his independent and 'non-cooperating' attitude" towards the concerned minister. In this case the association did not consider it as an important matter which needed to be questioned while considering it as 'internal matter of Government'.

Secondly, it is felt that general codes of conduct are broad based and vague, making it difficult to decide various nuances of ethical issues and actions. Therefore, 41 per cent of our respondents think that elaborate supplementary specific codes" are desirable to avoid vagueness of the general codes and "guide administrative actions properly". According to an
administrator "their presence alone will not be sufficient, the associations should keep vigil on their practice and violation. So that suitable rewards and punishments are decided". However, the professional associations in India, unlike in the USA, are not successful in performing their functions effectively in this regard.

Thirdly, they do not have strong internal performance appraisal mechanisms to assist functioning of the members. It is commonly felt by our respondents that "the simple understanding that professional associations are observing members actions is sufficient not only to enforce codes of conduct but it may also help in enhancing performance of administrators". Recently in an exemplary move in Uttar Pradesh young members of the IAS association had arranged an opinion poll for finding out "three most corrupt officers". The move could not succeed as the final results were withheld due to pressure from within the officers circle who were "worried about their image". However, continued efforts in that direction would be useful in upholding public service ethics in the long run.

Ineffective peer groups, weakened leadership, absence of whistleblower protection measures and the consequent weakened organizational support system have discouraged administrators from taking
personal risks by "voicing the truth" about the irregularities within the organizations.

5.5 Reward (Punishment) Pattern

Reward (punishment) patterns are evolved by organizations to control employee behaviour (Wittmer:1994). They encourage loyalty to organisational goals and overlook individual ethical actions. However, the leadership may encourage ethical conduct by identifying and rewarding such conduct. But "one difficulty with direct rewards to individuals is impossibility of measuring systematically how ethically people are conducting themselves under routine conditions" (Cooper: 1990). The scholar further says that "the most effective approach may be to reserve rewards for those less frequent, more dramatic, identifiable instances of ethical courage within the organisation...". Some common rewards identified are recognition, promotions, increase in the salary etc.,. However, rewards identified most frequently by our respondents are recognition of good work, transfers to favourable departments and places, timely promotional policies, and 'non-interference' of political functionaries in administrative matters.

In order to find out about reward (punishment) system in practice we asked our respondents whether rewards (punishments) existed in practice?.
86 per cent of the respondents feel that there are no rewards for good work and even if there were some they are not utilized properly and are distorted. An administrator said that "as a policy reward system presupposes that whoever is good at work is rewarded. But in reality politicians decide who should be rewarded and punished? and What should be the basis of such rewards and punishments?"

Recognition of `good' work by the organisation is the most appealing of all the rewards according to our respondents. They feel that it would encourage them in their work. However, according to 83 per cent of them it is not forthcoming. On the contrary attempts are constantly made to discourage them either by ignoring or by castigating such efforts. Their general opinion may be summarised as:

(a) "basically good work is not recognized. Many people accept public services, as a matter of honour, even at the cost of many sacrifices. What they expect is a pat on the back. But they rarely get it".

(b) If you are honest, there is no recognition. Officers who work in alliance with politicians will get honours, medals, good postings and recognition. "Frustration sets in damaging administrative ethics". Recollecting from her experience an
administrator said that "an officer known for hard work, honesty and uprightness was summoned before the Public Accounts Committee, at the behest of others in the organisation, and questioned. If this is the case how can administration move smoothly and public service ethics be ensured?"

Placement to 'coveted' and 'important' positions and transfer to 'convenient' places as rewards for ethical actions are also missing according to 61 per cent of our respondents. According to them "transfers, postings and provisions of other facilities do not depend on 'good' work. They are decided by the political masters" (See chapter six for details). This, in fact, has turned to the disadvantage of enthusiastic and honest administrators "of whom the government does not lack". Conversely the political leadership (which has come to control service conditions of administrators) 'rewards unethical behaviour' if it is to be benefited by protecting personnel involved. The general view of our respondents on this is that "ninety per cent of the times, guilty who should be punished, in the strict sense to avoid recurrence of immoral and unethical activities go scot free and unpunished". A police officer recollecting from his experience said that he "had arrested a colleague who was found guilty of death of an undertrial in custody. But no action was
taken against him. He was, on the other hand, promoted and transferred". Such examples could be multiplied from our interviews.

In short, it may be said that the organizations throw up more disincentives than rewards for 'right actions' making one of our respondents remark that "the administrators may become immoral and tend to shirk responsibility, the practice of which is so essential for high public service ethics".

5.6 Organisational Approach to Ethics

Organisations, in order to reduce instances of unethical activities - arising out of "ambiguity of men" (Bailey: 1965) and "conflicts between elected/appointed officials and careerists in the public administration community" (Bowman: 1990) - lay down guidelines for action. They, popularly known as codes of ethics/conduct, clarify the role of administrators within and without the organisational contexts. Generally they deal with issues of conflicts of interests and violations of rules (Denhardt: 1980). They are meant to safeguard employees from "illegal behaviour" and ensure reflection of social values from the organisations. Their effectiveness depends upon their acceptability and enforceability (Cottell: 1987) Acceptability of
codes is influenced by their familiarity and organisational approach to them. In the following paragraphs we will discuss both aspects.

Table 5.2
Perceptions about the effectiveness of disciplinary codes
N=60, (Figures in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disciplinary codes</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provide appropriate guidance for maintaining high public</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>service ethics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Require supplementary agency specific codes to be more effective</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

India has a wide range of disciplinary codes for members of civil service. All the respondents are aware of their existence (it formulates a part of post entry training). However, a majority of them (51 per cent) are uncertain as to whether the existing disciplinary codes provide appropriate standards to maintain high public service ethics. They feel that "codes make sweeping statements making it difficult to identify the scope of ethicality of actions". Their uncertainty encourages 41 per cent of our respondents to think that there is need for supplementary agency specific codes to be drawn and enforced by professional associations like Indian Medical Association. However, they are not found in the Indian context, unlike in USA where different professions have established specific codes for their agencies like American Society for Public
However, organisational approach in addressing ethical concerns also contribute to their acceptance and effectiveness. Therefore, following Bowman's study we asked the respondents what approach is emphasised by the organisations to ethicise administration? In the view of 69 per cent (See table 5.3) of them "the enforcement, most of the times, takes negative approach" limiting the scope and effectiveness of efforts. About a quarter of them think that "some times efforts" are also directed to encourage ethical behaviour by developing a positive attitude towards job. This, according to our respondents is "mostly the result of exemplary leadership". However, in most of the cases "ethical issues are treated as beyond the purview of organisations as they are not concerned about ethical standards. They are considered as individuals' concern and therefore, are "left to them" to solve. In short, organisational efforts are at increasing efficiency and effectiveness rather than both increasing efficiency and ethicising administration. The vagueness of codes, the negative approach of the organisations and excessive external pressures have dampened enthusiasm of administrators in totally accepting the general codes in practice. However, according to 32 per cent of the respondents" they cannot be totally ignored in their functioning". On the
enforceability front also organisations have not succeeded. This is discussed in the next section.

Table 5.3
Perceptions about organisational approach to public service ethics
N=60, (Figures in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The organisational mechanisms try to suppress unethical behaviour by detecting and discouraging such activities</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a proactive, human development, problem-solving approach promoting ethical behaviour</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other (please specify)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8 Institutions and Implementation of Codes

Institutions enforcing codes of ethics could be divided into two-formal and informal. The informal institutions like Professional Associations could serve as effective enforcement agencies by building peer pressure to adhere to norms and values. However, our earlier discussions show that in India, there are no strong Professional Associations. They neither draw codes of ethics for their members nor enforce the existing codes by encouraging the members to accept them in practice.
On the other hand, formal laws and machinaries enforcing high ethical standards in public life are of wide range. Important institutional arrangements are the Central Bureau of Investigation and the Central Vigilance Commission at the centre and Lokayuktas in the states. The scope of these institutions, unlike Ombudsman in Scandinavian countries, is limited to investigate into illegal behaviour of the personnel. From the earlier literature, evaluating these institutions it is clear that these institutions, have not been effective in enforcing high ethical behaviour among the employees.

Several cases have been registered against public officials by these institutions. However, they are not effective in conducting proceedings and punishing public officials occupying high positions both in political life and administration. For example, of the total complaints before the Lokayukta 1.45 per cent and 1.27 per cent were against political leaders and IAS and IPS officers respectively during 1985-90 in Karnataka. Although some of them were indicted on various charges of corruption none of them was punished (Sangita:1994). A recent instance could be seen in the failure of Karnataka Lokayukta in charge-sheeting a senior administrator accused of wrongly authorising the purchase of Rs 35 lakh worth veterinary drugs. "Not a single accused official has been charge sheeted even months after the case was registered" inhibiting the creation of and support to ethical climate in government. This view is also backed by our
respondents. To quote an administrator "Lokayukta is not so powerful to check an IAS or IPS Officer".

5.9. Functioning of the Formal Institutions

Administrators' perceptions

According to a big majority of respondents think that there is an ongoing effort to reinforce codes of ethics/conduct and that the codes, laws and machineries restraining unethical activities are very vast providing coverage to a wide range of activities. They accounted for 67 per cent. However, according to them, they have not succeeded in their effort of minimising corruption. Their failure is attributed, by 53 per cent of them, to poor enthusiasm in their enforcement. An administrator opines that "with regard to prevention of corruption India has the best laws and institutions but they have not succeeded due to lack of enthusiasm and half-hearted attempts in enforcing them". A second category of our respondents perceive that "corruption within Lokayukta" has contributed to its ineffectiveness. They accounted for 21 per cent. The view of these administrators may be summarized as that "Lokayukta officials blackmail corrupt officers to expose them by raiding and publicising the issue. In the fear of consequent damaged social image corrupt officers will pay money to Lokayukta officials. Therefore, it is also not out of it". Many examples in this regard were
mentioned by our respondents. Two incidents frequently mentioned in this regard were-

1. In Chickmagalur district of Karnataka a food inspector was caught by Lokayukta officials who were in turn caught by officials of Central Bureau of Investigation for accepting bribes from the food officials in question; and

2. A police officer charged under anti-corruption laws on allegations of having taken Rs. 40 lakhs as bribes escaped the clutches of law by bribing Lokayukta officials to the tune of Rs. 20 lakhs. He continues to occupy a very good position in the police department. While a small percentage (9 per cent) of administrators assign lack of sufficient staff, increasing number of cases, procedural delays etc. as reasons, some of the administrators relate it to negative approach to administrative ethics. A first generation administrator reflected that "our agencies enforcing accountability have not succeeded in developing mechanisms to encourage ethical behaviour. ... only when they are caught we try to act while those not caught go scot free".

5.10 Overview

From the discussion so far it is evident that organisations are not effective in providing "conducive environment" for ethical administration.
The organisational culture which should reflect and reinforce value commitments has been weakened due to various developments. The following general inferences can be drawn.

1. The demands of organisations influence human behaviour. The hierarchical structure reinforces target-orientation and rule-orientation of the administrators. The set goals of the organisation and the laid out methods to reach them make the administrators 'less consultative' and non-innovative. Since reaching goals is taken as the measure for performance appraisal administrators concentration is more on 'reaching' them within stipulated time irrespective of the enquiry whether people are benefitted by administrative actions or not?

2. Over the years the quality of leadership - both within the hierarchy and without it (political) - has deteriorated. There is decrease in the instances of exemplary leadership behaviour guiding and 'shaping' the new generation into the 'norms and values of the services'. On the contrary the younger generation feels that necessary attention is not being paid by the seniors to their administrative problems and ethical dilemmas.

3. Professional Associations are not effective in ensuring high ethical
standards in administration. They do not support their member’s actions from undue external pressures. Similarly neither do they lay down specific codes of ethics for members nor do they enforce the already existing codes like their counterparts in USA. Lack of unity has weakened the associations incapacitating them from any effective action.

4 Reward (punishment) practices to promote ethical behaviour, by recognising the individual efforts and integrity of action, are distorted by factors external to the organisation, mainly the political system (discussed in the next chapter). They are decided by the political functionaries on the basis of ‘co-operation’ and ‘non-co-operation’ rather than by merit of action. This, to a great extent, ‘hinder ethical actions’. It drives administrators to be more cynical and amoral though not immoral.

5 Ethics institutions are vast covering all aspects of immorality. The administrators’ familiarity with codes of ethics is high but their ‘acceptability’ appears to be not unto expected level due to various “external factors which force administrators to accommodate various factors in their functioning” At the same time the enforcing agencies
have not succeeded in their objectives as they, in themselves, are not free from corruption, immorality and political interference. Also the Professional Associations unlike in USA, have not accepted the responsibility of sensitising the administrators in ethical aspects of governance by laying down and enforcing agency specific codes. Infact, they can become more effective than separate agencies established externally as they function in an informal way. In short, organisations do not present ? conducive environment? to encourage ethical action in administration whatever are the reason.
Notes

1. Formal nationality is described by M. Weber (1947) as a systems where formal factors are expressed in numerical, calculative terms. On the other hand, substantive rationality takes into account that activities have ethical, political utilities or any thing else as the ultimate end.

2. This could also be noticed in the advertisements reviewing performance of ruling parties appearing in national dailies particularly during national festivals and quarterly, bi-yearly and yearly performance appraisal of parties.

4. An elaborate note of civil services conduct Rules is as follows:

(a) No member of the service shall be a member of, or be otherwise associated with, any political party or any organisation which takes part in politics nor shall be take part in, subscribe in aid of or assist in any other manner, any political movement or activity.
(b) It shall be the duty of every member of the service to endeavour to prevent any member of the family from taking part in subscribing aid, or assisting in any other manner, any movement or activity which is or tends directly to be, subversive of the governments by law established and where a member of the service fails to prevent a member of his family from indulging in any of the aforesaid actions, he shall make a report to that effect to the government.

5. Cases registered before Karnataka Lokayukta increased multi fold. In 1991, 129 cases were registered and in 1996 it rose to 279. The total registered cases between 1991-1997 were 1343 of which 1079 were pending (Times of India, Bangalore : 24-6-1997)