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VENLA MÄNTYSALO

Ethical minimum or ethical maximum?

Study on public service ethics
from the perspectives of justice,
ethos and transparency in Finnish
public administration

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Julkaisun nimike Eettisestä minimistä eettiseen maksimiin? Tutkimus julkisen palvelun etiikasta oikeudenmukaisuuden, eetoksen ja avoimuuden näkökulmasta Suomen hallinnossa.		
Tiivistelmä Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tutkia julkisen palvelun etiikkaa eettisen minimin ja eettisen maksimin ulottuvuuksien kautta. Tutkimus käsittelee hallintotieteen teorioiden eettisiä kysymyksiä erityisesti oikeudenmukaisuuden, eetoksen ja avoimuuden kautta sekä kansalais- että esimiesnäkökulmasta. Hallintotieteen suuntauksissa on erilaisia painotuksia oikeudenmukaisuuteen, eetokseen ja avoimuuteen. Teoreettinen jako ‘high road’ ja ‘low road’ - painotukseen eettisessä johtamisessa tuottaa jaon integriteetti- ja sääntöpohjaiseen strategiaan. Tässä työssä tarkastellaan myös Suomen eettistä viitekehystä lainsäädännön ja ohjeiden kautta. Empiirinen osuus ja teoreettinen taustoitus artikkeleissa ja konferenssiartikkelissa syventävät tutkimusta oikeudenmukaisuuden, eetoksen ja avoimuuden sisältöihin sekä niiden tarkasteluun eettisen minimin ja eettisen maksimin ulottuvuuksien kautta. Tutkimuksessa on käytetty kyselytutkimusaineistoa ja Q-metodia. Tulokset osoittavat, että eettinen maksimi toteutuu arvojen ja lainsäädännön yhteistyöllä. Lainsäädäntö ei ainoastaan takaa eettistä toimintaa eikä välttämättä riitä vastaamaan kansalaisten odotuksia. Avoimuuden ja oikeudenmukaisuuden vaatimus hallinnon etiikassa kasvaa, ja siten myös tarve uudistuvalla julkisen palvelun eetokselle syntyy. Ideaalimallissa korostuvat eettinen herkkyyks ja oikeudenmukaisuus, uudistettu ja mukautuva julkisen palvelun eetos sekä avoimuuden kautta toteutuva dialogisuus ja kansalaisosallistuminen.		
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Abstract <p>The purpose of this research is to explore what is the development of public service ethics from the ethical minimum to the ethical maximum. The ethical questions in the public administration theories are explored. Justice, ethos and transparency are analyzed from the citizen and managerial perspective. The study follows an interpretive model using a theoretical framework of high road and low road of ethics, analyzing the aspects of ethical minimum and ethical maximum. Administrative ethics theories and public administration theories have different takes on the ethical questions of administrative responsibility, public interest and the character of a good public servant.</p> <p>The high road and low road of ethics debate and the strategies of ethics management are divided into the compliance and integrity approaches. In the study, I will analyze the institutional arrangements, the regulatory framework of Finnish public administration. Empirical data and theoretical analysis in the three articles and one conference paper contribute to the study of justice, ethos and transparency on the ethical minimum – ethical maximum continuum. The methods used in the articles are survey and Q-method.</p> <p>The results show that the ethical maximum is achieved with a combination of regulation and values. Regulation alone does not guarantee ethical conduct or the perception of ethical public service. The demands on ethical public service vary in the theories of public administration, and there is a need for an adapted ethos in public service. Demands of transparency are increasing, availability of information is not enough, but there is a need for effective transparency and two-way communication, where the regulation informs practice.</p>		
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PREFACE

”Elämä ei ole menneet päivät, vaan päivät, jotka muistaa” ”Life equals the days we remember, not the days that have gone by”. A quote often used by my dear grandmother Eila, original author not found.

It is a truth almost universally acknowledged, that career paths and life designs may take unexpected turns and bring about possibilities and challenges one has been previously unaware of. For me, the process of Ph.D. studies has been one of those. I am glad, relieved and proud to be at this point of the path.

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Prof. Ari Salminen, whose support, encouragement and guidance has been unfaltering during the years of my Ph.D. studies. As a supervisor, he has both enabled the many possibilities and projects that I have always been willing to undertake, and also reminded me of the importance on focusing on the main task, that is now at the final part of the journey. I dare say that under his exemplary leadership, the research done for and in addition to the Ph.D. studies has brought some new aspects to scientific discussion in the field of public service ethics in Finland.

I wish to thank Prof. Pertti Ahonen and University Lecturer Klaus af Ursin, who provided their valuable comments for my work. I also wish to thank Prof. Esa Hyyryläinen and University Lecturer Olli-Pekka Viinamäki, who have offered their support and valuable guidance during my years at the university and the Department of Public Management.

I have been lucky to have had several wonderful and supportive colleagues during my years at the university. Work in academia would not have been the same. I am more than certain we have made big improvements to the world in our many discussions. I owe special thanks to my dear colleague and friend Lotta Pitkänen, who has been there from the very beginning until the very end of the process. I wish to thank Kirsi Lehto, who has also been an exemplary boss, valuable in her support and kindness. Other colleagues and persons with whom I have had the good fortune to work, share experiences and peer support as well as other aspects of life include Niina Mäntylä (special thanks for all the wonderful riding trips!), Virpi Juppo, Rinna Ikola-Norrbacka, Anni Juvani, Lauri Heiskanen, Charles Osifo, Ethelbert Nwokorie, Florika Kolaci, Johanna Jokisuu, Katalin Ersek, Maria Eronen and Prof. Tommi Lehtonen. Additional special thanks goes to Michael Macaulay and Sabina Schnell (also for co-operation), and to the many great people I met at the EGPA conferences, especially in Bucharest and Bergen.

The biggest thanks go to my family and relatives. My parents Maarit and Timo, my younger brothers Ilmari and Jussi and sister Emma have always been there for me. Their unconditional love and support have been invaluable. My grandparents Eila and Matti and my fantastic relatives, especially cousins, also merit a special place. Wherever I am at any time and place, I know I can always go back home.

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The chosen family, my friends, are responsible for many adventures and special moments filled with joie de vivre. I will not be able to list all of you, but you know I have a poor memory so please forgive me. You have played a particular role in this play, and all of you have a special place in my heart. Thank you Jonna, Taija, Jarkko, Annika, Jukka, Tommi, Laura, Nina and Anne, danke schön. Finally, gratitude beyond expression goes to my person, my cousin and best friend Vilma. You are my minimum and you are my maximum. Aren't we lucky in life to have the opportunity to wander and make new journeys together and experience many new days yet to be remembered?

Vaasa, Rantakatu,
28.12.2015

Venla Mäntysalo

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- [1] Salminen, A., R. Ikola-Norrbacka & V. Mäntysalo (2009). Perceptions of Justice towards Public Administration: The Views of Finnish Citizens. *Viesoji Politika ir Administravimas*. 29, 7-17.
- [2] Salminen, A. & V. Mäntysalo (2013). Exploring the Public Service Ethos: The Ethical Profiles of Regional and Local Managers in Finnish Public Administration. *Public Integrity*, 15: 2, 176-186.
- [3] Mäntysalo, V. (2015). The Importance of Transparency in Ethical Governance: Current Research and Finnish Citizens' Perceptions. *Halduskultuur*, 16: 1, 48-67.
- [4]. Mäntysalo, V., M. Macaulay & S. Schnell (2012). Hiding in Plain Sight? An Exploratory Study into the Limits of Transparency. Conference paper presented in the IRSPM XVI conference, 2012 in Rome, Track 47, *Transparency and Accountability*.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Public service ethics in national and global perspective

The purpose of this research is to study the key elements of public service ethics in the context of public administration. The main focus is on the dynamic between the ethical minimum and the ethical maximum in public service ethics. The context is the administration-citizen relationship, professionalism and institutional arrangements. The study explores universal and problematic questions, such as what constitutes good and ethical governance. This research aims to find answers to the key tenets of good, ethical governance and public service.

There is a notion that ethics begin where legislation ends. On the other hand, the values and moral norms of society are codified into legislation. The legislation sets the minimum requirement for ethical conduct. It is a balance between control and trust, the need for oversight or the moral agency and integrity of the people.

The requirements for government and public administration have long been central issues in the effectiveness and economy of the public sector. Within the last decade, ethics of administration has received more attention, emphasizing the values and morals of government, while disregarding the view that emphasizes only the aspects of efficiency and effectiveness in governance. Administrative ethics has become a focal point in the theories of public administration, regarding issues such as justice, equality, corruption and integrity. Legislation alone does not guarantee the ethics of administration, but rather other measures, such as ethical management and codes of conduct are necessary and need to be adapted into action in the public sector. The attention to ethical questions has been growing both in the public and private sector, not least due to consumer and citizen demands. Misuse of power and integrity violations erode trust in institutions and hamper the effectiveness of public administration.

Administrative ethics focuses on the ethical questions relating to public affairs, the interaction between citizens and public officials and between public officials. The values of public administration and public service, ethics of public officials and the regulations of good administration belong to the field of administrative ethics. Traditionally, the study of administrative ethics has concentrated on questions of justice, accountability, trust, integrity of public officials and corruption. Here the questions of ethical governance and good administration are the primary targets of theoretical research.

The theoretical basis of the study relies on administrative ethics theories and topics that address the questions of ethical governance and public service ethos. Ethics management and ethics of public service form a key element in these approaches. Administrative ethics research focuses on, for example, the conformity to law, conflicts of interest, responsibility and procedural fairness. The ethical obligations for a public administrator derive from various sources, and there should be responsibility in the professional, political and even personal sense (Lynn 1996: 47, Mayer & Harmon 1982: 222). As an alternative to the legalistic approaches, Cooper (1984) views the ethical obligations stemming from the fact that administrators themselves are citizens, or “professional citizens” or “citizen administrators” (Lynn 1996: 48).

The underlying problem is to view how citizens and managers view the ethical governance and public service ethos and what are the problems in the ethical framework, also in the light of new approaches. The introduction of the managerial and New Public Management approach to public administration and public service delivery is one aspect that brings challenge to the traditional framework of public service ethics. The underlying problem this research addresses is the change in public service and the question of compromise in ethics in public service and public administration.

A key premise for the research is that citizens highly value justice in society and in public service and that transparency and openness form another core of public service from the theoretical and practical point of view. The idea that public service and public administration possess a distinct ethos, a public service ethos, is explored from the managers’ perspective. The theoretical framework aims to assess the convergence of public service ethos and ethical governance theories reflecting them in the basis of normative public administration theory. The theoretical framework and the conclusions focus on the development of administrative ethics and public service ethos: how is administrative ethics distinct and what are the constituents of public service ethos, how have they come about and what is the future direction of them?

Based on the article material and empirical results, it becomes evident that, in the citizens’ evaluations, the actual practice of ethics and key values remains insufficient, and while the values of justice and transparency are highly valued as key determinants of ethical governance, citizens’ are suspicious of the future and express a fear of deterioration with regard to these values. Managers, however, express a strong profile for traditional values and promote justice and fairness above all else.

The reasons to study ethics in Finnish public administration stems from both a national and a global perspective. One reason is the change taking place in the organization and delivery of public service, where, for example, NPM influenced reforms shape the conduct and set new demands also on the ethical aspect (cf. Ahonen & Salminen 1997, Hondelghem 1998, Kernaghan 2000). Another important reason for studying ethics is that the ideal and the practical may be very different. Therefore, the citizen view brings in a valuable assertion from the service user side.

In the global perspective, one may ask, why study ethics in a country where several aspects of administration seem to work with quality, effectiveness and a high level of trust in the public administration? Finland definitely ranks high in several indices, which have administrative ethics themes, such as the good governance and corruption indexes. In the light of these results, the overall situation is not poor; however, there is always room for improvement and focus on issues that have not been previously studied. The focus on administrative ethics from the public management perspective is rather unexplored in Finland. The citizen-administration perception has the possibility to offer new knowledge and insight to the administrative ethics discussion.

There is often a consensus on maintaining the status quo, purporting the idea that when something is good, why change it? Another common notion is that everything is a matter of perspective. Along these two lines of reasoning, we already find the paradox of studying ethics. What is good and what is bad is a matter of perspective, and the difference between individual, micro-level conclusions could be light years from the macro-level, or the global perspective. And what is good in individual opinion and in personal experience might not in the least way correspond to the notion of goodness of one's fellow citizen. Another paradox in human kind is the fact that our thoughts and actions do not necessarily coincide, and our idea of what is good and right does not always extend to practice, to our behavior and to the choices we make.

1.2 Research questions

The main goal of the research is to uncover how to develop the ethical minimum toward the ethical maximum in public service, especially in the light of key ethical values, such as justice, ethos and transparency. Do they form an essential part of public service ethics, and if so, how do these elements work in practice? By contrasting the normative theories of public administration, the research aims to investigate whether there has been a change of public service ethics and how

the empirical data supports the presumed essentials and discourse of ethical governance. Finally, it is questioned if ethical governance remains as an idealistic aim of a good administration and public service, or do the principles laid down in theory materialize in practice. In this study, the aim is to build an ideal model based on the continuum of the ethical minimum and ethical maximum.

Why exactly focus on the dimensions of justice, ethos and transparency when there are a multitude of ethical values and these three are complex and wide in their scope. Firstly, justice is a key value in the citizen-administration relationship and a foundation of a fair society. Ethos is the ethical focus on the public official and the profession of public administration. Transparency has become more essential in the research of ethical governance because it has wide-reaching implications at the level of society and administration as a value and a principle.

The reason for studying administrative ethics is in this parameter, and the general questions are what is good and right, how can it be defined and measured, and what conclusions can we draw from there? The inspiration for studying ethics and public administration for me stems from the idea of discovering and exploring the foundations of what is valued, or what could be collectively valued, and finding answers to these questions while bearing in mind that there is always room for improvement. In order to improve, we need to know both sides of the coin, what works and what does not work. The reason for emphasizing the citizen perspective derives from the idea that government is for the citizens.

In order to explore the role of public service ethics with a focus on the dimensions of justice, ethos and transparency, the research setting is outlined here based on the aforementioned discussion. The research problem is divided into the following questions:

1. What is the influence of public administration doctrines on public service ethics?
2. What is the development of public service ethics on the continuum from the ethical minimum toward the ethical maximum?
3. How is ethical public service developed from the dimensions of justice, ethos and transparency?

The research setting is presented in Figure 1. The dynamic of ethical minimum to ethical maximum follows the theoretical setting of the research focusing on the questions of justice, ethos and transparency. The empirical part contributes to the

understanding and analysis from the perspective of citizens and public sector managers, providing two perspectives on the questions. The aim is to configure an ethical framework for public service.

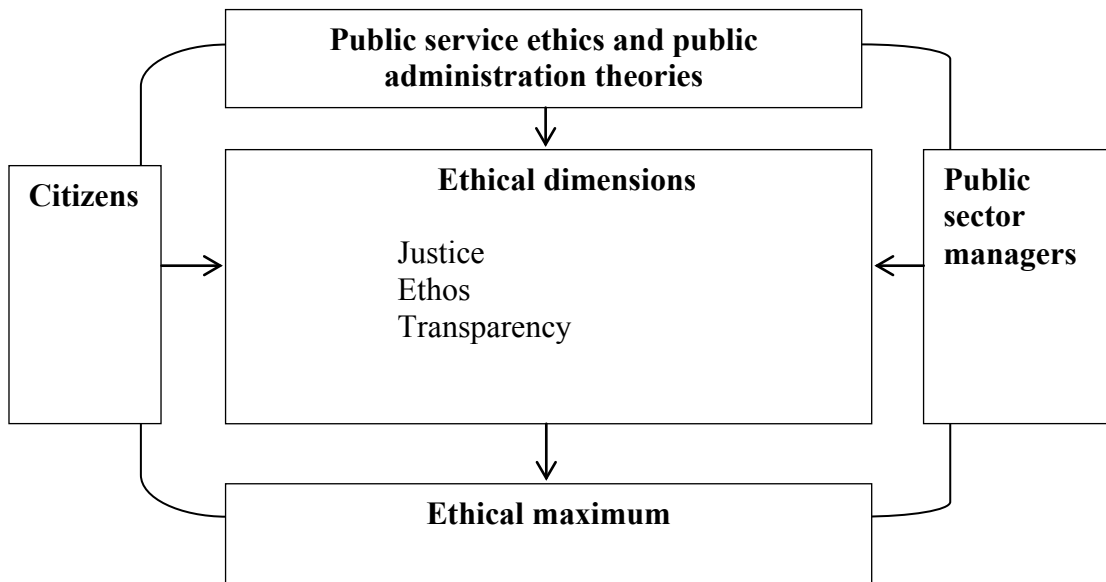


Figure 1. The research setting.

1.3 Key concepts

The choice and use of concepts in administrative ethics is at times complex and overlapping. Several concepts tend to be ambiguous¹ and contextually loaded, therefore I will clarify the main concepts used in the study.

In this part, I will narrow the definition of concepts into the following: public service ethics, ethics management, justice, ethos, transparency and ethical governance.

¹ E.g. corruption and integrity both include a variety of definitions depending on the context, purpose and even culture in which they are used.

Public service ethics. The definition of public service ethics for the purposes of this study is the following: public service ethics refers to the ethical practices and ethical values guiding and defining the actions and practices of public service. Ethics in public service is present at different levels, ranging from the minimum of ethical consideration, which means paying attention only to the rules and laws, to the maximum of ethical consideration, meaning paying attention to key ethical values, ethical governance and ethics management. Ethical public service means more than the absence of corruption and malpractice: it means the application and consideration of ethics in the wider value framework as well as in the daily practice of public service. (cf. Denhardt 1988, Menzel 2005, Lawton 1998, Salminen 2010.) The *citizen perspective* and the *managerial perspective* in public service ethics differ in relation to the experience and the position and duty to maintain ethical conduct. It is a duty of public administration to promote ethical public service and one way to measure the success and level of ethics is through the citizens, through the service the users experience.

Ethics management. Ethics management refers to the ethics laws, rules, regulations, and codes that either prevent or promote ethical practices within an organization. Ethics management means the cumulative actions taken by managers to promote the ethical sensitivity and ethical decision-making that permeate all aspects of the organization. There are two main approaches to ethics management that will be further elaborated in this research: the compliance-based and the integrity-approach (these are linked to the low road and high road of ethics). Whereas the former approach emphasizes rules and regulations (Menzel (2012: 37) refers to this as the ‘old’ ethics management approach), the latter promotes the integrity of the organization through values, leadership and integrity.

We might readily agree that ethics, morals and values need to be given particular attention in the business of management, government and public service. Taking a more fundamental approach to the relationship of ethics and administration, Garofalo and Geuras (2006) have argued that public administration is fundamentally a moral enterprise, and therefore the administrator is a moral agent. This morality is bound to the legitimacy of the whole public administration. The moral legitimacy, or the claim to moral legitimacy, derives from the administration’s purpose to serve societal values and on the ends and means of how these values are enacted. (cf. Garofalo & Geuras 2009.)

Justice. The definition of justice is inextricably linked to the concept of equality, and in this research I will emphasize that egalitarian aspect. According to Rawls (1971: 3), justice is the first virtue of social institutions, in a similar manner as

truth is the virtue of systems of thought.² Justice defines what is just and what is unjust. Every society and culture has their conception of justice. The idea of justice entails impartiality (justice is blind) and equality of opportunities. In the welfare state context, distributive justice is a key tenet, regarding what benefit is to be distributed and on what grounds. Procedural justice is especially central in administration, concerning the fairness of the decision-making process and procedures (see also Appendix 1).

The Rawlsian definition (Rawls 1971: 13) and conception of justice as fairness is one of the most central definitions. The idea of justice as fairness relies on two basic principles: the first demands equality in the assignment of basic rights and duties, and the second entails that social and economic inequalities are only acceptable in the circumstance where they benefit everyone, especially the most disadvantaged members of society.

Ethos. Ethos is basically defined as the set of ideas and moral attitudes that belong to a certain person or group. The concept involves a multitude of definitions, some even as broad as to suggest that ethos signifies the notion of a good life, the spirit of a culture and a value system (cf. Lawton 1998, Juuti 2002: 7, 38). In this research, I will use the definition of ethos as the guiding value set that derives from personal beliefs and priorities reflecting the values of the organization. It is possible to pair ethos with several attributes, such as the *public service ethos* that is the focus in this research. In the administrative ethics theories, a division into bureaucratic and democratic ethos is made (see also Appendix 2).

In terms of rhetoric, Aristotle viewed ethos as the credibility of a speaker, and the ability to convey a message in a trustworthy manner. This meaning underpins the trustworthiness that is attached to ethos³.

Transparency. Transparency means the disclosure of information. In this research, the definition of transparency is the availability and accessibility of relevant, timely, comprehensive, high-quality and reliable information about the functioning of the polity and government activities and the possibility to give

² Justice also means the refraining from *pleonexia*, i.e. “gaining advantage for oneself by seizing what belongs to another” (Rawls, 1971: 3, Aristotle: *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1129b-1130b5).

³ In his work *Rhetoric*, Aristotle viewed ethos as the character of the speaker, as a mean of persuasion in addition to *pathos* and *logos*. In contemporary research, communication scientists define it as the perception of credibility a person has toward other persons or objects (Haskins 2003:45).

feedback and act upon the provided information (Gerring & Thacker 2004: 316, cf. Appendix 3 & 4). Transparency is often connected to the notion of openness and publicity. Openness is a wider concept than transparency, because it often denotes the wider attitude or approach, for example, in business or international relations. Publicity refers to matter that are made public (by the government or other stakeholders). The opposite of openness is secrecy, whereas the conceptual opposite of transparency is opaqueness, which can refer to unclear or incoherent information. However, the definition of openness and the open government includes the freedom of information aspect, and the public availability of information to the citizens or stakeholders. In the Finnish and the Nordic context, the ‘principle of publicity’ (*Julkisuusperiaate*) is a constitutional principle that guarantees the access to information. (Act on the Openness of Government Activities 621/1999, Erkkilä 2010, Mäenpää 2009.)

Another central, yet somewhat ambiguous concept is *ethical governance*, that is an umbrella term and a holistic concept that includes ethics management, ethical management and ethical leadership and emphasizes the context of public governance. The concept is used interchangeably with ethics management and ethical management in some contexts (cf. Menzel 2012). It denotes administrative measures, procedures, and policies that fulfill the criteria required for the ethically good or acceptable handling of public affairs, public administration, and public service. Ethical governance also denotes the absence of corruption.

1.4 The plan of the book

The study consists of five main chapters, three articles and one conference paper (as appendices 1-4). The structure progresses from the methodological choices to the theories and dimensions of public service ethics and then to the conclusions.

In Chapter 2, I will present in more detail the methodological choices undertaken in the research, including the survey method and Q-method with a depiction of how theoretical understanding is developed in the study.

The third chapter presents the origin and study of administrative ethics and the normative theories focusing on utility, duty and virtue. I will analyze the key ethical claims in traditional theories of public administration and the doctrines of New Public Administration, New Public Management and New Public Governance.

The fourth chapter moves on to the main concepts and the ethical minimum–ethical maximum discussion and to the debate between the compliance and integrity approaches. The ethics debate on the high road and low road of ethics is also investigated.

The theoretical framework has its origin in the discussion of administrative responsibility, the duty to maintain public interest and the moral agency of public administrators, which underpins the division into the high road and low road of public service ethics.

The fifth chapter concludes the research by summarizing and developing the findings. I will make certain recommendations for the future development of public service ethics toward the ethical maximum in terms of justice, ethos and transparency.

The first article is co-written with A. Salminen & R. Ikola-Norrbacka: *Perceptions of Justice: the views of Finnish citizens*. The article focuses on the notion of justice in public service, how citizens perceive it and what explains this perception. Justice in public service is considered a cornerstone value in ethical governance, despite the complexity in defining it. This article provides an explanation from the citizen's perspective. (Appendix 1.)

The second article, co-written with A. Salminen, is titled *Exploring the Public Service Ethos Ethical Profiles of Regional and Local Managers in the Finnish Public Administration*. It focuses on public service ethos by examining the public managers' subjective viewpoints through the use of the Q-method. This article deviates from the citizen perspective and instead attempts to answer the question of what kind of ethical profiles public sector managers have within the complexities of the public service ethos, e.g. to what extent new, managerial values are interwoven into the so-called traditional, distinct public service ethos. (Appendix 2.)

The third article, *Importance of transparency in ethical governance: current research and Finnish citizens' perceptions* focuses again on the citizen perspective on a key tenet of good governance, i.e. the question of transparency. First, the article begins with a theoretical and definitional part, aiming to map out the citizen-administration relationship and the functions of transparency within it. The empirical data is based on the Citizen Survey (2008, University of Vaasa), which assesses how citizens value transparency, i.e. what role citizens assign to it, and if it works in practice in the provision and conduct of public services. (Appendix 3.)

The fourth article, a conference paper, also focuses on transparency, *Hiding in Plain Sight—An exploratory study into the limits of transparency*. This paper is co-authored with M. Macaulay (New Zealand) and S. Schnell (USA) The purpose of this article is to analyze the key issues of transparency in three countries with a different take on transparency policies and legislation. Finland is considered as the ‘best’ representative, whereas United Kingdom is in the middle, and Romania is third due to its less developed transparency policies and legislation. The study is based on the findings from the National Integrity Systems studies. In conclusion, the authors suggest a framework for the key points of transparency and also its limitations in the development of good and ethical governance. (Appendix 4.)

2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodological aspects and choices of the articles (Appendices 1-3), that include survey and Q-methodology. The validity and reliability and the process of the study are discussed as well.

2.1 Methodological aspects

According to the philosophy of science, certain key questions need to be answered in order to define the research design and the research process that follows. The questions of what we can know and how we can know it are expressed in the notions of epistemology and ontology. Epistemology seeks the answer to questions such as what constitutes valid knowledge and how we obtain it. Ontology explains what constitutes reality and how we can understand its existence. (Niiniluoto 1999: 125-136.)

The ontological and especially the epistemological stances eventually define the choices of research strategy and therefore also underpin the discussion and balance between the qualitative versus the quantitative debate. The quantitative approach relies on positivism whereas the qualitative research relies on interpretivism.

This division is sometimes considered to be slightly outdated, but especially in social science research, the debate is altogether important, because it largely determines and influences what kind of research is appreciated, conducted and eventually what kind of new scientific knowledge is generated. This has far-reaching consequences on the methodological choices that are made in the research process.

In the early stages, positivist researchers have argued that for the uses of public administration research, the positivist approach is best, especially when the research focuses on public and nonprofit sectors. At present this contradiction has become outdated, and today most researchers tend to agree there is no one best way to conduct research. However, there is agreement on the need to better understand the methodological approaches and the choices we make, and the view that research offers the possibility to understand and describe human events and phenomena. (McNabb 2008: 9.)

The strong points of positivism and the quantitative approach include at least the following aspects: it allows for the economical collection of large amount of data, it usually sustains clear theoretical focus for the research, it gives reliable

opportunity for the researcher to retain control of the research process, and it mostly produces data that is easily comparable. (Ragin 1984, Metsämuuronen 2004: 204–206.)

On the other hand the challenges are most often inflexibility, i.e. the direction often cannot be changed once data collection has started. Positivism might provide a weaker understanding of the underlying social processes, and this approach does not necessarily uncover the meanings people attach to social phenomena.

The strong points of interpretivism, i.e. the qualitative research approach, are, for example, that it facilitates the understanding of complex questions such as how and why, and it enables the researcher to be present to see changes which occur in the research process. This approach also gives a deeper understanding of social processes and allows the researcher to account for complexity and contextual factors. (Ragin 1984: 34-36.)

The potential drawbacks attached to the qualitative approach are that data collection can be time-consuming and data analysis is challenging and can be complex. In this approach, the researcher has to deal with the uncertainty that clear patterns do not necessarily emerge. Also the qualitative approach is sometimes perceived as less credible because it does not provide quantifiable data that can be expressed in numbers and variables. (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara: 24.)

This two-fold division into qualitative and quantitative approaches is necessary, but it can also be limiting. Academics and researchers have agreed that often it is necessary to use both of these approaches, and also there are research methods that do not clearly fall into either of the two categories, but rather contain elements from both of them (mixed methods). Also another important point of how to overcome the potential weaknesses that are inherent to these two approaches can be overcome by using triangulation, i.e. combining two or more research methods or approaches when conducting the study (Ragin 1984: 80).

2.2 Survey and Q-method

A challenge facing any social scientist, such as those working in administrative sciences, political sciences or psychology, is how to acquire quantifiable, measurable data, which can be analyzed and considered scientifically valid. In social science research, positivists view the quantitative approach, in which the survey method is one of the most common, as a solution to this problem. Unlike

in natural sciences, the means of collecting data and actually testing something differs dramatically due to the nature of the problems we study. For the phenomena that are of interest, it is often impossible, or at least highly unethical, to construct a laboratory environment in which the theories and the linkages and causalities between different variables could be tested. However, the quantitative approach is considered to be well suited for testing theories and is often considered to be the closest to a scientific method in terms of exact, quantifiable data because it favors generality and the ability to make interpretations that concern a larger population. (Ragin 1984, 131–136.)

A survey may focus on different types of topics such as preferences (e.g. for a public service), opinions, individual behavior (e.g. lifestyle habits), factual information (e.g., income). The final success of the research depends on the representativeness of the sample with respect to a target population, which can range from the general population of a country to specific groups of people. In this research, the survey has well established a representative sample of Finnish citizens, i.e. a miniature Finland.

Purposes and process of survey research. The purpose and best use of survey research is in testing and generating hypotheses and theories, discovering opinions about phenomena, collecting data on facts, behavior, awareness, values, attitudes, etc. This is why a survey is especially useful for finding out the ethical values and opinions on ethical governance.

There are different stages in carrying out a survey. First, the objectives of the research should be defined and the research questions established. After this, the researcher needs to decide on the units of analysis and the sample: i.e. define what the focus of the survey is and who its participants are (out of the target population).

Depending on the aims of the study, the researcher can utilize different sampling techniques. In this study, the focus group for the survey is citizens ranging from 25-65 years of age (for more details on the survey used in the study, see Articles 1 and 3). As the purpose was to get a representative sample of Finnish citizens, participants from different parts of the country were chosen, from both language groups and with no other pre-designed conditions (Salminen & Ikola-Norrbacka 2009). Sample size in the survey research often includes a large number of participants, and that is one of the strong points of the method: the data can be collected from many people either by telephone interview (time-consuming option), post or e-mail (more economical).

The survey design is a crucial step in survey research. According to the theory and research questions that are set, the questionnaire is carefully constructed. Open questions, Likert scale questions, or multiple choice questions (including simply yes/no answers) are all possible.

Opinion poll research is likely one of the best known forms of survey research. One of the drawbacks of survey research is the fact that people are so often asked to reply to questionnaires or opinion polls about a variety of topics. A key factor is that the topic should be interesting to respondents, and the questionnaire well-constructed, understandable and logical (Metsämuuronen 2004: 108, Majumdar 2007). A challenge for survey research is achieving a good response rate. Even if 1000 participants receive the survey, but only 200 responses are returned to the researcher, the response rate stays low.

The data analysis is usually done using statistical methods, and there are a variety of different ways the researcher can analyze and test the data. Depending on the research design and the construction of the questionnaire, the survey method allows for analyzing correlations and causalities, i.e. discovering the relations between different variables, namely independent and dependent variables (Metsämuuronen 2004: 108–110).

Pros and cons of surveys: use in the study of administrative ethics. The quantitative research orientation and the use of surveys have gained a solid footing in the research of administrative ethics. Citizen surveys are conducted in many other countries as well, relating to the topics close the research field. For example, Canada and Israel have conducted large-scale surveys on ethical issues in the politico-administrative system. Also ethics surveys targeted to representatives of a particular public service profession, such as members of parliament or the police, have been conducted (e.g. Finland and the Netherlands, see Salminen 2010, Huberts et al. 2008).

The positive sides and potential drawbacks of survey research in public administration and especially administrative ethics are similar to the challenges in any survey research.

Studying operant subjectivity. Another research approach used in this study is the Q-method. In comparison to survey and interview, the Q-method is rarely used in the administrative sciences; however, during the 21st century it has gained more popularity especially in the field of administrative ethics (cf. deGraaf & Van Exel 2008-9). It offers a novel take on research as it is a hybrid or mixed-method, combining the qualitative and quantitative approach, although the final emphasis is on the qualitative approach in data collection and interpretation. Factor-

analytical techniques are employed in data-analysis; therefore, Q-method offers a systematic means of studying human subjectivity (McKeown & Thomas 1988).

Q-method offers a new lens through which to investigate the topics, as an alternative to, or in addition to, more traditional methods. As in any other research technique, it involves the steps of data collection, analysis and interpretation. It is useful in exploring questions that are based on theories, i.e. it is suitable for testing theories, but also for research that does not have a readily established body of literature. The Q-method is suitable for testing and generating hypotheses (Brown, Durning & Selden 2008).

An essential element of Q-methodology is the focus on subjectivity. William Stephenson was the original creator of the method, aiming to build an alternative to R-factor analysis, with a more in-depth investigation on personal, subjective viewpoints. As Selden et al. (2007: 722) summarize, “Q-methodology is best understood as a type of research that identifies the operant subjectivity of individuals in regard to a particular subject.” The emphasis on subjectivity needs a clear understanding of what subjectivity actually means, and in the Q-method, subjectivity is associated with self-reference, meaning the person’s ‘internal’ frame of reference. Self-referent subjectivity of this kind is behavior. Subjectivity itself can be summarized as the person’s communication of his or her point of view (McKeown & Thomas 1988: 12, Brown 1980).

Because Q-methodology remains a somewhat unknown method in the field of administrative sciences research, the steps of the Q-method process are presented below in a short, introductory manner. It should be noted, however, that researchers’ input and engagement differs in the Q-method from the more traditional methods: in the Q-method, the researcher’s judgment and *a priori* choices are important and seen as a part of the whole method.

The process of the Q-method can be divided into six stages. For a more detailed description of the Q-method and the way it is used in this study, see Article 3 in the appendix. The steps of a study based on the Q-method are outlined briefly here. The first is to identify and create the concourse. The researcher aims to identify the communication of the chosen topic, as much as is possible and reasonable. The second step is to sample the concourse. The researcher chooses a representative sample from the concourse. The third step is forming the Q-sort. In the fourth part the researcher chooses the participants, forming the so-called P-set or P-sample. The fifth step of the process is data analysis, where the researcher analyzes the completed Q-sorts. Statistical analysis is used, and a factor analysis technique (with analysis of the correlation matrix and factor rotation) is the most

common and suitable for Q-analysis. This is the part where statistical analysis brings about the distinct and particular feature of the Q-method: the statements comprising the Q-sample are the observations of the study and the individuals completing the Q-sorts are the variables. The sixth and final step is to interpret the factors that are formed as a result of factor analysis. They must be analyzed to see how they are similar and how they differ from each other. The researcher examines the weighted average sort of each factor and compares that sort to the weighted average sorts of the other factors. The researcher can then describe the logic and structure of thought that exist in each factor by comparison, i.e. what is the essential message in it. In this part, researchers most often give a title or a name to the factors that summarizes the central idea expressed in them (cf. deGraaf & Van Exel 2008-9.)

The actual part that uses a statistical analysis technique is naturally the data analysis part, in which factor analysis offers a tool for further interpretation and elaboration. However, after this, the data is again interpreted in a qualitative manner, based on the researchers' judgment and understanding of the topic.

Whereas survey research offers advantages in studying the perceptions of a larger population and allows making generalizations and interpretations of a wider understanding, Q-method offers a tool for exploring the subjective view, not necessarily allowing generalizations, but more in-depth understanding of the targeted research topic (deGraaf & Van Exel 2008–2009: 64-65, Watts & Stenner 2012:12–14). The Q-method is considered to be especially suitable for studying the understanding of a given topic, such as the public ethos, different values, or ethical climate (deGraaf & Van Exel 2008-9: 72–74, Lawton & Doig 2006).

2.3 Reliability and validity of the research data

When assessing the success of a research process, the chosen methodology and use of theories and concepts, reliability and validity are the cornerstones of assessing the success of the research design. At this point, the question is how well do the theory and the empirical data in the articles contribute to the possibility of interpreting and analyzing the ideal model of the public service ethics framework.

Reliability refers to the accuracy and to the consistency with which the chosen variables are measured. This leads to the trustworthiness of the study, ensuring that the results are not coincidental, but representative and systematic (Van Thiel 2007: 48). A first criterion of reliability is accuracy, which is particularly central

to the construction of questionnaires and in the Q-set for that matter. Accuracy is an element of the questions and the statements.

Validity can be divided into two types: internal and external. It concerns the coherence and logic of the whole study: does it measure the phenomenon or the concepts it set out to study? When it comes to internal validity, the relationship of theory, concepts and the chosen method has to be rigorous, and the link between the variables is essential: is there a relationship between them? In this study, the ethical minimum–maximum setting uses the concepts and divisions that are investigated in the articles; therefore, the relationship between the theory and empirical evidence is strong. External validity refers to the ability to generalize and to draw conclusions that apply to a larger population. (Van Thiel 2007: 49–50.)

In this study, the citizen survey used in the two articles is a large survey providing the possibility for generalizations. The questionnaire was sent to 5000 Finnish citizens, representing the country in miniature, from different regions and between 25-65 years of age. The questionnaire covered the topics of ethics in public service, good administration, and ethics in the political system. 2010 questionnaires were returned, resulting in a response rate of 40.4%. The relatively high response rate and the representative selection of respondents safeguard the validity of data. The use of a Likert scale enables a variety of statistical analyses and gives the respondents the possibility to reflect on issues instead of providing a mere ‘yes or no’ answer. As the youngest respondents were 25 years old, it is reasonable to expect that all the respondents had at least some experience in using public services in the public administration that involve an encounter with a public servant, or have even participated in the political system, e.g. by voting. The questionnaire was tested before it was sent out to ensure the understandability and clarity of the questions.

With regard to ensuring the reliability of the Q-method, there are several aspects to be taken into account as well. For example, reliability in a Q-study can be verified in each of the different steps. In constructing the concourse, the purpose is to select the most important statements that encompass the different, possibly complex, views expressed in the concourse. In this research, the topic of public service ethos and the concourse of it was constructed with the use of existing theory and literature, and the discussion around the topic. 31 statements represented the topics of justice, equality, public interest, integrity and sustainability. The sample should have enough statements so that the diversity is well laid out and there is a possibility to form the existing opinion groups. The respondents should be chosen in a way that contributes to the understanding of

the phenomenon in question. In this research, the respondents were public sector managers (n=35), most of them with more than 10 years of experience in working in the public sector in a managerial position. Finally, the factor analysis enables the interpretation of the results. Safeguarding the validity of the results depends on the careful selection and testing of the different possibilities.

2.4 Process of the study

The starting point is administrative ethics with a reflection on public administration and management theories. Normative ethics provides a basis for understanding the logic of thought and ethics arguments also in public service ethics (Figure 2).

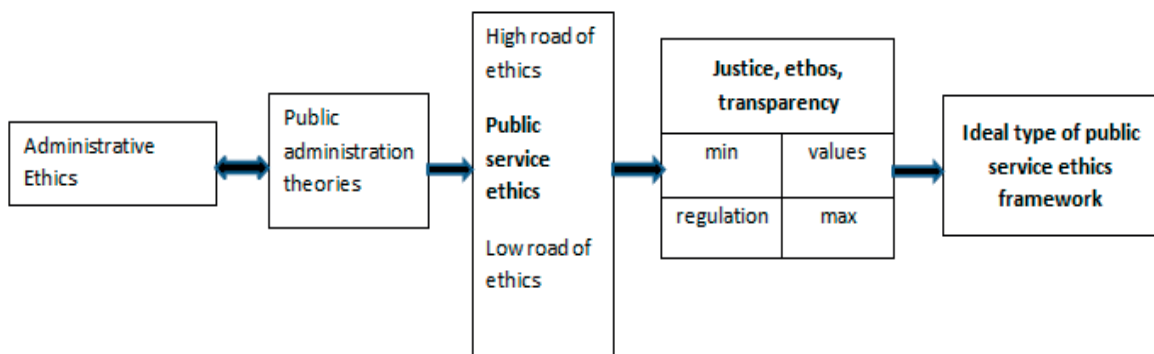


Figure 2. The process of the study.

The division into high road and low road ethics is the basis for analyzing the ethics minimum and ethics maximum divisions in justice, ethos and transparency that utilize the empirical material (see Appendix). The ethical minimum–ethical maximum continuum focuses on the balance of regulation and values creating an ideal combination. The combination produces the conditions for the ethical maximum, an ideal type of public service ethics framework.

The division into ethical minimum–ethical maximum stems from the division into compliance and integrity approaches and the low road vs. high road of ethics (e.g. Lawton & Macaulay 2009, Lewis & Gilman 2005) that will be further explained in Chapter 4. The ethical minimum fulfills the minimum requirements in the

form of legislation, whereas the ethical maximum adds and combines a values approach and ethical deliberation to the equation.

3 ADMINISTRATIVE ETHICS AS A DOCTRINE

This chapter sets out to analyze the dimensions, theories and study of administrative ethics. Normative moral theories have been and continue to be influential in the field, and they are at the foundation of the discussion on administrative ethics providing the logic of ethics. I will investigate the characteristics of justice, ethos and transparency in public administration theories. The division into different schools of thought enables the analysis of the chosen ethical dimensions and offers one way of tracking the different perspectives on ethics in public administration theories. Also, the research and topics that form the core of administrative ethics research are presented.

3.1 Normative approach to administrative ethics

Ethics is the study of what is considered right and wrong, good and bad. Morality is the focus of the study of ethics; it is defined as the nature of good, good behavior, and the good person. Morality regards the choices and decisions we make and how ethical they are (Lawton 1998, Willa 2001, Cooper 2006). Hence *moral values* are those principles that determine and influence our actions and how they are chosen, which direction is taken, and which behavior or action is avoided or repressed. *Moral norms*, on the other hand indicate a correct and morally acceptable behavior in a certain situation according to a code of behavior. Ethics is regarded as the collection and the study of the moral values and norms that provide the standards and cornerstones in assessing what is right and wrong, what is good and bad, and if the actions maintain integrity and the values commonly accepted. (Rohr 1978, Lawton 1998, Huberts et al. 2008.)

In administrative ethics literature, three normative approaches are often distinguished and tracked as the background of ethics and moral analysis. These approaches are consequentialist, duty and virtue ethics, the normative ethical theories. There are other moral theories as well, for example care ethics, that have developed as a critique of the traditional theories. Normative ethics is the branch of philosophy that theorizes the content of our moral judgments, studying what is right and what is wrong. Normative theories focus on how issues should be reflected, instead of focusing on how things actually are or how they are applied. (Timmons 2011.)

The first, utilitarian ethics (teleological approach), is a consequentialist perspective on ethics, and the determination of the goodness of a deed is measured in relation to its outcome and consequences; if the end result is

expected to be, and will be, desirable and good for a majority or the target group, then a deed is deemed good and ethical. Vice versa, if the outcome is negative or harmful, the consequential analysis of ethics views the action as unethical, or contradictory to the morals of society. In literature, the teleological approach has been covered by and is derived mainly from the theories of David Hume, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. (Cooper 2006, Salminen 2010.)

The second approach to administrative ethics is duty ethics (deontological approach). In this Kantian perspective, the morality and ethics of an action or deed are not dependent on its consequence, but solely on the action itself. When the action is based on and honors a given obligation or principle, it is deemed as morally good. Therefore, it is the principles and duties that shall be respected, thus right actions do not necessarily lead to favorable consequences. According to the categorical imperative, the right action is the kind of action we can hope to become a universal law, a way of acting that could be applied to every person. The categorical imperative can be formulated as the following (Cahn 2009: 79–80): “So act that you use humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, always at the same time as an end, never merely as means”.

Whereas the deontological approach favors and emphasizes the rationality and logic as the basis for moral codes and moral behavior, the consequential approach emphasizes the sentiment and the idea that moral behavior is not solemnly motivated by reasons and thinking, but also feelings. This distinction has led to an influential formulation of Hume’s law: “one cannot derive an ought from an is” (Mizzoni 2010: 87).

Thirdly, virtue ethics approaches morality and ethics from the qualities or the characteristics of the persons, actors who are undertaking the action, instead of focusing on the action or deed at all. The abilities, intentions, values and motives of persons, in administrative ethics naturally the public administrators, are those that determine morality. The virtue approach dates back to the Aristotelian and Confucian approach, with the question of what kind of life individuals should lead, rather than what kind of actions they should choose. (MacIntyre 1981, cf., Salminen 2010.)

In the practice of administration and decision-making, the logic of deciding the right course of action and weighing the ethics of the alternatives rarely follow solely the demands of duty or utility. The outcome is that decision-makers almost never act purely on the basis of duty to principle or by focusing on the consequences. Moral reasoning is reflected in the administrative decision-making processes and may be highly intuitive. The utility approach lends itself to a result-based analysis in decision-making. The weight is on producing the best benefit to

the majority of citizens. The defining question formulates into what course of action produces the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens. The duty approach leads to a rule-based strategy, where the justification relies on rules found in legislation, court cases and norms. The key questions are what the duties and rules to be followed are, and on what underlying level would the idea of the categorical imperative be: would this decision be considered only by the person who is considering it? The virtue approach is more of a personal view that focuses on the character and promotes individual and collective well-being and ethically good actions. The question is, does the decision exert virtuous characteristics? (Bowman & West 2015: 92–93.)

As in any sphere of human interaction, public service and management have their particular virtues, characteristics deemed especially good, a frame of thought toward a new public virtue ethics. Cooper (1987) identified benevolence as a necessary virtue in administrative practice and beneficence for the citizenry as one of the internal good. However, Macaulay & Lawton (2006: 705) posit the argument that benevolence is not a necessary virtue for a public servant who is dealing entirely with procedures and standards; therefore, the agreement on the common or shared virtues within the profession of public administration remains varied and dependent on the profile and duties of the public servant.

Administrative ethics theories have incorporated the utility, duty and virtue approaches in the practical theories of, for example, decision-making and technical competence. Bowman, West, Berman & Van Wart (2004) posit that the combination of virtue and technical competence are both necessary for successful public management; however, they note that the determination of virtues proves challenging, because of the culture, time and context dependency in the profession. The public administrator should develop and maintain a triangle of skills consisting of technical competence, leadership and ethical competence. Ethical competence entails ethical decision-making. A model of ethical decision-making comprises all three aspects of duty; decisions are based on the application of norms and rules and utility. Decisions are based on the expected results and virtue where the justification of decisions relies on the proper moral character. Each one is equally important. (cf. Macaulay & Lawton 2006: 705, Bowman et al. 2004: 21, 27.)

The fourth influential ethical theory, especially with relation to governance and public service research, is social contract ethics, or contractarian theories. In these theories, ethics concerns the participation in a social contract. An action is right when it is consistent with an agreed upon contract, and when a person breaks this contract, the action is wrong. Hobbes was the prominent figure in social contract

ethics in the seventeenth century. his ideas were further developed by Locke, Rousseau and Rawls in later centuries. Social contract ethics is informed by ethical egoism, i.e. the notion that people should do what is in their best interest (usually narrow self-interest is not in the best interest of a person). According to the principle of the social contract, people also should participate in social contracts rationally and with common sense. (Mizzoni 2010: 61–71.)

Another important group of theories in administrative ethics concerns the question of justice, particularly social justice. An influential work as a political and moral theory is *A Theory of Justice* by John Rawls (1971). The Rawlsian notion of justice is a Kantian approach. In the Rawlsian view, justice is seen as fairness, which is an ideal achieved by decisions made in the so-called “original position” or behind a “veil of ignorance”. This means, that an individual would have no previous knowledge of position, class, status, intellectual or physical capabilities in society while making decisions on, for example, the principles of distributive justice (Rawls 1971: 102–120).

Normative ethical theories also have newer approaches in addition to the traditional deontological and teleological theories. The care ethics approach, or ethics of care, is a moral theory that focuses on the elements of relationships and dependencies in life. In a normative sense, care ethics seeks to maintain meaningful relationships in a network of social relationships, especially in the context of care-givers and care-receivers. Care ethics draws on the motivation to look after those who are in a vulnerable position or dependent on others for their well-being. Some critics view care ethics more as a practice or even a virtue rather than a theory as such. The work of Gilligan has largely influenced the development of the care ethics approach, and it was partly a critical response to the deontological and teleological approaches to ethics. Another critique that care ethics poses is on Kohlberg’s (1970) moral development theory. The care ethics approach criticizes the gender bias and sees moral development as understanding the responsibilities and relationships between people. (Lawton et al. 2013: 23, Lehtonen 2011, Myyry et al. 2010, Gilligan 1982.)

3.2 Justice, ethos and transparency and public administration doctrines

The questions of justice, public service ethos and transparency constitute one part of the ethics discussion within public administration theories.

Traditional theories of public administration, schools of thought and the doctrines of New Public Administration, New Public Management and New Public Service each posit somewhat different presumptions on the normative questions. Doctrines are not borne in a vacuum, but instead accumulate in a chain of action–reaction. Theoretical developments reflect the environment and context of the time. For example, the New Public Administration doctrine was developed in the US context and has a more limited influence in Europe, whereas the New Public Management has gained stronger footing in Europe than in the US (cf. Salminen 2004: 72). The New Public Administration paradigm presented an alternative route of research and teaching in the field of public administration and was important in the early study of administrative ethics. Later scholars have disagreed on the final and ground-breaking influence of New Public Administration⁴, but from the point of view of administrative ethics, the NPA paradigm represents a direction that emphasizes democratic values, such as social equity and participation (Denhardt 2008: 106-107, Rosenbloom & McCurdy 2006: 65-67). This shift also includes the reassessment of efficiency as the central and guiding value in the profession and execution of public administration.

In traditional theories (e.g. Wilson, Weber, Taylor), in terms of efficiency and bureaucracy, the nature of administrative responsibility varies. The question of administrative responsibility includes an understanding of the content of responsibility: responsible for what and responsible to whom? In the normative ethics view, there is a responsibility to produce efficient outcomes, so the nature of responsibility is inherently utilitarian and relies on rationality and efficiency. Especially in traditional theories, the tendency is toward bureaucratic

⁴ The New Public Administration movement is largely attributed to the work of Dwight Waldo, Frank Marini and George Frederickson, to mention a few influential scholars and the Minnowbrook conferences. Their ideas often varied from one another, meaning that NPA is not considered as a coherent movement but instead a set of ideas, or even more, a set of ideals. NPA has been especially influential in the formation of administrative ethics by emphasizing the questions of justice and democracy.

responsibility, on the independent and autonomous, value-free execution of efficient administration. Responsibility focuses on the process of administration, and hierarchies dominate as the best way to organize the administrative action.

New Public Administration as a doctrine counteracts this presumption by adopting a more value-laden approach, seeing administrative responsibility as extending beyond bureaucracy and technocratic expertise to questions of social justice. The claims of traditional theory were considered inadequate and dismissive of the democratic aspects of public administration among NPA promoters. However, there are those who question the significance of New Public Administration, considering it as a perspective combining various approaches instead of being a clearly defined paradigm as such (Denhardt 2008: 60, Waldo, Marini 1971, Frederickson).

Traditional theories generally support professional autonomy in public office, whereas NPA tends to emphasize democratic control as the safeguard of responsibility. New Public Service continues this thought and reinforces the democratic accountability and thereby the democratic ethos where the administrative responsibility becomes more active and even proactive in relation to the society.

New Public Management reintroduces the key tenet of efficiency, and responsibility is shaped to the managerial responsibility of efficient and result-oriented management, arguing for a freedom to manage. Managerial ethos is the combining element. Whereas in the traditional Weberian model, the scope of responsibility is more narrow, the NPM model transfers it from hierarchical accountability toward a wider field of responsibility, for example, in terms of striving for results (cf. Hood 1991).

NPM contains a mix of ideas deriving from corporate management and public choice theory (cf. Aucoin 1990). Ferlie et al. (1996) summarizes the core themes that NPM introduces to the public services as markets, managers and measurements. Efficiency appears to be the resurfacing value if considered retrospectively; however, it brings efficiency to a whole new level compared to traditional public administration.

The administrative value conflict attached to NPM practices has been theoretically fruitful in the past decades. The same debate resurfaces in the practical level of policy design and service delivery, as the resources become even more scarce and austerity measures are demanded more intensely. However, the debate between efficiency and equity is more complex than a choice between

efficient practices and more equal practices, but innovations and an ability to reform are called for. (Hood 1991: 11, cf. Harmon & Mayer 1986, 34-35.)

As a reaction and a contrast to traditional public administration and New Public Management, the New Public Service presents an alternative normative model for public administration⁵. The predominant determinants of New Public Service are the ideas of democratic citizenship, an emphasis on community and civil society, organizational humanism and New Public Administration and postmodern public administration. (Denhardt & Denhardt 2000, Denhardt & Denhardt 2003: 27.)

Finally, there is another 'new' paradigm that enters into the public administration research field and theoretical discussion. Partly as a reaction to and partly due to dissatisfaction with the NPM framework, the most recent paradigm is New Public Governance (Lynn 2010: 105-110). An underpinning idea is that governance as a term will eventually replace, or has already replaced, the concept of administration, due to the transformation that has taken place. Kooiman (2003: 4) sees the concept of governance in the social-political setting as the totality of theoretical conceptions of governing. Governance has a variety of meanings attached (Rhodes 1996: 653, Osborne 2010: 91), spanning from the minimal state to corporate governance, NPM and to self-organizing networks. What is actually the meaning and contribution of new public governance? In Klijn's terms, governance refers to governance networks, meaning "government's relationships with other actors and the process of handling complex decisions and implementation processes" (Klijn 2008: 510-11, Lynn 2010: 111). This notion views governance as networks, whereas others see new governance as the sum of traditional governance and networks (e.g. Kooiman & Rhodes). The OECD (2005: 16) provides the following definition of public governance: 'the formal and informal arrangements that determine how public actions are carried out, from the perspective of maintaining a country's constitutional values in the face of changing problems, actors and environments.'

The traditional division into three E's in defining public administration still prevails; the three E's being economy, efficiency and effectiveness. The rise of administrative ethics theories suggests that a fourth E, ethics, should be added to the list. However, even if there is an inherent interdisciplinary nature and variety in the field of study, efficiency has been and still continues to flourish as the overarching key value. This is to be separated from the so-called ethical values

⁵ The roots of New Public Service lie in the work of Waldo, Dimock and Dahl, therefore it is closely connected to New Public Administration and the legacy of Minnowbrook conferences, and the theories of organizational humanism.

that are, for example, justice, accountability, trust and equality. Some examples of other key values that arise from the normative theories are responsibility, duty and the character of a good civil servant, public interest and the citizen-administration relationship. On the normative base for decision-making, Harmon & Meyer (1986: 37) consider the still missing agreement on the precise meaning of the public interest and administrative responsibility as something that is even welcome and does not interfere with the continuity of a healthy dialogue concerning the normative value base for public administrators.

Normative theory in public administration is a theory about how an organization should be constructed, and the normative questions focus on the nature of administrative responsibility and public interest. The dilemmas and questions facing each normative theory have been for example the juxtaposition of administration versus politics, facts versus values, public administration as art or science, scientific foundation in logical positivism versus metaphysics. On the practical level, these questions culminate into a debate about the management and organization of public entities, centralization versus decentralization, and questions on the ideal administrator or manager and on discretion, responsibility, public interest and motivation arise. (e.g. Shafritz & Hyde 1992, Riccucci 2006: 55-60, Rosenbloom & McCurdy 2006, Denhardt 2011, Salminen 2010.)

Duty can be considered one of the basic ethical values in public administration. The idea of duty suggests that public administration and public service is not about money, but rather the idea of putting the public interest over one's personal interests. According to Lippman's definition, public administration means implementing the public interest (Shafritz, Russell & Borick 2011: 10), although if the basic duty of public administrators is to implement the public interest, we would have to know what exactly is meant by public interest. Lippman stated that "public interest may be presumed to be what men would choose if they saw clearly, thought rationally, and acted disinterestedly and benevolently" (Shafritz et al. 2011: 10). The key question in the debate is how to assure, or at least reasonably expect, that administrators will behave in ways that are responsible for one or another version of the public interest.

With regard to the ethical questions of justice, ethos and transparency, I will present the content and key ideas in the public administration tradition and the doctrines. Table 1 shows how justice ethos and transparency are reflected in the public administration theories.

Table 1. Justice, ethos and transparency in public administration doctrines.

Public Administration theories	Approach to justice	Characterizing ethos	Role of transparency
Classical theories of administration (mainly Weberian orientation)	focus on procedural justice	bureaucratic	-
New Public Administration	focus on reciprocal justice	democratic	democratic accountability
New Public Management	focus on procedural justice	managerial	open communication and measurement
New Public Service	focus on reciprocity	democratic, responsive	communication between citizens and administration
New Public Governance (post-NPM)	focus on common good	collaborative	dialogue and participation

Justice. In Weber's (1978) model of bureaucracy, official duties are the regular activities of public officials. These duties are stable, bound by rules, and there are regular ways in which the execution of these duties is ensured, therefore the focus is on procedural justice and utilitarian ethics.

The concept and idea of social equity is at the center of the New Public Administration approach, involving a sense of justice and fairness as the precedents in the realization of public interest (see also Appendix 1). Equity actually promotes the idea that the benefits should be greater for those in the least-advantaged positions (cf. Rawls). One might argue that New Public

Administration brings in ethical concern and humanism, moving away from the purely technical and rational approach to bureaucracy and administration. This emphasis on the active role of administration in building fairness is also a shift from impartiality as the underpinning ethical guideline toward the recognition of different needs. It shifts the focus on the citizen-administration relationship: public organization must reduce economic, social, and psychic suffering in society. It is noteworthy that NPA philosophy developed in the United States, but in its basic assumptions it comes closer to the Nordic welfare state tradition. The focus of justice in the NPA is therefore on reciprocal justice and interaction. (LaPorte 1971.)

Fundamentally New Public Management has similarities to traditional theories in its claim for efficiency. Also a notable character of New Public Management is the claim for political neutrality. The ethics viewpoint relies on utilitarian logic, and the characterizing feature of justice is the focus on procedural justice.

New Public Service promotes the idea of public spirit and public interest, in which citizens have a pivotal role to play, so the approach to justice in NPS also emphasizes reciprocity and justice in the interaction. According to Denhardt & Denhardt (2003: 30-31), a sense of justice, participation and deliberation are some of the basic values and mechanisms that lead to the desired model of public administration and the citizen-administration relationship. It means they are essential instrumental values in the ethics of public service. The essential purpose is to actively seek the public interest. Public administrators should have an active role in figuring out what the public interest is and contribute to the creation of it.

In terms of justice, New Public Governance does not necessarily detach far from NPM determinants and values, as there is an emphasis toward entrepreneurial governance. However, the goal is not for less or more government, but rather for better government, and that is at the heart of the NPG discourse: an emphasis on responsibility and responsiveness. This is seen as a value-centered approach and as an aim to promote the larger common good (Bao, Wang, Larsen & Morgan 2012: 447, Osborne 2010).

Ethos. The character of ethos may also be uncovered by asking what is expected of a good public servant and what are the key values of public service (see Appendix 2). In the early theories of public administration, efficiency was the central tenet for defining what constitutes a good public administration and the execution of public interest. Often efficiency is synonymous with technical efficiency, managerial efficiency and even technical rationality. Simply put, it means the ratio between input and output, achieving the defined objectives with the least cost, or achieving the best results with limited resources. However, it is

important to note that early theorists in public administration contrasted the measure of efficiency against the inefficiencies of the time related to the spoils system and potentially corrupt practices (cf. Grandy 2008, Waldo 1952, Wilson 1918, Denhardt 2006).

The value of efficiency and duty has been perceived as key defining elements in the traditional public administration. Therefore the basis for ethics has predominantly focused on the outcome or the end result and in terms of ethos this infers the bureaucratic mode (Woller 1998). Weber's (1978: 956-64) notion of bureaucracy emphasized the neutrality and objectivity of a public servant. The ideal form of bureaucracy leads to efficient outcome for public administration and organizing public services. In the ideal sense, the technical skills and competence as characteristics of bureaucracy are actually mechanisms for safeguarding the integrity of public administration; technical competence protects the public organization from undue outside influence and therefore corruption. (Harmon & Mayer 1986: 69.) Therefore, the notion of a good public servant is also closely tied to that of a neutral public servant. The ethic of neutrality is the product of the Weberian tradition, according to which good administrative behavior is following legally given orders. (Demmke & Moilanen 2012: 699.)

A key quality of a good public servant has been technical expertise. This character still remains a key requirement for a good public servant. Public administration theorists have adopted varying positions on the neutrality of efficiency, and, in the development of later theories, efficiency has been positioned in contrast to other values. Efficiency is a value that is potentially in conflict with other values when we evaluate public administration and public services. For example, questions of justice and participation may arise when the efficiency of decision-making is under scrutiny. (Denhardt 2008: 64–65.)

One essential contribution of the NPA movement is the recognition of values and their role in public administration. This shifts the role and requirement of public servants toward a more value-active rather than value-neutral agent. Public administration was not considered neutral, and therefore should not be judged by the criteria of efficiency alone. (Frederickson 1980, Denhardt & Denhardt 2001.) This leads to a reassessment of the ethic of neutrality in the NPA and NPS movements. Public administration was acknowledged to influence the political system in many ways. Also, a public servant is not a neutral executor of the will of politicians, but rather an expert who should participate in the shaping of policies. This, too, adheres to the democratic ethos (Denhardt 2011: 108-109).

In New Public Administration and New Public Service, the notion of public service ethos differs from the ideal in traditional public administration theories. It

is a step away from the rational, neutral bureaucrat towards a citizen-oriented and responsive administrator, taking into account the questions of social equity and public interest and yielding to democratic ethos. Another transformation is a move away from hierarchy to participation (Denhardt 2011: 111).

In NPS, an important role of the public servant is to help citizens articulate and express their shared interest instead of trying to control or steer society to new directions. New Public Service—the key is in the name—brings back the emphasis from management and administration to service and has a different ideological and practical take on the citizen-administration relationship. In the NPS model, a responsive public servant is seen as an ethical public servant. NPS ideology includes the idea of ‘managing through people’. Operations should be based on collaboration and shared leadership with respect for all people. This idea underpins the notion of Public Service Motivation: public administrators do not merely seek a bureaucratic career and are not participants in the market; instead, they have a motivation that reaches beyond monetary rewards and security. This is a reaction to the NPM ideology of serving customers, so the ethos turns from a market-oriented toward a citizen-oriented, responsive ethos. Another guideline similar to this idea is ‘value citizenship over entrepreneurship’, i.e. serve citizens, not entrepreneurship. This is also a reaction to NPM ideology, the aim is for a dialogue among and with the citizens, and ultimately to create a relationship of trust and collaboration.

New Public Management doctrine has been highly influential in the past decades. NPM adapts the private sector principles to the public sector and bring a new approach to performance and management in public services. The central claim and conception of duty in NPM maintains the focus on creating more efficient public services, in which citizens are viewed as customers or stakeholders. The bureaucratic role of public administrators has shifted toward that of a manager who is responsible for the performance, results and output of the organization, and therefore a managerial ethos characterizes the ethos of NPM. One central idea is professional management and creating ‘freedom’ to manage. There is a preference for private-sector styles of management practice and encouragement to steer away from the ‘military-style public service ethic’. This means also more flexibility in the hiring and reward practices. Practical and ethical justification is related to greater accountability; the clear assignment of responsibility for action would lead to better results than diffusion of power. From the ethics viewpoint, NPM is a particularly interesting doctrine. In terms of contradiction, the administrative values of efficiency and equity have been perceived as the critical point (Hood 1991).

In the NPG framework, the creation of public good is seen as a co-production process, which includes and involves all the stakeholders: the public sector, the private sector and the non-profit sector. The role of the public sector shifts; it should serve as a catalyst agent that encompasses the investment from the private and non-profit stakeholders. That is why the characterizing ethos of NPG could be collaborative ethos. (Bao, Wang, Larsen & Morgan 2012: 447–448.)

The results on article 2 show that the notion and ethos of NPM-inspired managerialism have not been internalized yet in the public service ethos, at least not to the point where they would be prioritized over more traditional notions of the role of the public servant (see article 2). On the other hand, the citizens' notions of justice are close to the ideals of New Public Administration and New Public Service. The transparency demand in theory and citizen assessment is close to the ideals of New Public Service, where the emphasis is on the reciprocal and responsive relationship between the citizens and administration.

Transparency. The role of transparency in traditional theories of public administration is left unaccounted for here, but one basic claim is that transparency has an instrumental value in helping to execute efficient public service because two predominant values in Weberian thinking is rationality and knowledge. As Weber (1978: 225) states: “Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge. This is the feature of it which makes it specifically rational.”

One key function of transparency in NPM theories is related to performance measurement: it requires the definition of goals, targets, and indicators of success, favoring quantitative and measurable indicators. Again it is argued that accountability is improved through the clear statement of goals, and transparency is a prerequisite of accountability. Achieving greater efficiency demands a ‘hard look’ at objectives and relies on measuring outputs. Therefore, this creates a new demand especially for transparency that enables measurement and data evaluation. Christensen & Laegreid (2002: 291) have argued that NPM models might erode the publicity of governance due to the entrepreneurial emphasis. One issue that regards transparency and the introduction of NPM principles into the public service production is the potential conflict between two different cultures of transparency. Whereas the public sector demand for openness is higher, the need to protect business information and data may create a conflict in practice.

New Public Service emphasizes the democratic values that create a shift towards open communication between citizens and administration. There are a number of other basic claims that contribute to public service ethics and especially transparency in NPS (Denhardt & Denhardt 2000: 553-557, Waldo 2010). The

cornerstone idea is to serve citizens instead of ‘customers’. The underlying suggestion is that the role of the public servant is to help citizens to articulate their shared interests. NPS theorists argue that the collaborative process and collective effort lead to best results. The underlying idea is a shared responsibility and increasing participation. With regard to the normative ideas of transparency, this entails the inclusion and collection of feedback from citizens and the enablement of participation.

In theories influenced by New Public Governance, the idea of working through networks and collaboration sets a requirement for open communication and for dialogue and participation by the various stakeholders. The role of transparency shifts from mere availability of information to an active communication as required for the governance of networks.

3.3 Research in administrative ethics

The themes discussed above are connected to the questions of ethics, morality and responsibility that have been present in public administration theories and texts from the early years, even if the language and concepts of ethics were not explicitly presented (Cooper 2001: 2–4). Administrative ethics theories and research started to develop into its own field in the 1980s. Just as public administration developed into a discipline, the evolution of administrative ethics has faced challenges in terms of focus, robust theories and the need for empirical research (Rohr 1990: 97–110). Administrative ethics research has evolved significantly since its first steps with the theories of Rawls (theory of justice), Rohr (regime values) and Cooper (responsible administration). Before the 1980s and 1990s, ethics research constituted a small part of studies in administrative science, but since that time, both theoretical and empirical explorations into the subject have flourished and become more varied in terms of topics and methods (Menzel 2005: 16, Stillman II 2010).

From the perspective of values and ethics, one essential theoretical dilemma is the tension between administrative efficiency and political theories. Some academics have argued that public administration theory is “a zero-sum game between administrative efficiency and political responsiveness” (Frederickson 1971: 310). The ideas that any increase in efficiency would lead to a decrease in responsiveness and that political responsiveness increases costs and decreases administrative efficiency seem somewhat simplistic. Nevertheless, they have been key issues in the theories of public administration.

A starting point for considering ethics in public administration relates to the identity and independence of the profession of public administration; therefore, it is a culminating question having implications on the development of professional ethics. Waldo (1975) promoted the view of public administration as a profession that relies on many theoretical starting points. Whereas public administration is not as clearly defined as for example law or medicine, it contains the features of traditional professionalism in the present day. First, there is both academic and practical knowledge that is used and applied in public service. Second, there is a certain standard of success for profession that can be measured by the ability to serve the needs of society instead of those of solely personal achievement. Third, the establishment of the profession is supported by its own control system: education of the practitioners, a code of ethics, and sanctions (Shafritz, Russell & Borick 2011: 24).

An essential research problem especially in the early phases of administrative ethics has regarded ethics and discretion. The dilemma that a public servant participates in the governing of democratic society without being accountable to the electorate is also found in the seminal works in the field of administrative ethics of Rohr (1978, 1998) and Cooper (1998)⁶. This debate underpins the Friedrich-Finer debate, which I will discuss in Chapter 4. The theoretical framework used in the research will be further elaborated, that is, the division into the compliance–integrity continuum or the distinction of the low road and the high road in ethics. From the perspective of administrative ethics, it is crucial to understand how the existing notions of good administration and good governance have evolved and how the normative ideas deem what is good and ethical. Different schools of thought and doctrines have their own implication for what is good and ethical behavior for the public servant. The demands for ethical behavior in the profession of public administration have also changed, and corruption scandals, for example, tend to reveal ethical problems that have largely remained unstudied or unnoticed.⁷

Morality in relation to public administration and politics, according to Thompson (1985: 556–558), asks if the actions and policies undertaken serve everyone's interest or if they could be accepted by anyone who was not aware of his or her particular circumstances, for example with regard to race or social class.

⁶ John A. Rohr: *Ethics for Bureaucrats (1978), Public Service, Ethics & Constitutional Practice (1998)*, Terry L. Cooper: *The Responsible Administrator (1998)*.

⁷ For example, the Watergate scandal (1972-1974) and Enron's corruption scandal (2001) had an influence on the demands for oversight and ethics control in the USA.

According to Thompson's (1985: 555) definition, administrative ethics concerns the behavior and conduct of individuals within the public sector, as he sees it as the application of moral principles to the conduct of public officials in the organizations. Frederickson and Walling (2001: 37) have summarized the essential of administrative ethics: "Administration is a world of decisions and actions. Ethics will search for right and wrong while administration must get the job done."

What exactly are the key interests of administrative ethics research? Two studies on the research of administrative ethics provide a useful review of the topics. Menzel (2005) covered American research in administrative ethics from the years 1970 until 2003, and Lawton and Doig (2005-6) mapped out the European perspective within a similar framework, aiming to answer what has been the focus of empirical research on ethics in public administration and governance and what research questions are used.

Menzel (2005: 17-18) identifies five major research themes using a review of research articles from the top journals in public administration research. The key themes are the following: 1) ethical decision-making and moral development, 2) ethics laws and regulatory agencies, 3) organizational performance and ethics, 4) ethics management experiences and strategies, 5) community, culture, and the ethical environment. Two new themes, 6) policy ethics and 7) globalization, complete these topic areas in a more recent review on administrative ethics research (cf. Menzel 2015: 360–362).

Ethical decision-making, moral development and solving ethical dilemmas in the conduct of public service are at the core of administrative ethics. Cooper (2006: 29-38) summarized an ethical decision-making model that could help in the systematic ethical reflection of administrative responsibility. The five steps are the following: 1) perception of an ethical problem, 2) describing the situation and defining the ethical issue, 3) finding the alternatives with attention to moral rules, ethical principles, reflection of defenses and anticipatory self-appraisal, 4) projecting the probable consequences of each alternative, and finally 5) choosing the solution. In ethical management and leadership in an organization, ethical decision-making takes place and it is used even on a daily basis in the organization.

Both theories and research in administrative ethics notably relate and reflect the questions present in psychology. Moral development and questions of personal integrity are closely linked to psychological theories. Kohlberg (1968) divided individuals' moral development into six stages that span from childhood to adulthood. The first stage of moral reasoning is based on fear of punishment,

whereas the two final stages are based on values, rights and the recognition of the social contract, and finally on universal ethical principles (Kantian ideas) and moral maturity.⁸ This means that the higher the ethical awareness, the higher the stage of moral reasoning.

In the field of ethical management and ethics strategies, the focus is on implementing ethics codes and values. Ethical leadership presents an ethical maximum, where the managers' qualities include both moral manager and moral persona aspects, in addition to the ability to maintain a reciprocal leader–follower relationship. (Lawton et al. 2013: 156–159, Trevino et al. 1999: 131.) Leadership and management that incorporate ethics and values into the practice and conduct of the organization follow the high road of ethics.

Menzel (2005: 36) concludes that research on ethics and integrity in public administration is increasing both quantitatively and qualitatively. However, the challenge of creating and building a body of knowledge in administrative ethics still remains an unfinished project, even if progress has been made. Menzel remarks critically that public administration scholars are slightly behind the ethics research in business administration, at least from the American perspective. In my opinion, it has to be noted that, in the field of administrative sciences encompassing a wide range of theories and topic areas from government, organizations and management, the challenge of building a solid body of knowledge is naturally a demanding task that will most likely remain under construction for years to come.

Other critical areas that Menzel (2005:152–153) identifies are the need to build a connection between theory and observation, i.e. the need for more empirical work, and the need for a more rigorous use of case studies and longitudinal studies. To some extent, Lawton and Doig (2005-6) share this criticism, but also point out that European research into ethics and integrity has been more varied. Lawton and Doig (2005-6) focus on a five-year period in their review and divide their topics into public service ethics and corruption research. Public service ethics research contains the following topics: 1) the public service ethos 2) the

⁸ The stages of Kohlberg's (1968: 26) moral development are preconventional: 1) rules, fear of punishment, and authority-based moral reasoning, 2) notion of fair exchange and individual instrumental understanding, Conventional level: 3) interpersonal, based on relationships, and the need to conform to social expectations, 4) moral reasoning based on conscience and the willingness to follow duty in order to maintain group welfare, Postconventional level: 5) moral reasoning based on values, rights, and the importance of social contract, 6) recognition and understanding of universal ethical principles and full moral maturity. According to Kohlberg, stage 6 is rarely achieved even in adulthood.

regulation of conduct, 3) trust, 4) individual behavior, 5) professionals, and 6) context.

Corruption research has gained a growing interest and to some extent it lends itself to quantitative research and measurements but not without difficulties and criticism (cf. Sampford, Shacklock, Connors & Galtung 2007). Corruption research has been an increasing part of American administrative ethics research. Also in Europe a focus on integrity violations has gained increasing attention. Caiden (2005: 287–290) divides the forms of corruption into an extensive list and separates them into individual, systematic, and institutionalized corruption. There is also a difference in petty corruption, so-called street-level corruption and grand corruption, i.e. political corruption. Conceptually, ethics and integrity are often considered almost synonymous, and integrity and corruption as each other's polar opposites. Therefore, corruption research is an integral part of administrative ethics studies. The occurrence of corruption and integrity violations is a symptom of a scenario where not even the minimum ethical requirements are fulfilled.

Public administration researchers in Finland have also undertaken the quest of studying ethics and integrity in governance. As mentioned, Finland is particularly renowned for its good reputation in terms of corruption. For several years, Finland has been top-notch in the perception of corruption and the indices of good governance; nevertheless, there is a need for research and development in ethics. (cf. Transparency International CPI 2014, World Bank Good Governance Index.)

The focus on public service ethics and also on questions of corruption has however increased, especially during the 21st century. The studies include, for example, topics such as public officials' values, codes of ethics, trust, and ethical management. (cf. Salminen & Ikola-Norrbacka 2009, Tiihonen 2003, Demmke & Moilanen 2012.)

The University of Vaasa has placed a strong emphasis on ethical management research, from the citizen, managerial and institutional perspectives. (cf. Salminen 2010, Salminen & Ikola-Norrbacka 2009, Salminen 2010, Lähdesmäki 2010, Viinamäki 2008, Salminen, Ikola-Norrbacka & Mäntysalo 2012.) Also some of the defining features of Finnish corruption have been studied (Salminen & Mäntysalo 2013, Salminen 2015). The question of professional ethics has also been studied in the public service health care sector, business management consultancy and in the public administration profession (Ikola-Norrbacka 2010, af Ursin 1993; 2007).

The essential themes in administrative ethics often have a polarized presumption as an underlying feature, a view on opposing factors or the development from the

least favorable condition to the ideal and optimal condition. This polarization, or dichotomy even, is present at least in the following administrative ethics studies 1) corruption–integrity, 2) rules–values, and 3) management–leadership. The levels on which these dynamics occur span from the micro-level, the individual, to the macro-level, society (the meso-level between these represents organizations, a key focus in public administration) (Bowman & West 2015: 35–40). The focus of my research is on compliance versus integrity, that is, the rules versus values approach, with an angle on the management versus leadership aspect through the theoretical framework.

3.4 Summary

Three aspects of administrative ethics were discussed in this chapter: the normative approaches to ethics, the duty, utilitarian and virtue approaches. All have their implications on public service and professional ethics.

How then does normative ethics relate to the practice and daily routine of public administration? Administrative ethics researchers remark that public administrators rarely ponder the questions of normative ethics in executing their duties. However, these theories have an influence on the way decisions are justified and how arguments are formed. In particular, many political decisions follow either a deontological or teleological logic. The morality of participating in a crisis management mission abroad may be justified by consequential logic: even if the lives of the soldiers are risked, the outcome of a possible peace following the mission justifies this risk and potential loss of lives.

Public administration theories have different expressions with regard to justice, ethos and transparency. At present the theories have produced a more complex picture and the ethical demand for these values and the role of transparency has increased, as has the demand for justice. There is a need for an ethos that encompasses the reform of public service production.

Research in administrative ethics addresses a multitude of topics on ethical values, decision-making and management. In the next chapter, I will discuss the high road and low road of ethics and continue into the dimensions of justice, ethos and transparency.

4 DIMENSIONS OF PUBLIC SERVICE ETHICS: FROM THE ETHICAL MINIMUM TO THE ETHICAL MAXIMUM

This chapter deals with the theoretical background of the ethical minimum and ethical maximum that derives from the debate on the high road and the low road of ethics. This is followed by an analysis of justice, ethos and transparency on the continuum and an analysis of the Finnish public administration ethics framework.

4.1 Toward the ethical maximum

The quest for defining, creating or developing an ethics framework is a familiar aim in the field of administrative ethics research (cf. Maesschalck 2004-5, Lawton & Macaulay 2009). Various studies either analyze the current state-of-the-art in terms of ethics or aim to produce one from theoretical and/or empirical fundamentals. In this study, the aim is exactly this: to describe and develop the ethical framework, drawing both on the existing structures, empirical understanding and the existing theory.

A starting point for considering ethics, ethics management and ethical values in the context of public administration is the preliminary questions of what is the role of ethics in the profession, what is the conduct of public administration and how should ethics be included and promoted in administration both on the theoretical and the practical level. One established way to describe and investigate the role of ethics is the division into the so-called high road and low road of ethics. Accordingly, the high road sets a high emphasis on ethics, ethical values and ethical decision-making, whereas the low road of ethics leaves ethics in the background or remains neutral in terms of ethics (e.g. Lewis & Gilman 2005). I will go through the important theoretical concepts and debate around this dichotomy from the historical perspective, linking the traditional theories of public administration to the current theories and ethical questions in the profession of public administration.

Rohr (1990: 119) summarized the essential ethical problem in the career of public service as the “problem is the responsible use of administrative discretion”. Responsibility and administrative discretion have also been at the center of earlier public administration theories from traditional public administration to New Public Management. Harmon (1989: 292-295) has classified administrative responsibility into three types: political, professional and personal responsibility. Political responsibility reflects the virtue of duty, and the mandate of right action

derives from political or hierarchical authority. Professional responsibility concerns the virtue of integrity, where professional expertise and standards form the basis. Personal responsibility reflects self-awareness and authentic relationships and commitment. These three types may be in conflict and in fact balance and countervail each other (Lewis & Gilman 2005: 30-31, Harmon 1989).

According to Harmon (1971), the dominant issues in the normative theory of Public Administration are responsibility and freedom. An influential theoretical debate in the administrative ethics doctrine has been the so called Friedrich-Finer debate, which defines the content of the normative theories of public administration. Theoretical discussion has extended from the position assumed by Finer (1941), claiming that loyalty to legitimate political authority is the criterion of responsible behavior. This is a counterargument to Friedrich's (1940) ideas that assume responsibility requires the active participation of administrators who respond to the needs of the public. (Harmon 1971: 172-173, Friedrich 1940, Finer 1941.) These stipulations have a different stance and make different presumptions on the moral character and moral agency of public servants.

At the heart of the debate is again the question of administrative responsibility. The definition of responsibility (Finer 1941: 7) in this context is that X is accountable for Y to Z. This assumes external responsibility to Z for performing a certain task Y. Another meaning for responsibility is a personal sense of moral duty, an internal or inward responsibility. The second notion of responsibility relies on personal conscience, and therefore underpins the view of personal integrity. At the time, Finer (1941) argued that administrations that embed the first system of responsibility are democratic regimes, and the second ones lead to dictatorial systems.

This dichotomy is one that underpins many theoretical and practical debates on the ethics framework or ethics infrastructure and management in organizations. It is the origin of the high road vs. the low road of the ethics dichotomy that has characterized the research and debate on ethics management. The influence is wide-ranging from legislation, strategies and policies, to organizational culture, management and leadership styles and the assumption of individual behavior. Whereas normative ethics theories posit the logic of justification and the framework for analysis, the Friedrich-Finer dichotomy or the high road-low road is more of a theoretical and practical tool and a point of reference, with assumptions on human nature and behavior. Even if Friedrich's views are treated as a view of administrative liberalism, both of these interpretations of administrative responsibility, according to Harmon (1971: 174) "assume a

fundamentally negative stance on the nature of man in general and of public administrators in particular.”

Friedrich (1940) promotes the rational view of public administration. He argued at the time that the nature of administrative responsibility is in fact, fragmentary. Friedrich rejects the myth of the will of the people, and argues that “right policies are policies which seem right to the community at large and at the same time do not violate ‘objective’ scientific standards.” (Friedrich 1940: 131.) In this view, the intellectual integrity of public administrators is essential. Professional standards and loyalty form the core for the control of responsibility and administrative discretion.

Finer (1941) promotes the so-called anti-rational view, emphasizing the need for external control as the main safeguard for accountability, rejecting the view that technical knowledge and professionalism could be the foundation for ethical public administration. This view supports law and formal devices to ensure accountability, external checks and responsibility to democratically elected legislators. Finer (1941: 5-7) distinguishes the “sense of duty” or the “sense of responsibility promoted by Friedrich from the fact of responsibility and therefore sees external control as necessary to safeguard responsibility.

For Friedrich, the ‘inner check’ provided by professional values inculcated in administrators during their formal training is a safeguard for ethical administration and ensures the responsibility of administration. This leads to a departure from Finer’s perspective of strict legalism. Friedrich promoted the view of the technocrat, whereas Finer (1940: 8) insisted on subservience, arguing that “people can be unwise, but they cannot be wrong.”

Another way to formulate and describe the ethic tradition in public administration is the assertion between the ethic of neutrality and the ethic of structure. Thompson (1985: 555-558) argues that administrative ethics are polarized between the ethic of neutrality and the ethic of structure and that actually both views should be rejected in order to encompass and enable administrative ethics. The common assumption in the ethic of neutrality and the ethic of structure is the limited moral agency of the public administrator, which is contradictory to the idea of the high road of ethics, where a defining feature is the ethical competence and moral agency of the public administrator (cf. Hejka-Ekins 2001, Lewis & Gilman 2005).

The high road and low road of ethics thus represent two opposing views on the approach to controlling and ensuring responsibility and accountability in public

service. The low road approach (presented in the arguments of Finer) emphasizes external control and the minimum level of ethics; the focus is on the avoidance of wrong-doing: what you should not do. The high road (along the arguments of Friedrich) sets the focus on internal control, entailing both moral judgment and the moral character of public servants. The moral judgment component adheres to the ideal of public service ethos. Moral character is based on the assumption that, by developing the necessary virtues, public administrators are able to act according to their moral judgment. The high road ideal has its roots in New Public Administration and the notion of social equity (Hejka-Ekins 2001: 82). Both ends of the spectrum have their drawbacks and challenges. Rohr, for example, (1989) rejects the low road due to its negative stance on the moral agency, and if the standard of good conduct is only not to break the rules, it leaves very little room for developing the ethics of public service any further. On the other hand, the high road of ethics sets idealistic goals that are too far from the focus of professional development.

This division provides a fruitful starting point, even if it has certain drawbacks and is susceptible to the criticism of representing a simplistic division. Researchers have advocated for a ‘middle’ road, or a ‘fusion’ road and an integration model for ethics education and management in public service (cf. Lewis & Gilman 2005, Hejka-Ekins 2001, Cooper 1998, Rohr 1989). The aim towards the ethical maximum in this work supports the view of combining elements from both approaches. In the next chapter, I will move on to the compliance and integrity approaches that derive from the philosophy of the low road–high road of ethics but formulate more concrete approaches to ethics management in public service.

A useful model that has been influenced by the high road vs. low road setting is the compliance–integrity continuum (cf. Lawton and Macaulay: 2009). The compliance approach relies on rules and external control, whereas the integrity approach uses values and ethics training. The differences of the approaches will be elaborated in this chapter. This dichotomy leads to four different ethics management aspects, ranging from the ethics minimum to the ethics maximum. Figure 3 outlines the four alternatives (Lawton & Macaulay 2009: 116-117):

The starting point is the *ethics minimum*, a scenario of low compliance and low integrity. This is prevalent when there is a lack or absence of attention to compliance, possibly no regulation on ethics and when ethics is not seen as relevant. The attitude and idea that is reflected is that ethics is a minor addition to business instead of being an integral part of the culture. Leadership on ethical questions is merely reactive and potentially covers up scandals or other mishaps.

In this case, legal standards form the core and are maintained to the level of staying out of trouble and not breaking rules. Low integrity leads to a situation where there is no individual commitment to ethics and the absence of ethics and values in the organizational culture is prevalent. (Premises are low compliance and low integrity).

The second alternative, prescribed as *ethics management* occurs in an organization when ethics is valued to some extent but is not an internal part of the organizational culture. The focus is on high compliance, that is following the rules and regulations and codes of conduct, which may be extensive and detailed. Maintaining strong accountability via external control is the building block. When the legal requirements are met, ethical issues are seen as fulfilled as well. This style is characterized by the organization doing the right *thing*, with the emphasis on the thing and the performance.

A third option is *ethical management*. This state overlaps the aforementioned ethics management, but in this case the role of values and integrity is emphasized. According to Macaulay & Lawton (2009: 117), it occurs when some members of the organization have a strong commitment to an ethical framework, and these members promote the ethical agenda. The emphasis on leadership may be individually strong. The commitment to ethical values and ethical decision-making is a part of the organizational culture. This style is characterized as the organization doing the *right* thing, with an emphasis on the ethical issue of being and doing what is right. A problematic situation may arise if no common rules or regulations are in place. It may lead to a scenario where the level of ethics is highly dependent on the individual manager or public servant.

The combination of strong compliance and strong integrity leads to the *ethical maximum*. The ideal approach is a demanding one; it occurs in an organization where there is both a strong personal commitment and institutional arrangements that safeguard and promote ethics. Values, ethical deliberation in decision-making and ethical behavior form an integral part of the organizational culture. Leaders are proactive in ethics issues and promote ethical values, e.g. transparency, accountability and individual moral agency. This combination is characterized as doing the right thing, meaning the focus is on actually walking the walk. This state is also described as doing the right thing right. The ethical maximum is similar to the concept of the fusion road of ethics, seeing that both approaches are necessary and provides the best result when they are combined (cf. Hejka-Ekins 2001: 95 - 98, Lewis & Gilman 2005: 17).

In this study, the matrix presented in Figure 3 provides the basis, and the purpose is to develop the ethical framework from the point of view of justice, ethos and transparency.

	HIGH ROAD OF ETHICS	
	Weak	Strong
LOW ROAD OF ETHICS	Weak Ethical minimum No emphasis on ethics	Ethical management By value-orientation
	Strong Ethics management By rule-orientation	Ethical maximum Fusion approach with focus on ethical leadership

Figure 3. The ethics continuum matrix: from the minimum to the maximum (based on Lawton & Macaulay 2009: 117).

This classification has its roots in the high road–low road dichotomy and in the aforementioned question of responsibility. The dichotomy of compliance vs. integrity produces two types of strategies based on the notions of individual responsibility and essentially the idea of human character. Table 2 compares and summarizes these differences between integrity and compliance formulated by Paine (1994: 113). It is reasonable that these two approaches should be combined instead of adapting one approach in the context of public service.

Table 2. Compliance and integrity approaches to ethics management (adapted from Paine 1994: 113).

	Low road–compliance strategy	High road–integrity strategy
Assumption on human behavior	People are motivated by material self-interest	People are guided by humanistic ideals
Principle	Conformity with external standards	Self-governance according to chosen standards
Objective	Prevention of criminal and illegal actions	Enabling and promoting responsible conduct and integrity
Leadership	Lawyer-driven, rule-oriented	Management-driven, leadership aspect
Instruments and methods	Training, limited discretion, external control, audits, sanctions	Education, ethics communication, leadership and example, accountability
Staffing	Lawyers	Executives, managers, with lawyers and e.g. ethics officers
Activities	Creating compliance standards, reports of misconduct, investigations, overseeing compliance audits, enforcing standards	Developing and leading the values and standards of the company, training and communication, guidance and consultation, overseeing compliance activities

Distinguishing between these two approaches is a useful way to clarify the matrix and the underlying assumptions that are also present in the ethics minimum–ethics maximum matrix I have presented above and will use in the latter part of the study to develop the ethics framework. The approaches have different takes on the principles or ethos, the main objectives, the notion of responsibility in leadership, the instruments and methods to be employed, the basic assumption on human behavior, which members of staff are responsible for the execution of the strategy, and the activities and routines that prevail in practice.

The first underlying assumption about human nature differs in the two approaches. Where the compliance approach sees people as selfish utility- and

benefit-maximizers (this is not purely a moral stance, but more an assumption of the basis of human motivation and character), the integrity approach posits a more positive view seeing that humanistic ideals guide human behavior, including selfless aspiration and the priority of common good.

Therefore, it follows that the leading principle in the compliance strategy is conformity with external standards. Obeying rules set from the top down is the key tenet and is necessary in guiding individuals on the choice between right and wrong actions. The integrity strategy, in contrast, relies on the moral agency of individuals, and sees the potential of ethical competence in the members of an organization. The leading principle is self-governance in accordance with moral standards and values that are deemed important. The integrity approach does not ignore external standards, but sees the possibility for a bottom-up view, that individuals have the ability to decide which values and standards are the most important.

In the minimum ethical goal, a legal requirement in any public organization is to ensure no criminal activity takes place. Emphasis on regulations and sanctions provides the background for the objective of preventing illegal action. Integrity strategy aspires toward a higher ethical aim, by enabling and promoting integrity and responsible conduct.

The implementation of an ethics management strategy requires leadership. The difference between the compliance and integrity approaches reflects the division of management and leadership in a way that the compliance strategy adopts a passive leadership and instead focuses on management of ethics as the responsibility of lawyers. The instruments applied can be training, audits, sanctions and punishment for wrongdoing. This resonates with the overall staffing principles as well, because the emphasis is on lawyers and possibly compliance officers. The integrity approach is more proactive in its style of management and the responsibility is on leaders and managers ideally on every level of the organization. There is a shared responsibility to encourage ethics and create an ethical culture. Instruments that support the strategy are ethics education, ethics communication, such as communication about the values of the organization, leadership by example and emphasis on accountability. In the staffing process, the emphasis is on executives, other managers and certainly also lawyers. For example, employing an ethics officer is one way to ensure ethical standards are cultivated (cf. Trevino, Weaver, Gibson & Toffler 1999: 134).

The particular activities for building the ethics management strategy can vary and depend on the purpose of the organization. Also there are differences in the public and private sector organizations in the extent and scope of the regulation in their

operations. However, both ethics management strategies offer tools that are applicable to many types of organizations. Possibilities in the compliance strategy include creating compliance standards, misconduct reports, investigations, compliance audits and enforcement of standards. Again in the integrity strategy, the emphasis is more on values and preventive measures than reactive measures. Possible activities include development and leadership of the values and standards of the organization, training and communication on those values, guidance and consultation on values and ethics, and overseeing the compliance activities.

These approaches are presented as a dichotomy, and, for the purpose of research and theory, it is a useful way to distinguish the two archetypes of ethics management. However, it is more useful to describe this division as a continuum instead of a dichotomy, and these strategies should complement each other. In practice, the best way is to build a strategy that combines elements from both (Maesschalck 2004-2005). Researchers have criticized the fact that the compliance strategy alone does not produce the best results; however, especially in the private sector, if only one strategy is chosen, the integrity approach may have a more beneficial outcome (cf. Paine 1994, Trevino et al. 1999). Also Lewis & Gilman (2005: 17-18) have argued for a so-called 'fusion road' instead of a choice between the low road and high road of ethics management. However, for analytical and constructive purposes the distinction between the high road (integrity) and low road (compliance) is a useful tool, even if the end result proves to be a combination of both strategies.

The continuum has been developed further due to the limitations of a two-fold presentation. Maesschalck (2004-5: 27) extends the model with grid-group theory and brings a more practical aspect into the analysis. In addition to management by oversight and review (i.e. the compliance strategy) and management by mutuality (i.e. the integrity approach), the grid-group/compliance–integrity analysis provides two additional models: management by contrived randomness and management by competition. The first one aims to ensure ethics through randomness and unpredictability in interactions, meaning, for example, randomly posting employees and unannounced, random inspections. This is to avoid unethical collusion. The second one, management by competition, utilizes the means and principles of competition, and the aim is to ensure as much competition as possible, for example in recruiting and in tendering processes. Ideally this reduces the potential for unethical monopolies, favoritism and nepotism.

4.2 Dimensions of public service ethics

4.2.1 Justice

If we were to choose one attribute that is probably the most commonly shared ethical principle and a chief virtue in all human interaction, justice would be the strongest contestant (Aristotle 1996: 115). For the purposes of this research, I will go through the definitions of justice in administrative ethics and the elements of it in the context of ethical management. Justice at its base summarizes if a social contract is a good contract or a bad contract (a just contract or an unjust contract). (Mizzoni 2010: 211.) Justice defines the most essential political good and it is the fundamental ordering principle of a democratic society. Related to justice, fair-mindedness, rationality, prudence, and courage are also essential virtues for the practice of public administration. (Cooper 1987: 325; see also Rawls 1971.) The question of social equity, largely influenced by the work of Rawls (1971: Theory of Justice), was the core principle in the New Public Administration movement (Cooper 2004: 397, Marini 1971). Other influential theories on justice are the utilitarian and egalitarian theories and the capability approach (Amartya Sen) to mention a few important examples (Herne 2012).

The logic of justice is different in the aforementioned public administration theories. The utilitarian or teleological ethic informs most of the traditional public administration theories, because the goodness of an action, a decision, or a policy is measured by its outcome and results, whereas New Public Administration maintains a deontological approach to ethics and justice. This is explained by the duty of democracy and social justice, which are its pervasive principles. New Public Service has a similar, duty-emphasizing approach to ethics but with more focus on the reciprocal approach of justice and on citizens and participation. New Public Management has an inherently utilitarian perspective as the dominating factor is results, outcome and performance (cf. Denhardt 1998: 53–55).

Definitions and background. Organizational justice covers distributive justice, procedural justice and interactional justice. Two important distinctions are made: distributive and procedural justice. The first concerns the principles and conditions on which goods and services are distributed within a society, the second focuses on just and non-discriminatory processes and procedures. These are the major issues that concern public service ethics in the justice approach. A third aspect is the interactional justice that concerns in particular the relationships and treatment of individuals in the workplace and thus is an integral part of ethical management and ethical leadership.

On the macro level, society, the defining question of justice is how resources are allocated and distributed. This problem is present on the organizational level as well. Distributive justice asks: what are the principles according to which resources are distributed and re-allocated? This is to a large extent the focal dilemma of a welfare state, and a societal question that is, if not constantly, often in need of redefinition and turbulence. From the citizen perspective it is often culminated to the question of taxes, for example: how does one re-allocate resources and what is a justified mechanism of redistribution (cf. Rawls 1971: 228–249)?

In the context of organizations, the criteria for distributive justice may include the following principles: 1) equal division, meaning each person receives an equal share, 2) needs-based division, meaning each person receives according to their needs, 3) rights-based division: each person receives according to their individual rights, 4) performance-based division, meaning each person receives according to their individual performance and effort, 5) merit-based, meaning each person receives according to their merit, and 6) contribution-based, meaning each person receives according to their contribution to society or the organization (Lawton 1998: 43-44, Zapata-Phelan et al. 2008).

Ethics minimum on justice: less equal and fair treatment of citizens and the question of inequality. The ethics minimum aspect is seen as the absence of the given character or value. With regard to justice, this means injustice, inequality or unfair treatment of citizens. According to Rawls, injustice means inequalities that are not to the benefit of all or to the benefit of the least-well off (Rawls 1971: 54).

An important aspect of equality is equality of opportunities, and often it is regarded as the responsibility of the society to provide equal opportunities to everyone. Equality refers to equal and fair treatment of citizens. One consequence of this is that public offices and positions are open to all. (Rawls 1971: 73–75.) Dworkin (2004: 110) views equality and distribution of resources as ideals based on envy-free action. In a market-driven society, everyone should have equal access to competition.

The question of inequality has raised concerns for the future of welfare state. Inequality in income distribution has been growing in Finland rapidly during the 21st century, measured by the Gini coefficient. (cf. OECD 2008.) However, the general level of income has also risen from the mid-1980s to the mid-2000s. The growth of inequality is not as significant as most assume it has been, but the existence of remarkably high incomes leads to perceptions of injustice. The OECD report indicates a similar tendency in the difference between older and

younger generations, the income level of the older generation is increasing (as in Finland), while the poverty of the younger generation has increased.

Finland is not the only welfare state to experience a rapid growth of income inequality. For example, the experiences of Canada and Norway are similar to Finland's. They have experienced a quick development of income inequality, while the general level of income has increased. (The market economy and the emphasis on individual freedom and adaptation of NPM methods is relational to this development.) In Sweden, income inequality rose in the end of 1990's; since there has been a stabilization. On the other hand, it is argued that in order to investigate inequality, a better measurement is the equality of opportunities rather than the distribution and equality of income.

“A reason for narrowing the gap between the rich and poor within a domestic society is that such a gap often leads to some citizens being stigmatized and treated as inferior, and that is unjust...The same would be true of the basic structure of the Society of Peoples should citizens in one country feel inferior to the citizens of another because of its greater riches, provided these feelings are justified. Yet when the duty of assistance is fulfilled, and each people has its own liberal or decent government, these feelings are unjustified. For then each people adjusts the significance and importance of the wealth of its own society for itself” (Rawls 1971: 114). In the Rawlsian view, competition or envy, or even comparison between the groups is unjustified, once and if the background conditions of equal justice are satisfied. Even if the income differences are large within a nation, their negative effects on society's unity will be lessened because society is composed of non-comparing groups.

Ethics management: rule-orientation and procedural justice. In the context of public service ethics, an important aspect in public administration is procedural justice. It is a key mechanism by which public officials can adhere to the same principles of fairness. In Finland, the principles of procedural justice are guaranteed in the Constitution and in the Administrative Law. As a whole, the legislation, for example the regulation on taxes, the principles of retributive justice, and the mechanism of distributing welfare services, relate to procedural justice and are bound by the norms of the society.

Justice and fairness in public administration are necessary preconditions to fair decisions and a just system. Administrative decisions are considered just when they produce just outcomes and the mechanisms of distributive and procedural justice are in place so there is a fair process. The experience of justice by the citizens is largely influenced by the perception of fair processes and fair

treatment. Fairness functions as a cornerstone of a just public administration in a larger setting. A society based on just public administration has the possibility of achieving justice, assuming that citizens have legitimated the system of public administration and public services (Rawls 1971: 73–76).

The criteria for procedural justice that are generally agreed upon are: consistence, bias suppression/impartiality, accuracy, correctability, representativeness and ethicality (Leventhal 1980, cf. Administrative Procedure Act). The perception of the level of procedural justice in organizations has an influence on the performance and attitudes of the members of an organization, and for citizens it may be even more important than the perception of distribute justice (Demmke & Moilanen 2012: 22, Tyler 1988: 128–130, Rawls 1971: 73- 75).

Ethical management: value orientation and interactional justice. In the context of ethical management, when moving from the institutional level toward the organizational and individual level, the relevant concept of justice is interactional justice, which concerns the interaction and management within the organization, between the manager and employee, and between public officials and citizens.

Interactional justice is defined as the degree to which the people affected by the decision-making are treated with dignity and respect. So the focus of attention moves toward individuals and their behavior and on how people are treated when procedures are executed and outcomes are defined (Zapata-Phelan et al. 2008). Interactional justice is divided into informal and interpersonal justice. Informational justice concerns the communication about decisions made, and the justifications and explanations that are given to the persons who receive the information. In administration, it refers to the need to justify decisions, to give grounds for why the outcome of procedures and decisions is what it is. Interpersonal justice has to do with the way citizens and employees are treated by the public officials or by the managers. There is a demand for dignity and respect. This idea moves toward the ability to handle issues of ethical sensitivity and to possess ethical competence in public service.

Combining the high road and low road: the ideal in citizen assessment. In the ideal situation, the realization of the ethical maximum, all conditions of justice occur, the distributive, procedural and interactional justice, and they are perceived as such. In a situation, where justice as a value is internalized and embedded into the organizational culture both on the level of regulation and behavior, it entails the experience and perception of justice by citizens.

From the ethical point of view, the citizens' assessment of whether the administration is considered just and fair and how well it is considered to perform

ethically is arguably an effective measurement. The citizen's perception provides the end-user view and promotes the idea that administration is for the citizens. It conveys the ideals of democracy and legitimacy of public administration in a larger context.

The majority of Finnish people want equal rights and freedom to be ensured for all citizens. This is the ideal situation. Another conclusion is that citizens do strongly subscribe to the principle presented by Rawls: inequality should not hurt the least-advantaged. These statements are obscure; however, they provide a picture of the citizens' notion and the demand for the principles of justice. However, the citizens' view on the ideal of justice, how things should be, differs from the way they perceive the reality. For example, citizens perceive that more effort should be made to achieve justice and equality, but in reality there is increasing inequality and class differences and unequal treatment of citizens. Where the public interest and responding to the citizens' demands is a first priority, there is a notion that services are not equally guaranteed to all citizens. (see Appendix 1, p. 15.)

4.2.2 *Ethos*

In this part, I will present a public service ethos framework in the light of the ethical minimum and ethical maximum. This becomes a theoretical model with implications on practice, and it draws its basis from practice. The public service ethos is connected to the ethics of civil service, and many conceptions of ethos actually are an attempt to describe the ideal, virtuous character of a public servant, and collectively, the ideal ethical spirit of public service.

The notion of the public service ethos has been a focus of research and discussion especially in the UK, where the study of ethos has been a part of administrative ethics and public administration research, and also in other academic disciplines, such as organizational psychology and economics (cf. Lawton & Doig 2005-6). An influential example of a value framework that is closely connected to the public service ethos is the *Principles of Public Life* (by the Nolan Committee). The principles are selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership (Committee on Standards in Public Life: 2015).

Terminology around the topic has varied over the years, and the term public service ethos is still not cemented, having some variations depending on the research focus and context. The concept of public service ethos is linked and connected to the public service ethic, meaning a particular sense of civic duty (e.g. Mosher 1968), and public service motivation. Conceptually, public service

motivation may be a precedent of public service ethos, or an integral part in creating one. Perry & Wise (1990: 368) define public service motivation as an “individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions.” This notion is close to the idea of an individual ‘calling’ and has been linked to the concept of ethos. However, ethos is more of a collective expression that may or may not include a previous internal motivation to work within the public service.

Public service ethos is both an ideology and a value or a representation of values expressed especially in the public administration or the profession of public administration and the work of public service. (Caiden 1981, Plant 2003.) The notion of *ethos* derives from Greek; it can be translated as the *good life* (Juuti 2002). In this sense, public service ethos would simply mean good public service. In the Aristotelian definition, ethos means the character of a speaker that leads to trusting the message the speaker is conveying. Trust, competence and dynamism are dimensions of ethos. (Haskins 2003.) According to Caiden (1981), public service ethos is fundamental, the backbone of values, and the basis of the integrity in public service and ethical values. In a similar vein of defining the concept, according to Denhardt (1989), ethos “represents the fundamental character or disposition of a group by delineating the ideals that inform the beliefs and practices of the group’s members.”

However, through theories and the development of the concept, it derives a more varied meaning than that of an ideology or a mere ‘good public service’, and further on in this research, public service ethos is studied more as a representation of values than as an ideology, even if it is important to include this side of the coin. It is also important to note that public service ethos is a debatable concept, and a question of whether it exists is justified in the research of administrative ethics; however, researchers acknowledge this aspect of social constructivism (cf. Pratchett & Wingfield 1994). In the light of comparison, it appears that the profession of public management differs from that of e.g. managers in the private sector. For the public sector, the values of legitimacy, accountability and impartiality are especially important, instead of values of profitability and competitiveness that have greater influence in the private sector (cf. de Graaf & Van der Wal 2008). Denhardt (1991: 91) noted decades ago that the diversity of the public management profession yields “chaos and lack of coherence” that hampers its identification as a profession. However, some researchers argue that the private sector management style and the NPM movement may challenge the traditional public service ethos (Doig & Wilson 1999). Others have pointed out that there is a very little empirical evidence and research that would trace this change; it is more built on theoretical and ideological arguments.

The quest for a single or unitary ethos is, therefore, ambivalent and futile. It is reasonable to acknowledge that instead of one ethos, there is a variety of them that are dependent on societal, organizational and individual contexts. As Brereton & Temple (1999: 472) argue, instead of searching for the distinction between the public and private sector, we should aim for a combination of both, for a new public service ethos.

As an ideology, public service ethos refers to the notion of working in the public interest, setting aside personal gain and being willing to work toward the common good in the interest of citizenship. According to Plant (2003) the roots are coincidental with the development of the study and teaching of public service in universities. The combining notion is public interest.

Traditional public service ethos is defined by O'Toole (1993) as the setting aside of personal interests and working altruistically for the public good. Secondly, it is about working with others, collegially and anonymously, to promote that public good. Thirdly, it is about integrity in dealing with the many and diverse problems which need solving if the public good is to be promoted. In this research and in the empirical study, the public service ethos is defined as: *the shared set of internalized values among a community, team or profession.* (cf. Article 2 in the Appendix.)

Within the ethics minimum–ethics maximum continuum, the extremes of minimum and maximum can be thought to be more clearly delineated, even if it is natural that there is overlapping and occasional conflict even among these theoretical divisions. But the two parts in the middle of the continuum, ethics management vs. ethical management that basically reflect the integrity–compliance or the Friedrich-Finer division, are vaguer to prescribe. However, in terms of ethos, this debate is inherent to the theory development itself, and that is the division into bureaucratic and democratic ethos. These two have been traditionally the most prominent ideals in public administration.

If we consider the public administration doctrines from the angle of the public service ethos, the locus of ethos on the other hand is relatively recognizable and each theory has shaped the formation of ethos theories. These are inextricably linked to the notion of the ethically good public administrator, as a different ethos entails a particular frame of guiding principles. The bureaucratic ethos derives from traditional public administration theories, and the democratic ethos from New Public Administration and New Public Service doctrines, even if the New Public Service theories have influenced the public service ethos conception and the public service motivation theories and origins more than the other theories. Within the New Public Management framework, the managerial ethos would be

the prevailing one to determine the spirit of public administration. Again, pinpointing and characterizing the ethos in New Public Governance is a challenge, but the dominant feature would be the new public service ethos, emphasizing the new attribute. A shift from the sole emphasis on managerial aspect, toward an adapted or hybrid ethos is the most suitable prescription.

There is an evolutionary aspect to this division as well because the bureaucratic-democratic ethos debate follows the development of public administration theories, from the bureaucratic notion towards new public service, new public management, and at the moment the latest new public governance frame. The division into bureaucratic and democratic ethos also represents the division of thought in the administrative ethics framework (Denhardt 1989, Woller 1998).

The ethics minimum in terms of public ethos means the lack of shared values, and the absence of shared rules, even probing the possibility of corruption in the sense that, overruling the public interest and the drive for the common good in the profession, the ruling motivation is personal gain in a weak institutional setting. This does not mean a black-and-white division and a pathway to corrupt public administration, but when there is a lack of rules and lack of integrity, the dominating ethos most likely will be of those in the ruling position. This is the case in several countries where the legitimacy of public administration and democracy rest on weak foundations to begin with, and in the worst case leads to systemic corruption, kleptocracy and other forms of maladministration.

The ethics management aspect. The bureaucratic ethos represents this notion, with the idea of profession and high professional autonomy, but with a restrictive view on the moral agency of public officials. The regulatory framework provides the basis for ethos without further analysis of distinct values.

Bureaucratic ethos has a restrictive view of the moral responsibility and the moral agency of the public manager. This view relies on the anti-rational notion also promoted by Finer encompassing the idea that morality is safeguarded by external controls and checks. The core values of bureaucratic ethos are efficiency, efficacy, expertise, loyalty and accountability. The traditional theories of public administration promote the view of bureaucratic ethos.

Pugh (1991) distinguishes between the normative basis of bureaucratic and democratic ethos: “bureaucratic ethos is teleological, and employs instrumental rationality, it is predicated on the values of capitalism and market society. Democratic ethos, in contrast, is deontological, is based on substantive rationality, and emanates from classical values of the state and higher law” (Pugh 1991: 26).

The implications for understanding the role and responsibilities of public administrators in a democratic government are: a) ultimate values or ends cannot be determined by rational analysis, and thus they must be accepted as arbitrarily given through the political process; b) scientific knowledge and techniques are to determine the most efficient and effective means for achieving arbitrary political ends; c) the justification of means is logically distinct from the justification of ends; d) administrative action is to be judged solely by the value-free criteria of efficiency and effectiveness; e) public administrators should not usurp the authority of democratically elected officials but should instead seek to provide the technical means for accomplishing the ends handed down by their political superiors through the appropriate bureaucratic channels. (Woller 1998: 88-89.)

The bureaucratic mindset holds it moral to avoid morality; this refers to instrumental rationality. Democratic ethos, on the other hand, promotes substantive rationality that “enables the individual to distinguish between good and evil, false and genuine knowledge” (Pugh 1991, 22-23).

Ethical management. Democratic ethos provides the archetype of the value-oriented aspect of ethos. Also, professional and managerial ethos fall under this combination. This supports the notion of a professional and value-determined view that combines the Friedrich-Finer debate in a different way.

The value aspect of democratic ethos emphasizes that public servants are not neutral executors of the public will but instead have a so-called ‘ethical’ space. It is noteworthy that, with regard to the Friedrich-Finer debate, the ethical management aspect supports the view of professionalism and internal checking as the safeguard of responsibility, even if it is otherwise connected to bureaucratic ethos.

Democratic ethos was an antithesis to the idea of bureaucratic ethos, perceiving that while bureaucracies may be efficient and morally neutral, they were not legitimate due to the lack of value-related context. The solution would be to identify “a set of grounded principles to guide administrative behavior.” What exactly then constitutes this grounded set of values has varied, but the common underpinning has been the core values of democratic governance. Also perspectives on social justice and participation have been encompassed in these views. Even if the content of democratic ethos is much more broadly based than that of bureaucratic ethos, the following list summarizes it: a) regime values, 2) citizenship, 3) public interest, 4) social equity. *Regime values* refer to the Rohr’s notion. Regime values are expressed in the US Constitution, and they represent the values of the people (Rohr 1976, Woller 1998).

The ethical maximum. An ideal of a new public service ethos that accommodates multiple roles and finds a way to incorporate the multitude of demands and roles and sets of values into the profession of public management. This is questionable and as mentioned—ideal. The ethos studied in the subjective viewpoint produces exactly that: a variety of profiles that are informed both by the individual and organizational premises. What is important is the existence of a shared, internalized and ethical culture in the organization that helps to maintain the profile, the motivation and the understanding of the mission, or even the calling to promote the common good. The idea is that ethos is internalized by public sector managers, employees and as a result will be conveyed in the citizens' experience of public service encounters. "It is in small individual acts expressed through a set of relationships that the public service ethos comes to light. The manager gives expression to the ethos through dealing with people in terms of care, diligence, courtesy and integrity. The public service ethos is best perceived through the quality of these face-to-face relationships, through processes as much as results. (see Appendix 3, Lawton 1998: 69.)

Ethos in the managers' perception. The study on the Finnish public sector managers produced three different public service ethos: traditionalists, eco-bureaucrats and puritanists. These profiles portray the ethical manager as one who prioritizes fairness and equality in the profession (cf. Salminen & Mäntysalo 2013 article in Appendix 2). The reconciliation between the traditional perception of ethos and efficiency has not yet occurred. It seems that new values have not affected the individual perceptions or rankings as much as presumed. Even if their importance was acknowledged, most of the managers identified areas in which market values are incompatible with the aim of the public organization (cf., Gortner 1991: 35–36, Lawton 2004). A somewhat surprising result was that as drivers of public service motivation, the entrepreneurial and market-oriented ethos was not as evident as expected. This could be partially explained by the long careers of the respondents. The accumulation of experience and knowledge of such virtues as common good influence their ethos; therefore, the basic values of public service are embraced. It is possible that a younger generation of employers are more accustomed to and motivated by the new public service ethos.

4.2.3 Transparency

The purpose of this sub-chapter is to define and clarify what transparency is, why is it important in public service and how it contributes to the citizen-administration relationship and public service ethics.

The concept of transparency has evolved over time and, due to popular usage, has nearly become a buzzword; its meaning is intertwined with publicity and openness. Hood & Heald (2006) and Erkkilä (2010) noted that the increasing importance and central role of transparency in governance derives from the usage of the term itself, even replacing other concepts (such as openness and publicity). Especially the increase and demand for bureaucratic transparency has been high in recent decades (Hood 2006: 7), and transparency has also generally become an increasingly important core value in public service (cf. Demmke & Moilanen 2012: 39, de Graaf & Van der Wal 2008: 79).

Transparency, along with openness, can be defined as the availability and accessibility of relevant information on the functioning of the polity (Gerring & Thacker 2004). Transparent behavior entails that public officials are as open as possible in all the decisions and actions which are implemented, also providing justifications for the choices made. These definitions refer to the relationship between the citizens and government, but the same system also applies to business and other organizations. Transparency is a cornerstone of ethical governance, and it is essential for reducing corruption and creating trust because it enables the citizens to hold decision-makers accountable and under scrutiny (Hood & Heald 2006).

The significance assigned to transparency varies. Traditional Public Administration theories do not assign particular attention to questions of transparency, though there is an agreement on the necessity of openness. There is a Weberian notion of openness and secrecy, viewing both necessary in bureaucracy. New Public Administration views transparency as instrumental to democratic accountability. In New Public Management the notion starts to widen and more instrumental roles occur, such as open communication and budget transparency. Openness and open data are necessary for the performance of efficiency. New Public Service sees transparency on the one hand as a necessary condition for communication between the administration and the citizens and on the other as a precondition for participation. In New Public Governance, the significance is fragmented to the communication in the networks: it is a key precondition for multilevel governance. Also in the ideals of governance, transparency is an inherent value with more than an instrumental role.

The ethics minimum. With regard to transparency, the ethics minimum scenario means there is passive or even non-existent communication and the access to information is limited. This also tends to lead toward secrecy. Even if the ethics minimum is not the likely alternative applicable to Finland, some studies have

shown that there is a tendency towards being overtly careful in disclosing information. (cf. Wiberg et al., Transparency International 2012.) There are problematic areas that I will refer to in the last part of the section.

The ethics management and rule orientation to transparency. In this scenario, transparency is treated as an instrumental value; leading to the attainment of other values, such as accountability and trust. Rules and regulations provide the basis for openness. Extensive and detailed rules may provide a favorable outcome with regard to ethics, but the risk is that extensive rules may not lead to the supposed results, when transparency as a value remains on the instrumental level (for example the election finance problems in Finland illustrate the question of nominal transparency). Legislation in Finland guarantees access to information, the minimum requirement of transparency. The principle of openness is defined and embedded into the Act on the Openness of Government Activities. It guarantees, that everyone has the right to acquire information about public decision-making and actions undertaken by public officials. If any exceptions are made, they should also be based on regulations. The principle of secrecy/prohibiting information is the opposite of openness, that is, the ethics minimum, where rules and values are weak.

The Finnish system in transparency tends toward the ethics management scenario, as there are extensive codification and a rule-oriented attitude toward transparency. The principle of openness also demands the active communication of public affairs from the side of public officials, which therefore moves the responsibility of transparency toward the public entities instead of relying on the citizen's or stakeholder's demands and requests. This is an ideal; however, research and experience has shown that the discrepancy between the ideal and practice is rather wide. Also a problematic issue is the extensive regulation on the exceptions. The third option, transparency by discretion is in theory in the ethical management column, in the scenario where values and case-by-case judgement informs the decision to disclose information. This has been the *modus operandi* of the European Union, and some countries in Southern Europe.

The Finnish constitution sets the minimum requirement in the 12th section of Chapter 2, which states the fundamental principle that all documents and records of public officials are public, unless there is a particular and necessary reason to limit their availability. Everyone has the right to access to public records.

The Act on the Openness of Government Activities (621/1999) also formulates the meaning and purpose of the rules. The scope of the regulation is to “enable openness and good administration in the conduct of public administration, and to make it possible for individuals and communities to oversee the use of public

power, the use of public funds, to form their own opinion, and to act accordingly, influencing the use of public power.” In this sense, the legislation in Finland can be considered as progressive, as it takes into consideration the aspects of communication and the overall meaning of promoting good administration through transparency.

The Act guarantees that public records are available, but it also sets the demands for open process and open meetings. Parliamentary sessions are open to the public; however, committee meetings are not. (Other laws also regulate the openness of processes in addition to the Constitution and the Act of Government Publicity, such as the Municipal Law, Administrative Act, Law on the openness of court proceedings and the Law on Churches.)

The move toward the best practice of transparency, two-way communication, is the authorities’ duty to communicate (Section 20, 621/1999). The law states that the authorities have a duty to produce and disseminate information.

Secrecy should only be the exception and based on regulation. However, there are a number of exceptions that are guaranteed, but a notable lack, or a loophole, is the question of municipal companies.

Open democracy entails the following: transparent decision-making at all stages of the decision-making process, even in the preparatory stages, participatory budgeting, transparency in drafting legislation, a visible decision-making process and visible decision-makers (*process transparency vs. outcome transparency, real time transparency vs. retrospective transparency*), and openness in city planning. These are, to mention some of the elements, all issues that are to some extent on the agenda but are still not properly implemented in Finland.

One emergent question has been the openness of municipal companies. Along the line of the recommendations of international organizations (OECD, UN, TI), the EU has suggested that Finland needs to require its municipalities and regions to secure a sufficient level of transparency in public contracts with private entrepreneurs (EU Commission 2014: 8 (Annex Finland to the EU Anti-Corruption Report). This is connected to the problem of potential corruption and favoritism in public procurement.

Rule-orientation with regard to transparency can lead to negative consequences if the emphasis is on the rules of secrecy (which are notable in the Finnish legislation). This aspect leaves minimal space for public officials to use discretion, as the main guidelines are the existing rules and codes of conduct.

When and if the existing rules favor disclosure, e.g. real-time transparency and process and event transparency, the organizational culture and public service may become open and to some extent respond to the needs of the stakeholders.

The core of transparency in government and public administration is generally access to information, or the principle of openness. In Finland the legislation in regulating access to information has followed the Swedish model. The emphasis of transparency and openness of government actions has been increasing and is seen as a cornerstone of good governance. The Act on the Openness of Government Activities, which was passed in 1999, set high requirements on the transparency of public activities. From the government perspective, access to information has an economic function: well-performing institutions, citizen trust and re-use of information are nowadays seen as components of national economic advantage (Erkkilä 2010).

The ethical management of transparency. In this scenario, transparency is viewed as an intrinsic value, and some researchers promote it as a basic right (cf. Hood & Heald 2006: 8). It means that in addition, or instead of, the instrumentality of transparency, it is perceived as the goal to be achieved in management and leadership. In the case of ethical management, transparency is internalized in the conduct of public administration and has a perennial role. On the high road–low road matrix, the value orientation shifts the essence of transparency toward individual discretion and openness and communication as the characteristics of public officials and managers.

The ethical minimum definition, and even the rule-oriented definition, views transparency as the availability and accessibility of information, perceiving it more as a ‘one-way’ street of information flow (also implying that transparency in itself requires no communication. The role of citizens is emphasized in the value-orientation as a more active participant. Information availability alone does not create transparency; it is only the first step (O’Neill 2009: 176).

It is not enough that governments or companies simply publish information about their decisions and activities. The usefulness of transparency is fulfilled when the public acts on the information that the policy and decisions provide (cf. Finkelstein 2000, Ball 2009). Some researchers suggest that this aspect is the distinguishing element between openness and transparency; transparency goes beyond openness, when the information available is used and interpreted (O’Neill 2009).

During past two decades, the understanding of the ‘principle of openness’ has shifted to its understanding as ‘active communication’ of the aims of public

actions or the resulting information (Erkkilä 2010: 104–105). This development is in line with the scientific debate around transparency and the evolution of the concept. However, assessing the quality of communication and the influence of transparency is still challenging. Issues that have arisen in the debates on the principle of openness or the optimal level of transparency are mainly about the value conflict the doctrine of transparency creates. Even if publishing and accessing information has become easier, faster and less expensive in the digital age, the conflicts and concerns (for example related to privacy and confidentiality questions) have become salient (Sharman 2009).

The ethical maximum: effective transparency. In the ideal case, transparency is fully realized in law and practice. Both aspects of event and process transparency, as well as real-time transparency mechanisms, work when necessary. Transparency and openness work as instrumental agents in mediating the exemplary ethical behavior of the leader, therefore they crucially contribute to the ethical maximum and ethical leadership. Transparency has both an instrumental and intrinsic value. Many academics acknowledge that the skill and ability to interpret, apply and communicate information and to utilize transparency in particular situations is a necessary precondition. Therefore, to be an ethically competent leader and public servant, the ability to execute transparency is crucial. (Garofalo & Geuras 2009: 70-71.)

Effective transparency means that the available information is interpreted and applied by the citizens and the rules accumulate into values and daily practice. Another crucial element is that transparency works as two-way communication, and the feedback given by citizens is taken into account (cf. Mäntysalo 2015 Article 3 in the Appendix). The combination of rule- and value-orientation safeguards the progression of similar communication in different levels of society and in different public services. In the ideal sense, transparency builds and safeguards accountability and sets the standard in the work for public interest in an efficient manner (cf. Appendix 4, Prat 2006, Best 2005).

4.3 Framework of ethics in Finnish public administration

What then is the state and form of the Finnish system in the compliance–integrity continuum? There are certain institutional arrangements and mechanisms that safeguard the integrity of public administration including legislation, ethics codes and values. The OECD (1996) carried out a study comparing nine countries in their application of ethics management strategies with a focus on the shift from

hierarchical public administration to managerialism. At the time, Finland was situated close to the middle, with no clear stance on either side in terms of the compliance versus the integrity approach. Finland had not yet implemented value guidelines for public officials (*Values in the Daily Job: Civil Servants Ethics* 2005). During the past two decades, the regulation and implementation of ethics codes has increased.

Finland is ranked high in several indexes with administrative ethics themes, such as the good governance and corruption indexes. The criticized but also acknowledged Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International has placed Finland in the top 7 as long as it has been measured (*Transparency International Corruption Perception Index* 2014). Good Governance Indicators of the World Bank also place Finland at a top position. Other indexes, such as the Freedom House measurements and OECD reports have placed Finland at a high position in matters that concern the goodness and quality of governance. These measurements and reports measure ethics in an applied manner, but they are most often used as cornerstones when defining the level of ethics within a country and making comparisons. In light of these results, the overall situation is not bad; however, there is always room for improvement and focus on issues that have not been previously studied.

In a comparative study on the public service ethics of EU member states, Moilanen & Salminen (2006) mapped out changes that have taken place after an introduction of an ethics framework and the implications related to it. The survey results are mainly applicable to central administration. One conclusion was that even if civil servants seemed to be quite familiarized and aware of the ethics codes put in place, the values embedded are not so easily communicated to the citizens (Moilanen & Salminen 2006: 2).

For the purpose of illustrating where various regulatory and soft law instruments are placed on the integrity–compliance continuum, I have compiled the relevant material concerning the ethics infrastructure and institutional arrangement in Finland. Figure 4 summarizes the ethics codes and regulation.

The list of regulations is selective, but is helpful in describing how regulations also take different approaches in their scope: where the criminal code provides sanctions for different types of wrongdoings, international treaties such as the UN Human Rights Declaration provide a value-based approach but set demands on the regulatory framework. The Constitution, on the other hand, describes the core values of the society. On the other side of the spectrum are the ethics codes, which are also different in their scope and approach to ethics. *Values in the Daily Job* represents a value-based approach, whereas the more detailed ethics codes

refer to a compliance approach. In the following, I will first describe the ethics codes that have been implemented and then provide a more substantial list of essential legislation contributing to ethics in public administration.

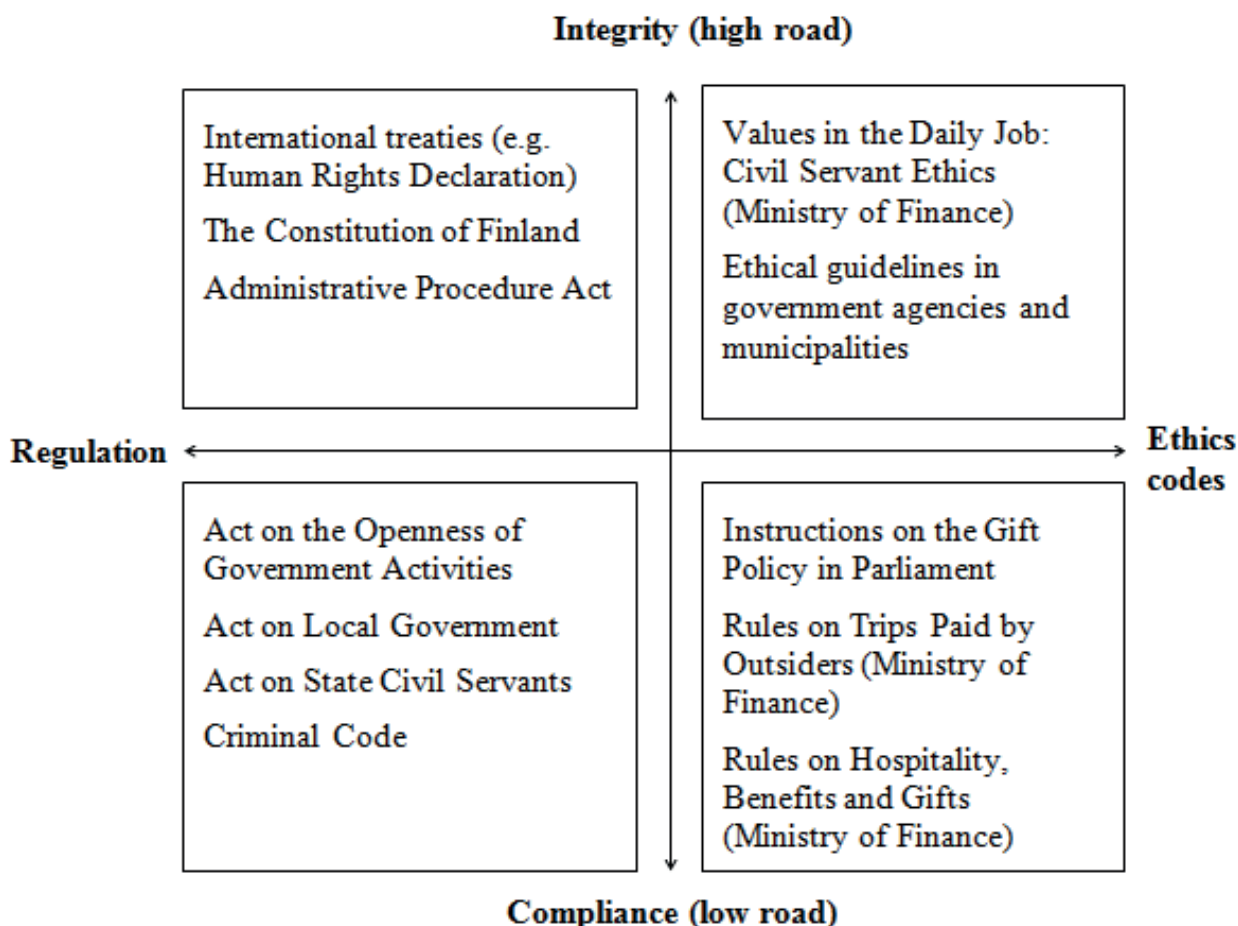


Figure 4. Ethics regulation in Finland on the compliance vs. integrity continuum

These are state level examples that concern public officials and members of parliament. For example, Values in the Daily Job is an ethics code with an emphasis on integrity and trust in the individual capacity for moral conduct. A polar opposite of an ethics regulation is the Criminal Code, which is a legislative, hard law measure positing sanctions for wrongdoing and therefore exemplifying the compliance approach. The Constitution is legislation; however, the content expresses the democratic system and values. A regulatory instrument that expresses values is the Human Rights agreement.

Ethics codes and soft law instruments. An example of an ethic code emphasizing the integrity-based approach (Figure 4) is Values in the Daily Job: Civil Servant's Ethics. The value base of state administration is manifested by the values of effectiveness, transparency, quality and expertise, trust, service principle, impartiality and independence, equality and responsibility. These are intended as guiding professional values (OECD 2005: 301, Ministry of Finance: 2005). Purely ethical values in the list are transparency, trust, impartiality and equality. In the ideal sense, these values form the basis for Finnish public service ethos.

The Ministry of Finance has issued two instructions for public officials that aim to safeguard good and ethical conduct. These two instructions differ in their scope and level of details compared to Values in the Daily Job in that they offer more detailed instructions on the acceptance of benefits.

The rules regarding Trips of Public Officials Paid by Outsiders (Ministry of Finance 2001) formulates as a general principle that the offices themselves pay for the trips necessary for their public officials, even in cases where there is interaction with outside stakeholders. However, the rules also allow the possibility to travel at an outsiders' expense if doing so does not endanger the values of the administration and ethical expectations and is not contradictory to the procedures (for example the travel plan). The rules state that the responsibilities of the public official concern leisure time as well. Another principle is that acceptance of a trip as a private person does not change its acceptability. (Ministry of Finance 2001, Peurala 2012.)

Another set of rules that is more detailed and therefore situated toward the compliance based approach in the compliance–integrity continuum (Figure 4) is the rules regarding Hospitality, Benefits and Gifts (Ministry of Finance 2010) that recommend and demand restraining from any hospitality, benefits or gifts in the first place. Especially if, for example, a procurement process and the decision-making related to it are ongoing, no benefits should be accepted from the stakeholders who are participating in the process. The purpose is to safeguard the integrity of the surveillance and inspection procedures as well. The rules emphasize that public officials always have the right and option of refusing gifts offered to them in their official role. As a general rule, only low-value advertising or other gifts should be accepted from private persons or individual companies.

At the time of increased interaction and cooperation between the public and private sector, it might be somewhat puzzling to know what sort of acceptance of offers is acceptable. There is a saying that a cold sandwich and a warm beer are acceptable, but a warm sandwich and a cold beer are not. The rules on Hospitality, Benefits and Gifts states that public official may participate in a

customary and moderate lunch paid for by a cooperation partner operating in the public, private or third sector. If the participating public official knows that his/her office has a pending matter concerning the partner and an outsider may believe that the official is in a position to exert influence in the matter, he/she should not participate in the lunch. In general, the number of lunches should be limited to a few per year at most for each cooperation party. Furthermore, according to the rules regarding Hospitality, Benefits and Gifts, public officials must use careful discretion regarding participation at the expense of private persons, companies or organizations in cultural events, sporting events or other similar occasions to which one would normally have to purchase a ticket. In some situations, a cultural or similar event is a part of a cooperation event organized by a partner, perhaps taking place between meetings or after them. These two guidelines and the Values in the Daily Job concern public officials, but not members of parliament. There is a Gift Policy in Parliament 2009-10, an internal guideline for members of parliament that sets the acceptable limit for gifts (gifts above the value of 100€ belong to the parliament). A member of parliament can accept gifts perceived as normal hospitality—the consideration is made on a gift-by-gift basis as detailed instructions would be problematic. There are no ethics codes in place for members of parliament. (Peurala 2012, Salminen, Ikola-Norrbacka & Mäntysalo 2012.)

Legislation preventing unethical actions. Legislation is the foundation that sets the ethical standards and defines the acceptable conduct of public office. There are several regulations that promote good administration and offer the ethics minimum level in the profession of public administration. In Finland, there is a strong tradition of legalism and public officials have in various studies stated that legislation offers the most important guideline for correct actions. The rule of law and legalism are deemed important (cf. OECD 2005, Moilanen & Salminen 2006). Table 3 summarizes the key regulations concerning public service ethics in Finland. This is not an exhaustive list, as many regulations contain elements that relate to safeguarding integrity and compliance; however, these serve as relevant examples.

Table 3. Key legislation preventing unethical actions in Finnish public administration.

Legislation	Ethical content
The Constitution of Finland (731/1999)	Basis for good administration, basic rights and liberties, equality, freedom of expression and access to information
Non-discrimination Act (1325/2014)	Safeguarding and fostering equality and non-discrimination in administration and workplaces
Act on Equality between Women and Men (609/1986)	The duty and responsibility of public administration to promote gender equality
Administrative Procedure Act (434/2003)	Principles of good administration and access to justice, service principle, conflict of interests and disqualification from decision-making (concerns also cabinet ministers)
Act on Political Parties (10/1969)	Duties related to party funding, state subsidies and accounting, declaration of assets on time, National Audit Office's duties and role in control
Act on a Candidate's Election Funding (273/2009)	Limitations to campaign finance, declaration of finance, National Audit Office's role, publication of the register
Act on the Openness of Government Activities (621/1999)	Publicity and openness of government actions, documents, citizens' right to access of information, government's duty to promote information and transparency, norms for secrecy
Act on State Civil Servants (750/1994)	General responsibilities of a civil servant, declaration of interests and additional income and outside ties
Act on Municipal Officeholders (304/2003)	Duties and rights of municipal civil servant
Criminal Code (39/1889)	Giving and accepting bribery, aggravated bribery, giving and accepting a bribe as a member of parliament, bribery and aggravated bribery in business bribing in elections abuse of public office
Act on Public Contracts (348/2007)	Fairness and openness in public procurement; bidding process, thresholds, competition
Local Government Act (365/1995)	Local governments' organization and responsibilities of elected officials, publicity of meetings, auditing of governance and economy, conflicts of interest
Accounting Act (1336/1997)	Good accounting practice, responsibility to disclose information, transparency
Auditing Act (459/2007)	Safeguards on financial transparency, rules and practices on auditing

The above mentioned regulations form the basis for ethical governance in Finland. The regulations differ in their scope and detail, but each provides norms and sets the minimum requirement for good administration.

The level of the Finnish integrity system in thirteen institutions of society (institutions such as the legislature, executive, law enforcement, public sector, media, business, etc.) was assessed by the Transparency International National Integrity System framework, which takes a holistic approach in measuring the aspects of integrity, accountability and transparency in society. The focus is on the resources, independence and the role of corruption prevention (see Salminen, Ikola-Norrbacka & Mäntysalo 2012). The assessment takes into account the existing legislative instruments, but also questions how these instruments are implemented and enforced in practice, i.e. whether there is a discrepancy between law and practice. The overall result for Finland was positive, displaying a strong system of integrity in the country. However, even if the regulatory setting and oversight mechanisms provide a solid basis for a system of integrity, the realization in practice varied. Another conclusion was that corruption and integrity issues are not high on the political or administrative agenda. With regard to the compliance vs. integrity approach, the NIS assessment indicates Finland relies on the compliance approach. However, the attention and focus on ethics codes (also recommended in the assessment) has increased recently, especially in the municipal sector.

The problems of transparency in Finland and the comparative context. The Nordic administrative tradition that emphasizes openness sets transparency at an important position in the governance framework and also the national discourse of the country. Affiliation with Nordic openness also entails a responsibility to adhere to the role. Despite its success in international comparisons in terms of transparency and openness, Finland has had its own challenges. The big underlying question is whether the trust-based and value-based system with regard to demands for transparency does, in fact, produce the ideal outcome.

In Finland, a recent draft bill initiated a broad public debate on the role of transparency and indicated how the views of private and public interest (i.e. stock exchange/listed companies vs. media/law enforcement) were in conflict. At the end of June 2011 the draft was abandoned, and instead the new government program targeted rather significant effort at the reduction of white-collar crime. However, yet another effort to introduce nominee registration was undertaken in 2015, and only after the preparation process attracted criticism in the media did the ministry of finance ask for a wider consultation in the drafting of the bill proposing the possibility to make the ownership of listed companies anonymous

through nominee registration (Securities Market Act later SMA). Finland is actually one of the few European countries where nominee registration is not possible; however, the international discussion (e.g. on the G20 meeting agenda) appears to introduce greater transparency of beneficial ownership. Arguments for the new SMA suggested that expenses for companies would be reduced and investors' equality would be improved, and in this way the competitiveness in general would be safeguarded. The media and law enforcement objected to the proposal, arguing that it would reduce the disclosure of ownership significantly and therefore the possibility to investigate white-collar crime. Opposing views emphasized that nominee registration is beyond official supervision and therefore would provide a safe environment for committing crimes protected by anonymity. This reform would have reduced transparency inwards (Heald 2006) and the surveillance and monitoring of ownership would have been removed. Whereas business representatives emphasized self-regulation, the public demanded transparency mechanisms that guarantee the possibility for external investigation. However, in this case, the role of transparency as a monitor was guaranteed and the draft bill was dropped. This case also illustrates how transparency works as a two-way street through public debate and discussion.

Following the scandal on election finance after 2008, the legislation concerning election and party finance were revised, with amendments entering into force in 2010 and 2011. During the 2011 parliamentary elections, transparency requirements were increased. Political parties and candidates (still only those who are elected) are required to submit all their financial statements and audit reports and also identify all sources of funding. Increased requirements are now more in line with GRECO recommendations. Now all reports are made public and are available for the wider audience as well. Political parties must submit their up-to-date financials, emphasizing real-time transparency.

The conclusion to be drawn and the lesson to be learned from this is that all in all the regulation on disclosure without sanctions was not enough to guarantee transparency. This created a situation where there is only nominal transparency instead of effective transparency. Evidently the greatest influence was due to the media coverage of the issue and not so much to improvements in regulation. In the long-term the effective transparency may lead to an increase in trust. According to the Global Corruption Barometer 2009 and 2010 (Transparency International), Finnish citizens considered political parties to be the most corrupt of all official bodies. Generally, the Finnish institutional framework fulfills the requirements of the international conventions, but there is a need to investigate the establishment of a whistle-blowing mechanism and the criminalization of trading in influence. (cf. UNODC 2011, OECD 2013.)

The extent of the institutional problem is revealed by the gap between legislation and practice (cf. Salminen, Ikola-Norrbacka & Mäntysalo 2012). This dilemma illustrates well the problem that Hood and Heald call *nominal transparency*. Instead of effective, actual transparency, it remains on the level of words, on paper, in speeches and even laws, but is not put into practice. Nominal transparency instead of effective transparency may guarantee good rankings in international comparisons and certainly creates the appearance of a well-functioning and open administrative culture.

The Transparency International Integrity Systems Assessment report on Finland brought up some of the problems regarding transparency and ethics management in Finland. For example, in several instances, the use of ethics codes was recommended to emphasize the ethical reflection in addition to the regulation (Salminen, Ikola-Norrbacka & Mäntysalo 2012). Concerning transparency, the gap between law and practice was not extreme, but nevertheless, practice does not equal the normative framework. If we consider this in the light of the argument that law sets the minimum requirement for ethical behavior and ethical demands, the overall situation in Finland seems poor. What exactly is made available in the public domain and who controls the data, these are the questions that need to be asked in order to develop ethics via transparency.

4.4 Summary

This chapter set out to further analyze the high road and low road division of ethics from the perspectives of justice, ethos and transparency. The views of citizens and managers are included. As a whole, the Finnish system relies on the compliance approach in the ethics infrastructure. The high road and low road division and the integrity–compliance continuum set different expectations and requirements on the moral agency of public officials. When the underlying moral question actually is how much ethical responsibility and demand of integrity can be expected from public officials, the strategies are divided into the two approaches.

The first approach, the low road of ethics, opts for the reliance on institutional and external control, presuming the ethical competence and moral agency of public officials to be low. The high road presumes an opposing view, seeing a potential for ethical competence of public officials that is best supported by values and the promotion of ethics, by the means of leadership, ethics training, and increasing ethics awareness.

In the following Figure 5, four scenarios on the ethical minimum–ethical maximum continuum are presented. In the first scenario, a risk for integrity violations arises because there is a minimal concern for justice, a lack of ethos and a tendency towards secrecy. It is reasonable to presume that the ethical minimum presents a moral vacuum, a situation where ethics has no role. Therefore, the control and compliance approach sets only the minimum requirement (cf. Maesschalck 2004-5).

In the second case, where the low road, compliance approach is strong and the high road, integrity approach is weak, the emphasis is on organizational integrity. The area of emphasis is on procedural justice and norms and regulations. Also ethos is based on these rather than values. In this situation, transparency is nominal, meaning that the norms are in place, but this does not necessarily turn into good practice, due to the lack of value commitment.

A situation where the low road of ethics is weak, and high road, integrity approach is strong occurs in the third scenario. When the emphasis is on reciprocal justice, the focus is on justice in the interaction of people. Ethos is based on individual values, not so much on the normative framework. Case-by-case transparency occurs in the situation where the rules and regulations leave room for interpretation and discretion. As a whole, the emphasis is on individual integrity, basically an opposite of the previous scenario.

The fourth scenario presents the ideal of public service ethics in terms of justice, ethos and transparency. It occurs in the case when all the three aspects are tangible in reality and practice. There is a balance between the two approaches, the high road and the low road of ethics. The demands for justice and equality are fulfilled in practice. There is a strong commitment to a distinguished public service ethos, and transparency is effective instead of nominal or case-by-case.

Three preconditions of ethics maximums were produced by interpreting the theory and practice. The ethical maximum of justice occurs when there is a high commitment to the various principles of justice, those of distributive, procedural and interactional justice. This commitment should be visible to the citizens. In terms of ethos, the maximum combines the elements from bureaucratic and democratic ethos; however, these notions should be adapted to the requirements of the modern and current work of public service. Values are internalized and shared among the team members and members of the profession. In the ethical maximum of transparency, effective transparency occurs, leading to proactive communication between citizens and administration. Feedback of citizens is taken into account, and in the ideal case this leads to increased participation and improved dialogue between all stakeholders.

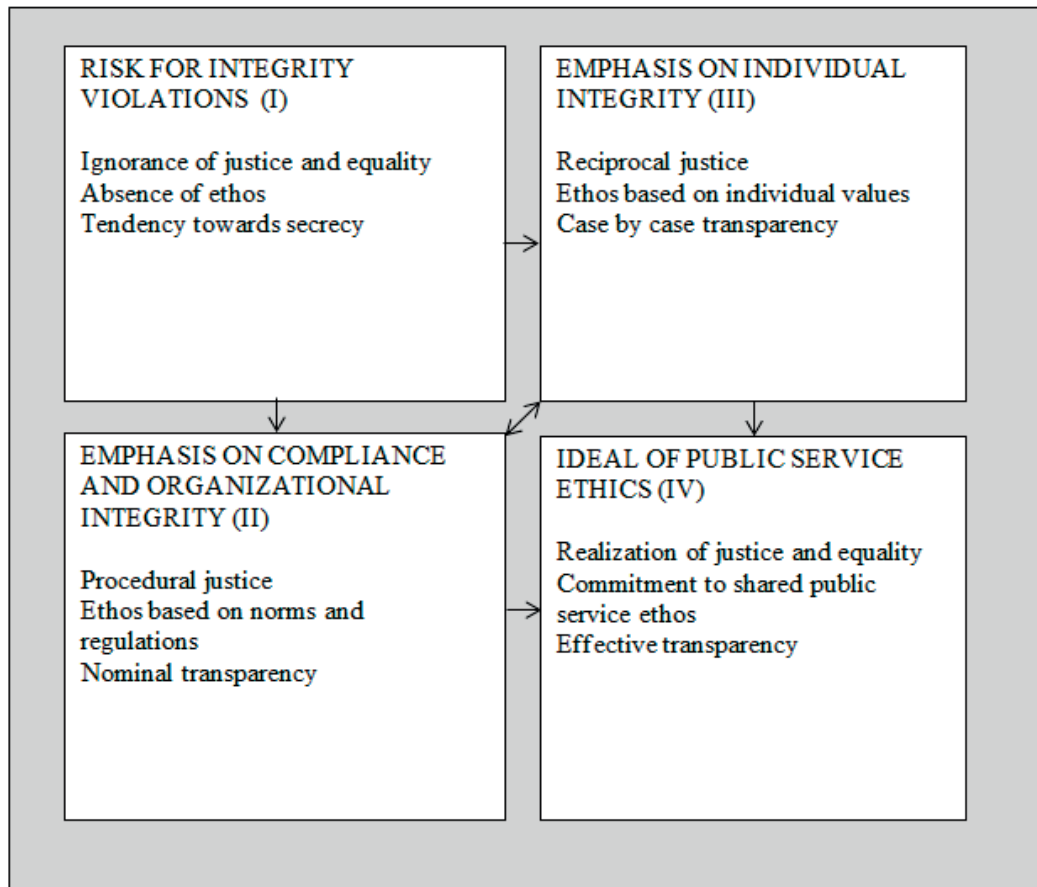


Figure 5. Four scenarios: from the ethical minimum to the ethical maximum

This interpretation process elaborates an ethical framework combining theoretical and empirical knowledge. The final question is, how, in the light of this interpretation, is public service ethics to be developed and what kind of ethical framework is produced with this understanding? In the next chapter, I will summarize the results and formulate an ideal model of the public service ethics framework.

5 CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to further explore the themes of the articles provided in the appendices: the public service ethics in terms of justice, ethos and transparency, approaching each aspect from the ethical minimum–ethical maximum division. The research questions set in the beginning of the study were the following: 1) what is the influence of public administration doctrines on public service ethics? 2) what is the development of public service ethics on the continuum from the ethical minimum to the ethical maximum, 3) how is ethical public service developed from the dimensions of justice, ethos and transparency?

The methodological choices in the articles provide robust and valid empirical data. For the purposes of uncovering the views of Finnish citizens, surveys offer data yielding credible results and offering the possibility for generalizations. A noteworthy aspect is the continuation and follow-up; a validation for the results would follow with a longitudinal study repeating the citizen survey. It has to be noted that citizens react to events, political and administrative scandals and ethical dilemmas, all of which may influence the perception of ethics in public service. However, for the scope of this study, the Citizen Survey provided unique material and one of the first attempts to deduce the state-of-the-art of ethics in the citizen perception.

The Q-method was used because the aim was to discover the managers' conceptions of public service ethos, and their guiding values. As a method measuring subjectivity, the Q-method enabled a previously unexplored topic to be discovered: it was possible to determine the existing public service ethos profiles. The results indicated that a traditional, justice and equality-based ethos was the most strongly agreed upon. Despite the rapid progression of NPM-style reforms in public service delivery and culture, a managerial ethos is not yet visible. This is an interesting result and has both a positive and negative side; therefore, I am arguing for an adaptable public service ethos, a team spirit that encompasses possibilities and the ability to uphold a high ethical standard combining traditional bureaucratic attitude and the market-oriented, managerial attitude.

Concerning the research task, the first question and the findings of the study, it is evident that theory and practice are constantly evolving from the traditional mode of public administration toward the new forms of governance, networking and co-production. This sets new demands on public service ethics as well. Public administration doctrines entail certain implications for the ideal with regard to justice, ethos and transparency. Before administrative ethics developed into its own field and branch of study, the ethical nominators were inherently present,

concerning the questions of administrative responsibility, duty and public interest, even if ethics as such was not the focal point of traditional public administration or management. Even if the ethical requirements of public service are becoming more complex, the requirements of ethical conduct remain. Therefore, any attempt to build an ethical framework should take these new requirements and reforms into account.

The key claims of each doctrine concerning the notion of a good and ethical civil servant, the ideas of justice and public interest, the locus of ethos and the role assigned to transparency highlight the various approaches to ethics. For the purpose of understanding theory development, and the multitude of notions of goodness, the first focus is on the profile of a 'good' civil servant. What is a valued and virtuous characteristic in the work of public office is a fluctuating and context-dependent conception.

With regard to justice, ethos and transparency, certain characteristics also define the ideal of ethical public service. The emphasis on justice varies from the focus on procedural and interactional justice. The conception of ethos has shifted from the bureaucratic to the democratic in traditional theories and New Public Administration, and toward a responsive and collaborative ethos in New Public Service and New Public Governance respectively. What is noteworthy is that ethos should incorporate the ethical, guiding values but it should also be adapted to the public service delivery culture. At present, in the context Finland, it is also realistic that no single, unitary ethos exists, but instead one finds a complex ethos, that forms the logic of appropriateness and ethical conduct (see Appendices 1 and 2.)

Also the role of transparency has developed from the technical interest in knowledge and information availability toward active and responsive communication that ensures cooperation and networking. The ideal expressed in NPS and NPG is close to the notions of citizens and the ideal where transparency works as a two-way communication. (see Appendices 3 and 4). Especially the ethical claims in NPA and NPS are close to the value orientation and the high road of ethics.

Concerning the second question of the study, the findings show that the development of public service ethics is on the continuum of ethical minimum to maximum; the ethical minimum moves to ethics management or ethical management depending on the choice of the compliance or the integrity approach. The main findings result from the interpretation of theory and article material, described in Table 4, and contribute to the ideal notion of public service ethics.

One conclusion is that the ethical maximum occurs when the two approaches of high road and low road of ethics are combined, taking into account the expectations and demands of citizens. The challenge is to bring ideals into practice and incorporate values into the daily practice. In terms of ethics infrastructure, the second conclusion is that the Finnish public relies on the compliance approach with a focus mainly on regulation.

Concerning the third question on the development of ethical dimensions, three main conclusions are worth mentioning. From the high road and low road of ethics point of view, justice, ethos and transparency contribute to the ethical framework of public service, especially in the case where the ethical maximum is reached.

One conclusion on the ethical maximum of justice is that there are challenges in the experience and perception of justice. In the ideal case, the citizens' experience is reached via interactional justice. One remark is that the traditional core values of justice and equality are highly valued and are expressed both in the citizens' answers and the ethos expressed by the managers. However, the problem is that ideals do not predict or inform practice. Naturally, the ideal always differs from reality; the problem arises when the gap between the sense of justice and ethics widens to the extent that the whole credibility and integrity of the system becomes undermined.

Another conclusion concerns public service ethos. The ethical maximum of ethos develops into an adapted ethos that is shared by the profession, combining the external and internal demands set on public service. In the ideal situation, the traditional values of equality and integrity are not discarded, but are instead complemented and adjusted with managerial values. The public service ethos shifts the focus on the public servant and the ethical conduct of the profession; however, it also influences the citizen-administration relationship, as it has everything to do with the way public officials view, understand and realize the construction of their ethical responsibilities within the profession. Ethos denotes a stewardship of public interest.

Thirdly, the ethical maximum of transparency means effective transparency, where communication works as a two-way street enabling citizen participation. In this sense, transparency is an intrinsic value. The important question is also what information is public, by whose choice and on what grounds. As an instrumental value, transparency has a significant role in the perceptions of justice and the public service ethos from the citizen perspective. Transparency serves as the glue between citizens and administrators, the manager and the employee, enabling oversight and accountability.

In addition to the aforementioned conclusions, the ethical minimum–ethical maximum continuum on the dimensions of justice, ethos and transparency is presented in Table 4. This is the accumulation and interpretation of the theoretical and empirical analysis deriving from the framework used and the articles focusing on the questions of justice, ethos and transparency. In the end, this provides one way of developing ethics in public service, encompassing the complexity and multitude of values that set requirements on the aspects of the citizen-administration relationship, the ethical conduct of the profession and communication in society and in public management.

Table 4. Ethical minimum and ethical maximum concluded.

Ethical minimum	Ethical maximum
I Unequal treatment of citizens	I Fulfillment of justice
II Nominal transparency	II Ethical sensitivity and responsiveness
III Non-disclosure and passive communication	III Realization of effective transparency
IV Negligence of ethical values	IV Active dialogue between citizens and administration
V Risk of integrity violations	V Adapted public service ethos
	VI Building team spirit, logic of appropriateness

In Table 4 the ethics minimum level describes the level where the elements for improving ethics exist, but they are partially ignored; therefore, the ethical minimum may actually present a state where ethics has no role or significance. Unequal treatment, non-disclosure, passive communication and nominal transparency and a risk for integrity violations are experienced. The ideal case, the ethical maximum, is the outcome when regulation and values are knit together (leadership).

In the ethical maximum of justice, instead of unequal treatment of citizens, the demands and expectations of citizens are fulfilled and there is an ethical sensitivity and responsiveness in the conduct of public servants.

With regard to transparency, instead of nominal transparency and the culture of non-disclosure and passive communication, effective transparency and an active dialogue between citizens and administration is realized. Nominal transparency refers to the situation where rules on transparency exist but are not translated into practice.

The ethos of public service is adapted to the ethical requirements and the reform requirements. A team spirit is actively built and a logic of appropriateness is formed in the profession of public service. The negligence of values and risk for integrity violations decreases. This means that no one type of ethos (i.e. managerial or bureaucratic) is necessarily dominant, but rather a combination of ethical values and management approaches that are internalized by those who work in the public service.

An essential question is: how is the process of ethical development initiated? How do we make political and administrative decision-makers contemplate ethics or the ethical framework? Experience and research has shown that prioritizing ethics management issues or governance integrity questions is not high on the agenda; instead, it more often than not occurs only after external or top-down pressure (international organizations or agreements) or after mistakes or scandals have already taken place (cf. NIS 2012, OECD 2008, 2013).

Recommendations

The goal of this research has been to understand and interpret the ethical dimensions of justice, ethos and transparency in the continuum of ethical minimum and ethical maximum. Combining both theoretical conceptions and empirical findings serves that purpose well, but also an additional goal and purpose is to offer something practical, the actual improvement of public service ethics in Finnish public administration. It is safe to say it is an idealistic goal, but as the basic normative tone in ethics is exactly how things should be rather than how they are, this aim is in line with that idea. The following recommendations are made:

There is a need for ethics management and putting values into practice, narrowing the gap between what is and what ought to be by combining the integrity and compliance management approaches toward the fusion road and the ethical maximum. Finland relies on the strong tradition and principle of legalism. The cornerstone of public administration is legislation and rule of law. This tradition and the administrative culture produced thereof would benefit from the inclusion of discussion on values and the reliance on the moral agency of public administrators. Regulation provides the ethical minimum, but leadership and

values-based management is needed to accompany the regulatory framework. The question is whether the administrative culture moves from control and sanctions toward trust and integrity.

The experience of justice and equal treatment needs to be improved. This is a key issue is ethical sensitivity and responsiveness toward the needs of citizens in public services. The key to improving the citizens' experience is in safeguarding both procedural aspects of justice and interactional justice in the public service encounter and the management of public service. This is the crucial point where the citizen-administration relationship requires the experience of justice in order to maintain trust in public administration.

A step forward is needed to building the team spirit and strong public service ethos that incorporates the questions of justice, equal treatment and communication between citizens and administration. Integrity combined with leadership will reinforce and enable the building of an adapted public service ethos. Inherently there is an idea of the virtuous public servant who is able to encompass and extol the good characteristics and values relevant in the particular sector or area of public administration.

An initiative is needed to improve transparency policies, build a dialogue and enforce and create effective transparency that leads to communication and feedback. In the time of austerity, cutbacks and limited resources, the importance of communication cannot be undermined. The minimum is the access to information. Open, reciprocal dialogue would be the ethical maximum. For example, the new possibilities offered by digitalization would offer new tools for building platforms for discussion and feedback. Another possibility is to ensure participation and deliberation in decision-making.

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Perceptions of Justice towards Public Administration: The Views of Finnish Citizens^{*)}

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The focus of the article is on citizens' perceptions of justice in public administration. The analysis concentrates on justice regarded as equality, respect of public interest and justice of public services. The scope is to find out how the citizens view justice in public administration, what aspects should be respected and what the situation is. The Finnish welfare state model has undergone series of changes during the past decades. The reforms have influenced both service provision and public administration and the experience of justice in society. Evidence of the paper is based on Citizen Survey 2008, implemented in Finland. Citizens expressed their perceptions of justice in Finnish public administration and society. Our main findings indicate that citizens are concerned of the increasing inequality and fair treatment is no longer taken as granted. However, citizens also shared more individualistic view of justice. Efforts to achieve justice and equality should be made and public interest should be respected. Citizens doubt their demands are being responded to. Citizens feel that the Finnish system strives to achieve justice despite the growing inequality.

Keywords: justice, equality, citizens, administrative ethics, public service ethics.

Raktažodžiai: teisingumas, piliečiai, administracinė etika, viešosios tarnybos etika.

Introduction

As commonly known, justice is a core concept of moral philosophy, concerning the society and the political system. Justice defines the most essential political good and it is the fundamental ordering principle of a democratic society. Fair-mindedness, rationality, prudence, and courage are essential virtues for the practice of public administration [5, p. 325] (see also [22; 27]).

Administrative ethics has been the subject of considerable scholarly study and research (e.g. [2; 5; 6; 10; 14; 16; 17; 25; 26]). As a core element of administrative ethics justice is seen as an integra-

tive normative principle and guide for administrators. According to Lawton [15, p. 44] the justice approach to ethics categorizes justice in distributive and procedural justice, the first one concerning the principles and conditions on which goods and services are distributed within a society, the second is concerned with just and non-discriminatory processes and procedures.

In public administration lawfulness concerns both the citizens and public officials: if they are lawless, the whole system becomes unjust. Comte-Sponville [8] reflects the same question, considering that those who are lawful and fair, are just, and vice versa the lawless and unfair are unjust. The role of justice is also to set ethical parameters for the institutions of society [13].

Politics and administration imply the use of power, therefore the use of power ought to be legitimated by the citizens. A salient problem in public administration is the perceived injustice and inequality of the system. If the citizens experience

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public administration as unjust and unequal system it threatens the legitimacy of the whole system.

The subject of our article is justice in the Finnish public administration. In terms of citizens' perceptions and via their reflections of aspects of justice, we suppose, that an essential part of justice is to some degree measurable quantitatively. Through the survey data, we are interested in analyzing how justice is fulfilled in the Finnish public administration from the citizens' perspective.

1. The research task

Finland as a Nordic country, with 5,3 million inhabitants, has been a homogenous population for a long time. Traditionally, the Finnish institutional welfare model comprises of extensive public service sector with efforts of maintaining equality between different social classes. The figure of public expenditures is rather high, almost 50 per cent of the GDP. In the beginning of the 21st century, the Transparency International CPI has ranked Finland among the least corrupt countries in the world. In turn, the high ratings in international surveys indicate peculiarities, such as legal administrative tradition and emphasized formal neutrality of civil servants in Finnish society.

The Citizen Survey 2008 pointed out problems and challenges on the experience of justice in Finnish public administration. Especially alarming were the estimations of fulfilment of justice. Estimations are subjective but however they should be taken seriously. We doubt whether the Finnish citizens think that justice as a core value is respected enough in public administration. Therefore our main focus is on the question of justice in different aspects.

We share the opinions of the authors, that equality, public interest and service provision are strongly intertwined with justice (e.g. [4; 10; 13; 29]). In spite of its relevance and importance, citizen approach is often neglected in the analyses of ethical governance.

According to our definition, justice is approached in two basic ways. First, it is a question of whether people are in general treated in a just way? And secondly, if the majority of citizens are treated in an equal way is justice fulfilled?

Three main elements are used such as 1) equality, 2) the respect of public interest, and 3) citizen-centred public services. These aspects stem from a wider framework of administrative ethics, contributing to their existence and to the existence of a just public administration. How we limit the focus of our research, is described in Figure 1.

A central element of justice is equality, in different forms. Equality of opportunities, equality before the law, gender equality and equality of rights and liberties, and equality in service provision are relevant aspects of justice. Generally fairness and equal treatment contribute to justice, society and public administration should promote them and treat citizens equally. Fairness is a precondition for the legitimacy of public administration.

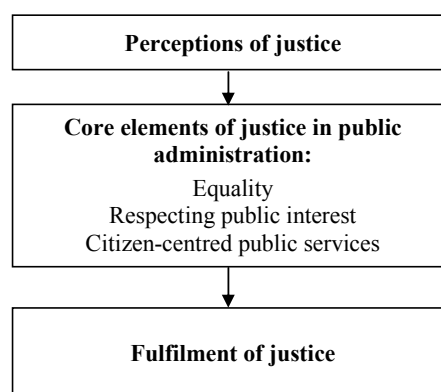


Figure 1: Central elements describing justice in public administration

Public interest connotes common good and common will. In public administration the respect and realization of public interest is a necessary condition for the functioning and legitimacy of the system. There is an obligation to pursue the public interest in administration, therefore organizational goals should be of secondary priority [5, p.325].

Public services are directed to citizens, constituting the main arena in which the citizens encounter public administration. Public services entail the distribution of wealth and extensive service provision of the public sector implies and requires the allocation of tax funds. If the public services are perceived as just and fair, it improves the legitimacy of the whole public administration. A group of theories of justice prioritize private property and individual liberty to begin with, considering the redistribution of wealth itself as unjust. On the other hand, other theories find the distribution of wealth and large public services as a means to support and promote equality and justice in the society.

2. The survey method

Frederickson and Walling [12] state that the field-based empirical research on administrative ethics in public management is less common than

research based on normative and philosophical literature. According to them the use of questionnaires is probably the most common methodology in administrative ethics research.

The evidence of this research is based on the empirical data from a national citizen survey implemented independently by the University of Vaasa in 2008. The research program is funded by the Academy of Finland.

The original questionnaire consisted of citizens' assessments on ethics of public services, good administration and virtues of public authorities, and ethics of political system. The questionnaire form covers 17 question groups, and 128 statements and assessments of the ethical themes. Each of the three themes has one open-ended question. Three additional open-ended questions were included and through these questions a large amount of personal stories were collected from the respondents.

In the survey data of our analysis, citizens express their views towards the questions of justice. The single statements of the questionnaire are formatted in the way that the respondents estimate how either the state of affairs should be or how it is. The data is also explained by seven societal background factors.

In Appendix 1 the central observations of different individual topics are briefly shown [25]. Justice in society was one of the topics but for the purposes of this paper also justice-related questions of good governance and ethics of public service were chosen for analysis.

The questionnaire was sent to 5000 Finnish citizens, aged 25–65, in spring 2008. The sample was chosen to represent Finland in miniature. The survey-sample was received from the Finnish public agency (The Population Register Centre). All the questions were multiple-choice questions and they were executed in Likert's scale to secure the statistical runs. The answers were recorded in the statistics program SPSS.

The selection of the respondents raises the validity of the results of our study. Another thing for the validity is the relatively high response rate. Although incentives were not used, the response rate rose to 40,4%. Altogether more than 2000 carefully completed questionnaire forms were returned.

For gathering opinions, attitudes and expectations, the survey technique is an accurate tool in administrative ethics when the purpose is to reach a wider population [23; 25; 28]. The relevant questions of the questionnaire form with exact percentage shares are presented in Appendix 2.

3. The societal context of justice

Societies carry out various policies in order to promote justice and equality by appropriate means, supporting the aspects of equality that they consider to be important. Traditionally, the Finnish system has relied on strong public sector, extensive welfare services and a large number of public sector employees.

As a part of the Nordic welfare model the Finnish system relies strongly on three principles. Rule of law is dominating feature of the system. Another dominating feature is the loyalty to political decision making. Compassion is the third feature. There has been a strong tradition to take care of the least-advantages for example by means of the wide social security to all citizens and free education and health care system.

In the discourse of justice and the elements of justice, the underlying question that remains unresolved is what is good for a society? Another problematic question in the debate of justice and welfare state is the right to tax people in order to help others.

3.1. Welfare state in transition

One may claim that the Finnish society is less equal and less just than a couple of decades ago. One may ask, whether opportunities are equal to all as promised in the Constitution? Is the mixture of public services and social benefits still meant for the entire population?

Because the government is rolling back from its previous comprehensive responsibility, the concept of welfare state needs profound discussion and rethinking. Although ideological and political challenges are in the front line, the Finnish welfare state is facing several ethical challenges as well [21].

In current political decision making, the tradition of market liberalism and individualism is much stronger than doctrines of institutional welfare or collectivism. For a long time, the welfare policy was based on political faith, commonly shared values and consensus between the political actors of the country. A just and legitimate political system was composed of a sense of social solidarity, political consensus and capacity of gathering all political parties (ideologies) for joint policy formation. The old welfare model was a result of political compromises.

Things have changed. Such an organized administrative welfare model has lost its support. The market-oriented model is challenging the old-fashioned model. Markets and market-type mechanisms play an increasing role in the practice of public administration.

The welfare state is reformed by different strategies. The new governance of the reformed welfare state is less hierarchical, more flexible and more networked. The government and the market are working together with shared values. The new values come from both private and public sector. The new model is more sensitive in citizens' expectations, but not to all expectations [1; 28]. Politicians from left to right do agree that poverty should be reduced and equality improved through welfare provisions and redistribution of income. However a universality of benefits and a comprehensive social security system are gradually being questioned.

Nevertheless, people are prepared to pay their taxes, but high taxation is not anymore the central instrument in welfare formation and in establishing a legitimate public welfare administration. Buchanan [3] reminds us about tax illusion: uncertainty increases, unless individuals do not know exactly how public economy spends the funds paid in taxes. The contrary lesson, however, is that the smaller the income taxes, the more restricted the possibilities of the state to finance social benefits [21].

3.2. How the citizens view the future of Finnish society

According to above said, there are many aspects that relate societal change to justice. The questions concerning the current state and the future of the Finnish welfare state were posed, such as:

- rawlsian adjustments of justice,
- experiences of injustice and
- issues of inequality.

Some of these ethical issues are dealt with Figure 2. The broad question included several statements and thus various possible interpretations.

The questionnaire's results of social justice are represented with percentage shares of agree, neutral and disagree answers. As shown in Appendix 2, the question 14 was mainly dealing with the theme of change in society.

In the citizens' eyes Finnish society is trying to achieve justice, even though the future of the society does not seem to be just and fair. Nearly 70 per cent of the respondents thought Finnish society should be trying to achieve justice. However, another perspective

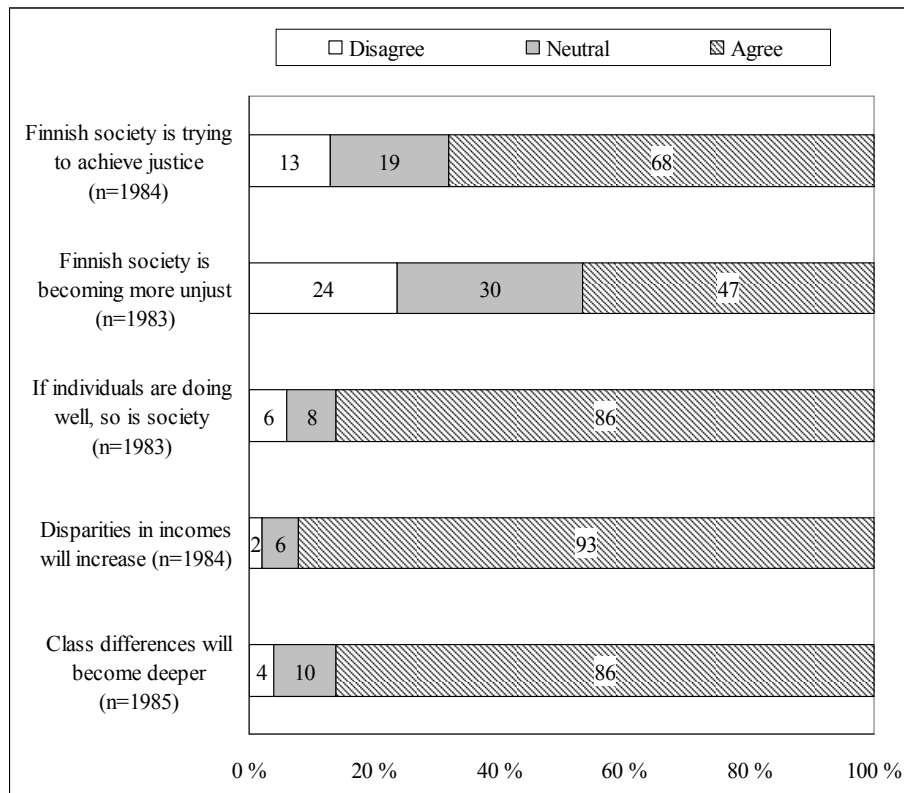


Figure 2: The societal justice: the views of citizens

on the same issue, development towards injustice, produced a more balanced result. Almost half of the respondents felt that Finnish society is becoming more unjust, nearly one fourth disagreed with this statement.

The citizens agreed clearly with our statement concerning the relation with society's welfare to individual's welfare. They also agreed strongly with the statements concerning growth of income disparities and deepening class differences. The citizens also somewhat agreed with the statements concerning increasing unequal treatment of citizens and increasing injustice in the Finnish society.

The increasing differences in society are a sign of injustice, especially class differences and disparities in incomes are relevant for the citizens. No less than 86 per cent of the respondents felt that class distinctions will deepen in the future. Nearly all the respondents felt that disparities in incomes will increase as well. Other options did not produce as strong views. These questions survey the future of the Finnish society. The results are somewhat conflicting. People think that Finnish society is becoming more unjust but the number of agreeing is not even close to the high numbers describing class differences or disparities in incomes. Actually, Finland is one of the Western countries, with New Zealand, Canada and Norway where the rise of income inequality has been significant during the 21st century. Majority of Finnish citizens feel that Finnish society is trying to achieve justice. However they estimate that the income gap is getting bigger. Does it show that Finnish citizens approve the fact of increasing gap because the majority is still thinking that the society is trying to achieve justice? Or do citizens think that increasing gap in incomes is originating not from the society but from the business?

4. Three topics of justice

We discuss further the question of just public administration through three topics. The next issues deals with equality, public interest and public services.

4.1. Equality

The important aspect of equality is the equality of opportunities, and often it is regarded as a responsibility of the society, providing equal opportunities to everyone. Equality refers to equal and fair treatment of citizens. One consequence of this is that public offices and positions are open to all.

Rawls [22] and Dworkin [9, p. 110] view equality and distribution of resources as ideals based on envy-free action. In a market-driven society, everyone should have an equal access to competition.

Fairness in public administration is connected to fair decisions and just system. Administrative decisions are considered just when they produce just outcomes (distributive justice) and are produced by a fair process. Fairness functions as a cornerstone of a just public administration in a larger setting. A society based on just public administration has the possibility to achieve justice, regarding that citizens have legitimated the system of public administration and public services.

The results are presented in Figure 3. The majority of Finnish people want equal rights and freedom to be ensured for all citizens. This is the ideal type, of course. Alike, citizens do strongly subscribe to the principle presented by Rawls: inequality shall not hurt the least-advantaged. These statements are obscure but however understandable enough. It is sure that in the times of recessionary periods these values are more important to people than in the times of economic growth.

This survey has been implemented before the recession became evident and under public debate.

The respondents were decisive with the above-mentioned rawlsian statement. Significant majority of citizens agreed somewhat or fully, other alternatives received little support. Almost all respondents agreed also, that equal rights and freedoms should be guaranteed for all citizens. These two strong agreements reflect the utmost importance of equality as an element of justice in citizens' perceptions.

There was yet a statement about justice concerning estimations of increasing unequal treatment of citizens. Citizens' assessments were not as united as with previous questions. The result appears alarming since even more than 60 per cent shared this view, and only 15 per cent disagreed.

One third of Finnish citizen agreed that public servants treat all citizens fairly. Almost half of the respondents felt neutral with the statement. However there is an increasing gap between the expectations – how citizens feel they should be treated – and the reality – how citizens feel they are treated. Balanced development of the society requires however that the gap between expectations and reality is not growing intolerable to different societal groups.

4.2. Respecting public interest

The next issue is public interest, which is related to various aspects, for example public good, common good, citizens' interest and collectivism. Public inter-

est presumes that individual interests are subordinated to a larger set of communal values.

The differing opinions of citizens about public interest are seen as a debate over substantive democratic values, moreover about equality of

condition or equity. This view instrumentalizes public interest as a debate between those who would promote greater equality, and between those who would not limit individual liberty at its expense [19].

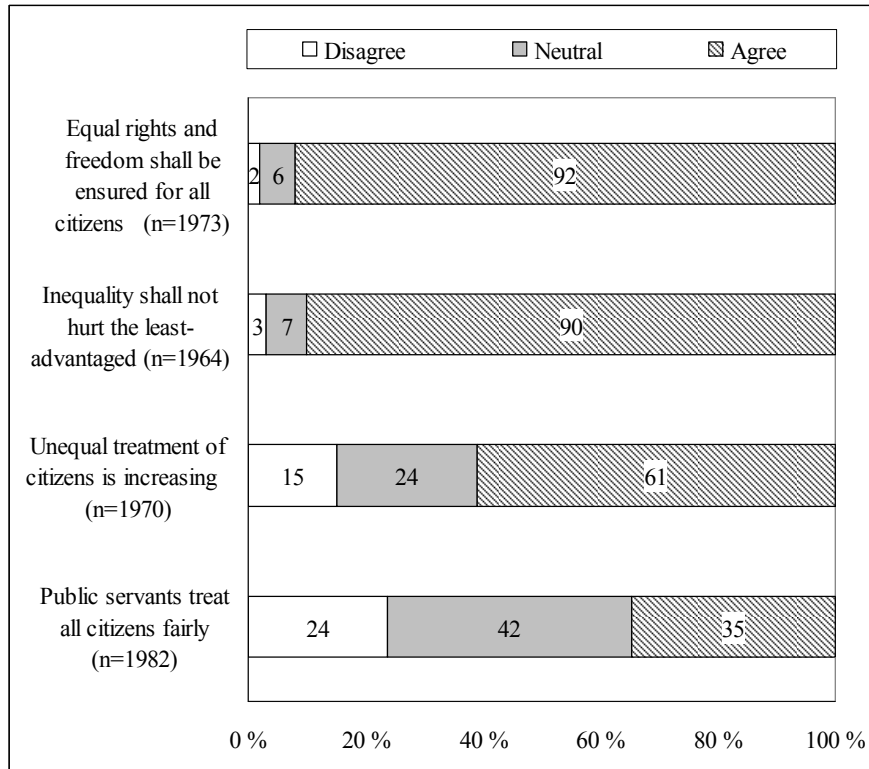


Figure 3: Equality: the views of citizens

If citizens regard the decisions as just and in accordance with the public interest, they can accept even complicated decisions concerning for example service provision and taxation. The fulfilment of public interest is safeguarded by just decisions and the commitment to serve all citizens, not just a specific privileged group of citizens or customers. Figure 4 represents the citizens' estimations to the question of public interest.

The statement concerning prioritizing citizens' interest produced convergent results. More than half of respondents estimated it to be rather or very important. However one fifth did not consider citizens' interest to be important.

Citizens' comments indicate clearly the importance of public interest in ethical administration. Therefore also criticism is given regarding the public interest. We found out that for the citi-

zens, it is important, that the public interest is not ignored, and it should be taken into account in decision-making.

About half of the respondents agreed with the statement that realization of public interest is the most important thing in political decision-making. Public servants cannot be totally satisfied with the estimations concerning their commitment to serve all citizens. Only about one third of the respondents agreed with statement. The mean is near three, which illustrates the neutral alternative which can be seen also in the figure three as the highest number of neutral answers.

4.3. Citizen-centred public services

The final issue of justice deals with citizen-centred public services. In this case we have fo-

cused on the question are public services just and fair in citizens views, and in accordance with their expectations, and therefore contribute to the legitimacy of the whole system and public administra-

tion. Due to the constant reforms in public administration and the adaptation of new models in the public service provision, the perception of justice is being transformed.

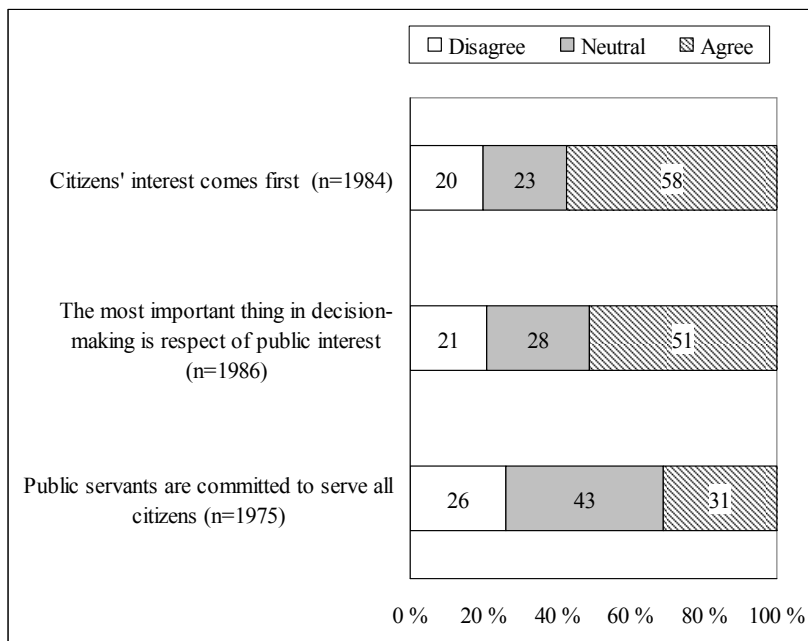


Figure 4: Public interest: the views of citizens

Ethical principles and values have been set on public services in order to establish an ethical standard on them. In Finland the services were for a long time totally free of charge. Nowadays citizens are usually paying very nominal substitution for the services they are using. However, the present taxation, even with the nominal substitutions by citizens, is not sufficient to cover the expenses of public services.

Generally, citizens' ability to estimate received services is good, but what about the estimations based on services the citizens have not used personally? Citizens pose different expectations and wishes on the public services. Therefore the content and availability of services are estimated according to citizens' criteria, not according to the official criteria by public administration.

In Figure 5 the public service values are represented with percentage shares of agree, neutral and disagree answers. As seen from the figure, almost half of the respondents estimated that services are equally guaranteed for everyone. The percentage share is somewhat low when comparing it to the Finnish social welfare - idea, for ex-

ample free education - system in all levels, social security system for all citizens and extensive public health care.

The estimations concerning responding to the citizens demands are rather dramatic. Only about one fourth of respondents agreed with the statement. The number of respondents who disagreed is much too high.

A clear majority of Finnish people agreed that tax allowances are rationally used. At least they did not totally disagree. However, controversially they somewhat disagree that citizens demands are being responded to. More than half of the respondents were satisfied with the service expenses, even though they have been gradually augmented in the Finnish public services. However, over one third of citizens disagreed that the service expenses in the future would be designed according to the customers' ability to pay.

The situation on the whole concerning public service values is not excellent, not even good. But we may argue that situation could also be much worse. It is a known fact that people rarely think that services respond exactly their needs.

There is always a need for better and more diverse services. The system is considered to be legitimate, if the tax allowances are rationally used as the citizens strongly expect.

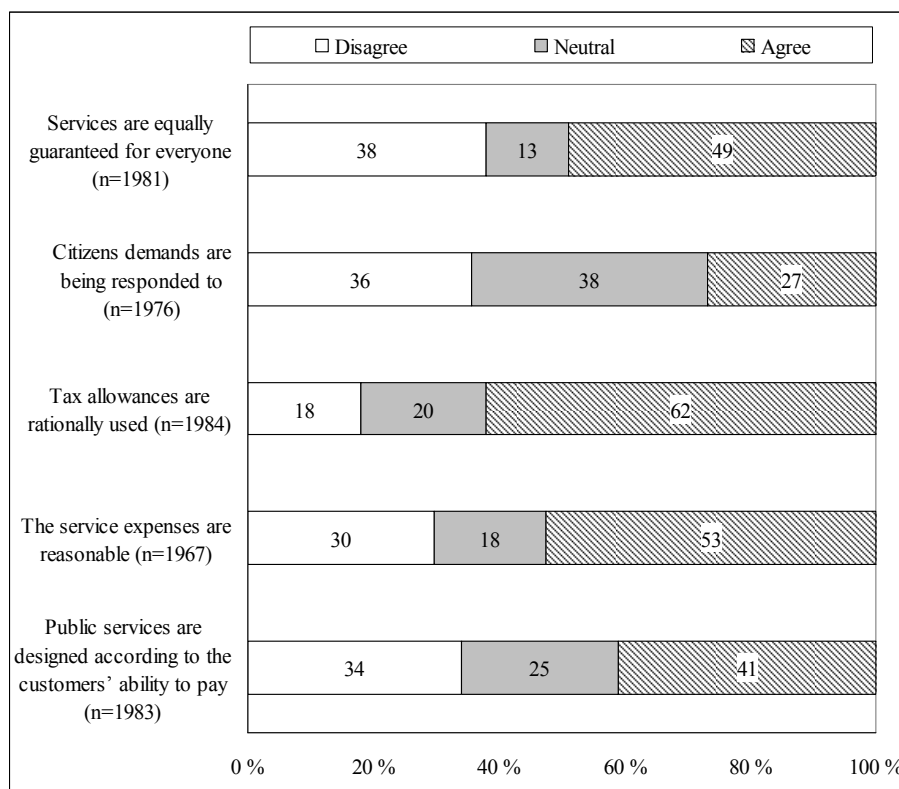


Figure 5: Public services: the views of citizens

Citizens' attitudes towards the rational use of tax allowances are in a class of its own compared to other statements. Citizens regard it as extremely important ethical feature in public administration. Even if the situation in other statements looks not so positive, it is not reasonable to say that these aspects are showing low quality or they do not have the public support. Responding to citizens demands is the only statement, where the estimations are negative, clearly the citizens' demands should be respected more. The service expenses are estimated to be quite reasonable which tells us that citizens have accepted and adapted the realities of the public service production.

5. Final remarks

According to the previous discussion on different aspects of justice in Finnish public administration, are there any conclusions to be drawn? What about the requirements of justice: are they being

fulfilled or not? The empirical data reveals the statistical facts. What about the "hidden" opinions of the respondents?

The results remind us of the fact that the citizens are willing to accept societal changes. As long as their expectations correlate with the future reforms, the system can be regarded as legitimate. However, if the facts of the survey are reliable, what appears to be the main concern of the citizens?

The citizens express their concern on the increasing inequality. People are worried about whether they can still expect to receive similar services in the future. According to the citizens, a fair treatment is no longer taken as granted. They express doubt that their ability to pay public services will significantly weaken. Citizens are fairly content in service expenses. They agree strongly that tax allowances should be rationally used and that citizens' interest should be prioritized.

One further conclusion is obvious. As proved previously, the citizens' views make a distinc-

tion between two types of the responses and opinions. The distinction is illustrated below. The first one tells us about a sort of idealistic view “what it should be”, and the latter about realistic “what it is”. Based on such a distinction, a few perceptions in the previous figures are regrouped here.

“Should be”	“Is”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Striving for justice and equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increasing income inequality and class differences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Respecting the rawlsian principle of justice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increasing unequal treatment of citizens
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Importance of public interest in decision-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Weakness of commitment to serve all citizens
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Responding to citizens demands 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Services are not necessarily equally guaranteed for everyone

Eight relevant views of citizens are worth mentioning here. In the end, the ideal level “should be” and the realistic level “is” are intertwined. It is evident, that maintaining ideal level justice and equality is strongly explained by real changes in society. For example if income inequality continually grows, which we are afraid of

in Finland, citizens’ demands are not anymore met in traditional public service delivery.

According to the questions already discussed, there were two questions in our survey which clarified the citizens’ conceptions of justice. The opposing statements were posed, first one stating that justice is based on the property rights of individuals, and the other suggesting justice is based on collectivism. Remarkably large number of the respondents shared the individualistic view. In spite of this perceived increase of individualism, the rawlsian principles and Nordic compassion are still highly respected.

To others, justice is based on individualism, and to others, on collectivism. A generally agreed definition of justice does not perhaps exist. The survey data indicate that Finnish citizens seem to present more individualistic perspective about justice. From historical perspective, Finland is rather collectivistic country (strong labour movement). This leads to a conclusion that attitudes of citizens have been changed.

Additionally, the ethical level of justice in the Finnish public administration is also strongly dependent on globalization, occurrence of corruption and behaviour of large companies and other business organizations. The citizen survey describes images on asked themes. Those images are controversially dependent on the citizens’ experiences of public administration and public services.

**Appendix 1. Central observations of the Citizen Survey 2008
University of Vaasa**

The survey was based on 17 questions, which include 128 statements. The most important items of the survey:

- **Decent citizen** A decent citizen is willing to pay taxes, respects the law and appreciates honest work.
- **The fulfilment of justice** Public interest shall be prioritized. Growing income disparities and deepening class differences signifies injustice.
- **Accountability and responsibility** Public officials should be accountable to customers/citizens. There should be more clarity who is the responsible agent of issues concerning citizens.
- **Openness and transparency** Citizens do not believe that openness will increase in society. Active support in information needs is expected from public officials, the availability of information is important.
- **Trust** Citizens trust public organizations and institutions, but they do not trust the promises of politicians.
- **Corruption** Severe forms of corruption occur seldom, however the ”old-boy” networks distort the ethical administration.
- **Principles of good administration** Law-abiding provides the basis for good administration. Improvements are needed in the practices of administration. Citizens are being heard but they are not being listened to.
- **Ethics of public service** There are commonly shared service values. New forms of alienation are a threat for public services. Citizens feel that their feedback is being ignored.

**Appendix 2. The Citizen Survey 2008: justice related questions from the questionnaire form
University of Vaasa**

1. According to Your experience, how are the following statements concerning safeguarding the public service being fulfilled?

	Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree somewhat (%)	Neither agree, nor disagree (%)	Agree somewhat (%)	Strongly agree (%)
1. Services are equally guaranteed for everyone (n=1981)	7,2	30,8	12,9	42,7	6,3
5. The service expenses are reasonable (n=1967)	8,4	21,3	17,7	42,3	10,2

4. According to You, how are the following values being realized?

	Very badly (%)	Quite badly (%)	Neither badly nor well (%)	Quite well (%)	Very well (%)
5. Responding to citizens demands (n=1976)	5,2	30,5	37,7	25,1	1,6

5. How would you describe the future of public services?

	Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree somewhat (%)	Neither agree, nor disagree (%)	Agree somewhat (%)	Strongly agree (%)
4. Public services are designed according to the customers' ability to pay (n=1983)	9,2	24,6	25,0	31,2	10,0

9. According to You, how do the virtues of public service actualize?

	Not at all (%)	Quite little (%)	Somewhat (%)	Quite well (%)	Very well (%)
3. Public servants treat all citizens fairly (n=1982)	5,1	18,6	41,5	30,7	4,0
6. Public servants are committed to serve all citizens (n=1975)	5,2	20,5	43,3	27,0	4,1

10. How important do You consider the following ethical features are in public action?

	Not at all important (%)	Not very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Fairly important (%)	Very important (%)
1. Citizens interest comes first (n=1984)	4,4	15,2	22,9	30,9	26,6
3. Tax allowances are rationally used (n=1984)	4,7	13,5	20,3	19,7	41,8

11. What do you think of the following statements?

	Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree somewhat (%)	Neither agree, nor disagree (%)	Agree somewhat (%)	Strongly agree (%)
5. The most important thing in decision-making is the realization of public interest (n=1986)	5,5	15,8	27,6	9,8	11,4

14. How do you consider the following statements related to changing society?

	Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree somewhat (%)	Neither agree, nor disagree (%)	Agree somewhat (%)	Strongly agree (%)
1. Finnish society is trying to achieve justice (n=1984)	2,1	10,7	19,2	57,4	10,6
2. Finnish society is becoming more unjust (n=1983)	3,1	20,4	29,8	33,5	13,2
3. Equal rights and freedom shall be ensured for all citizens (n=1973)	0,4	2,0	5,5	33,0	59,2
4. Unequal treatment of citizens is increasing (n=1970)	1,9	13,5	24,1	40,7	19,8
5. Disparities in incomes will increase (n=1984)	0,2	1,5	5,5	36,7	56,2
6. Class differences will become deeper (n=1985)	0,4	3,4	10,2	36,3	49,7
7. If individuals are doing well, so is society (n=1983)	1,2	4,5	8,1	31,8	54,4
8. Inequality shall not hurt the least-advantaged (n=1964)	0,8	2,0	7,2	31,6	58,4

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Teisingumo viešajame administravime suvokimas: Suomijos piliečių požiūriai

Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariama, kaip piliečiai suvokia teisingumą viešajame administravime lygybės, pagarbos viešiesiems interesams ir viešųjų paslaugų teisėtumo aspektais. Nustatoma, kuriems teisingumo viešajame administravime aspektams turėtų būti skiriama daugiausia dėmesio ir kokia yra dabartinė situacija. Pabrėžiama, kad pastaraisiais dešimtmečiais Suomijos kaip gerovės valstybės modelis patyrė daugelį pokyčių. Tai darė įtaką viešosioms paslaugoms ir viešajam administravimui ir keitė visuomenės požiūrį į teisingumą. Pateikiami 2008 m. atlikto piliečių apklausos duomenys. Atlikus tyrimą, akcentuojama, kad yra susirūpinę dėl didėjančios nelygybės, kad teisingas elgesys nebeužtikrinamas. Piliečiai abejoja, ar tinkamai atsižvelgiama į jų poreikius. Tačiau jie pripažįsta, kad, nepaisant didėjančios nelygybės, Suomijos valdymo sistema siekiama įgyvendinti teisingumą.



Research Article

Exploring the Public Service Ethos

Ethical Profiles of Regional and Local Managers in the Finnish Public Administration

ARI SALMINEN AND VENLA MÄNTYSALO

Abstract

This article studies the public service ethos of managers (i.e., their set of shared ideals and values). The subjective viewpoints of managers are examined using the Q-method. Three different ethical profiles emerge. The findings suggest that new market values have not infiltrated the value sets of respondents as was expected.

Keywords: ethical profile, ethical values, local manager, public service ethos, Q-methodology

Public sector managers in Western countries operate with contradictory values and within a changing environment. They are expected to make decisions that produce the best outcomes. Ethical conduct is a requirement, and officials are expected to be responsible and respect the public interest, bearing in mind their limited resources and the demands of efficiency. Decision-making and management are rarely value-free despite the assigned role of government institutions. Laws and norms alone do not provide all the means and guidance needed to make decisions or to implement policies; importantly, they are not necessarily a source of ethical management.

This article deals with the public service ethos, a rather diffuse concept, as reflected in the Finnish civil service. Research indicates that ethical principles are becoming more important in the Finnish civil service and values are changing (Ministry of Finance 2000, 2007). Current work on administrative ethics has increased, and issues such as the fair society and the decent citizen, corruption, trust, ethical and good administration, as well as values in professional management, have been studied (cf. Lähdesmäki 2010; Salminen and Ikola-Norrbacka 2010; Salminen, Ikola-Norrbacka, and Mäntysalo 2009; Tiihonen 2003; Viinamäki 2009).

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Such an ethos can guide officials to act morally in accordance with a value set reflecting their own and their organization's values. At the same time, managers may share an ethos that binds them to professionalism and encourages them to act morally and productively in their office. It is presumed that the ethos may be changed by the introduction of new values and practices into the traditional sphere of public administration (cf. Brown 2001; Horton 2006a; Lawton 2004; Rayner, Williams, Lawton, and Allinson 2010).

The research for this article sought to discern the core ethos of managers, and to study their individual conceptions of the public service ethos. The goal was to identify different ethos profiles in Finnish public service management. The main research question was: What are the ethical profiles of Finnish local and regional public managers, and how do they differ from one other?" The article also explores the theoretical discussions of the public service ethos, describes the core ethical principles of public sector managers, and examines them in the context of Finnish administration. This is followed by an introduction to the methodology used and an empirical analysis of the ethical profiles.

Background

Researchers acknowledge the complexity of the concept of a public service ethos, a term with ambiguous and confusing meanings. How can one dismantle the conceptual complexity of an ethos for present purposes? To begin, some basic definitions of ethos are needed. Second, the basic relation of ethical values and public service motivation to ethos should be clarified.

The public service ethos is the set of values that guide and motivate civil servants in the practice of their profession. It contributes to their motivation for working and directs their ethical choices. An ethos is the sum of the ideals that define an overall culture in the public service (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1996). More comprehensively, the UK Public Administration Select Committee (2002, 7) defined ethos as the "principled framework for action, something that describes the general character of an organization, but which, and more importantly should also motivate those who belong to it." An ethos in this sense is a key feature differentiating the public and private arenas, even if the existence of a public service ethos may be subject to debate. Indeed, ethics has become the "4th E" in addition to economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (cf. Bruce 2001; Cohen and Eimicke 1995; Cooper 2006; Frederickson and Ghore 2005; Menzel 2005; Rohr 1978).

An ethos is perceived as the particular spirit of an administrative culture. Different cultures or groups each have their own distinctive ethos or way of life, and these may or may not be ethical. As a niche or a state of mind, an ethos constitutes the essence of being a part of the identity that characterizes a group (Bowman 1991, 2000; Brown 2001; Wolff 1998). With regard to public services, a traditional ethos implies altruistic work to benefit the commonweal. Thus its central characteristics are motivation toward a common good, professionalism expressed as a vocation, trust between citizens, and impartiality (Lawton and Doig 2005–2006; O'Toole 1993; Plant 2003). Many virtues of public service ethics are attributed to the public service ethos, such as honesty, integrity, and accountability (Bowman 2000; Gortner 1991; Lawton 1998).

In the public service context, the ethos can be subdivided into two parts, one

bureaucratic and the other democratic. The bureaucratic ethos is related to the values of efficiency, expertise, efficacy, and loyalty. It emphasizes laws and rules, external controls, a minimal standard of moral conduct, and obedience to the law, all of which suffices to preserve the moral character of the civil service, or at least to keep civil servants out of trouble. The democratic ethos comprises such values as citizenship and social equity. It differs from the bureaucratic ethos in its focus on the moral maximum; mere obedience to law is not enough, because the cultivation of virtue and integrity is the goal (Bowman 2000; Pugh 1991).

The bureaucratic ethos and the democratic ethos are not necessarily complementary to each other, and the differences between them may create tensions in organizations. A professional ethos can bridge the differences. It is essential in the establishment of an ethical code for certain professions, diverging from the general frameworks and creating a specific professional “logic of appropriateness” (cf. Pratchett and Wingfield 1996). Public management as a profession has its own particular code and ethos (Lawton 1998; Woller 1998; cf. Bowman 2000; Brown 2001). The professional ethos pertains to quality and performance; it upholds the standards of the profession. When employees are in managerial positions, they commit themselves to act morally and productively in the interests of the organization. In an ideal situation, the value set of the managers and the values of the organization are complementary to each other.

Goss (1996) tested administrators in the framework of the bureaucratic and democratic ethos and promoted the idea of a distinct public administration ethics. In a further study of the traditional difference between the bureaucratic and democratic ethos, Goss (2003) examined elected officials’ expectations for civil servants. Rank-ordering of the two value sets indicated that legislators put a higher value on the bureaucratic ethos in the career bureaucracy than on the democratic ethos; for example, they highly emphasized attributes such as honesty and integrity. Woller (1998) alternatively argued that the different ethical frameworks could be reconciled in the context of the public interest. Based on the idea of reconciliation, research on management and the democratic ethos has been studied from the perspective of the citizen (Vigoda-Gadot and Mizrahi 2008). Research indicated that organizational politics and ethics are useful in predicting citizen satisfaction and trust in governance. Trust in governance is central for citizens; equality and fairness are crucial in maintaining their trust and satisfaction in public administration.

The public service ethos is related to public service motivation. As a theoretical construct, the ethos combines a value framework for public service with a motivation. When norms and values are internalized, the ethos becomes an intrinsic motivation, and as such it differs from extrinsic motivations like money or fear of sanctions (Pratchett and Wingfield 1996). Studies have sought to measure or discover administrators’ motivations and reasons for working in the public service (Perry and Hondeghem 2008). Based on comparative national surveys, Norris (2003) analyzed the motivational values, experience, and job satisfaction of public and private sector employees. She found that public sector workers find their work fulfilling and rewarding, but that the central issue for the future is how to recruit a motivated

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workforce for the public service that will emphasize efficiency and effectiveness. The impact of reforms on the work ethic and motivations of public servants has also been studied, considering, for example, whether ethos and motivation rely on self-interest or the common good (Hoggett, Mayo, and Miller 2006).

Studies of the public service profession find that workers may be driven by different motivational values. Brewer, Selden, and Facer (2000) identified four characteristics of public service motivation, each of which compiles different motivations for public service. In addition, Brewer (2009) clarified the relationship between ethics and public service motivation, exploring ethics as a driver of motivation.

A new direction in the ethos of public managers has been labeled the entrepreneurial ethos. Aldridge and Stoker (2010) argue that a new public service ethos should be embedded in the culture of all service deliverers whether in the public, private, or voluntary sector. They promote several key elements of the new ethos, such as a performance culture, commitment to accountability, capacity to support universal access, responsible employment practices, and contribution to well-being. Llewellyn, Lewis, and Woods (2007) found attitudes supporting both the traditional and the new view, but the entrepreneur role was not seen as appropriate from an ethical perspective. Another “new” public administration value is sustainability, the idea of environmental justice and preserving resources for the future. How much responsibility public administration should take in its promotion is debated (Bozeman 2007; Leuenberger 2006).

As discussed above, the public service ethos is the set of values of those who work in the public sector. Motivation influences the ethos of individuals. Administrative culture and organizational values affect the ethos, but those values that are internalized constitute the ethos of public officials. They guide decision-making and management. In theory, the distinction between a bureaucratic and a democratic ethos is no longer relevant, because both of these ethical frameworks have contributed to the present public service ethos. An entrepreneurial ethos may become more influential in the future.

Ethos in the Finnish Public Administration

As a dynamic concept, the public service ethos has been influenced by government reforms in several countries (cf. Lilla 1981). If an ethos is perceived as a political institution, or is reflected through political changes, it is ever more sensitive to the surrounding environment. In almost all Western countries, the New Public Management doctrine has led to the idea that a new public service ethos is emerging (cf. Brereton and Temple 1999; Maesschalck 2004).

Worry about the decline of the public service ethos is prevalent, for example, in Great Britain, where reforms have changed public services remarkably in the past few decades. Carr (1999) and Horton (2006a) studied the development of the public service ethos in Britain. Both concluded that market orientation has affected the traditional public service ethos, but has prevailed because its importance is acknowledged both by civil servants and by public opinion. In the United States, managerialism and the Reinventing Government movement have gained a solid footing, marginalizing the democratic ethos in public organizations and prioritizing efficiency instead (deLeon and deLeon 2002).

Administrative tradition and culture mold the public service ethos. Since every

public service regime has its own unique ethos, reflecting the fundamental values, beliefs, and ideals held by politicians, citizens, and civil servants (Perry and Hondgehem 2008), it is important in this discussion to account for the specific traditions that have shaped the Finnish public service ethos.

The framework of Finland's present administrative system was created as a result of reforms in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The legal profession became the dominant elite because a degree in law was what qualified one for state office. Duty ethics and Kantian ideologies of morality were influential. Fealty, obedience, selflessness, honesty, and dignity were required of the public servant (Ministry of Finance 2010; Rissanen 1998).

With regard to social policy and standards of living, Finland followed other Nordic countries at the beginning of the twentieth century. At this time, criticism was directed toward civil servants who did not correspond to the ideals and virtues expected of government employees: an ideal public servant was supposed to be obedient to authority and law-abiding, but distant and neutral to the people (Rissanen 1998; cf. Needham 2006). A more extensive adaptation of welfare policies has taken place since the 1950s, with the emphasis on equality and social justice. Consequently, the public sector expanded by taking on diverse welfare tasks. Municipalities were given the responsibility of producing welfare services. Expenditures increased substantially, and the public sector percentage of the GNP rose. Municipal civil servants and politicians have a major role in shaping public services. As one dysfunctional consequence of this, a hierarchical bureaucratic system developed that has gradually eroded in the twenty-first century (Ministry of Finance 2010; Salminen 2001).

Welfare state values, the equality of citizens, the common good, and fairness became strongly upheld values after World War II. During the twentieth century, the ethos of public service evolved; the spirit of administration is for the citizens, not vice versa. After the world wars, the body of civil servants was no longer dominated by the legal profession and better represented the whole population. At the same time, neutrality was dropped from the public service ethos and bureaucrats were often politicized. A few decades later, the requirements of neutrality, impartiality, and credibility regained a footing in the core values of administration, and public servants were now expected to be loyal and accountable to the citizenry and government without a political agenda (Rissanen 1998).

The welfare state crisis led to the reassessment of the bureaucratic structure of the public sector. At the beginning of the 1990s Finland plunged into a recession, after which a series of reforms were executed, aimed at reducing the cost of services and improving state finances. The demand for and higher emphasis on efficiency could be dated to the postrecession period, with the introduction of performance management and market-oriented values in the public sector (Salminen 2008).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, managerialism infiltrated the public sector, alongside a series of reforms concerning municipal mergers and competitive tendering in public procurement. Public managers have been both the targets and the executors of these reforms. An entrepreneurial ethos has begun to complete the traditional public service ethos. Another dominant factor in administrative culture derives from the long-term careers pursued by highly educated officials who are, in an ideal sense, neutral actors, with integrity and impartiality. Appointments are not formally based on political grounds but on formal competence and qualifications. However, the

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neutrality of officials and managers is often questionable because they have personal political values, and sometimes scandals arise due to partisanship and favoritism. The problem of neutrality is especially related to the election of high public officials, and sometimes political linkages appear to determine the selection of managers.

Two large-scale surveys of the civil service by the Ministry of Finance (2000, 2007) show the ranking of ethical values. In 2000, respondents considered the most important values of state government to be legality, the service principle, impartiality, and justice. The majority of the respondents in the second survey thought that public sector values had changed during the past decade. In 2007, the most important values were trustworthiness, quality and expertise, openness, and integrity. The good example set by managers themselves was seen as the most important factor influencing civil servants' ethics in public organizations (Ministry of Finance 2000, 2007).

Integrity is a challenging aspect of the ethos, for it requires the ability to separate different loyalties, roles, and values. So far, Finland has maintained a good reputation and high ranking as one of the most corruption-free nations in the world (cf. Salminen 2010; Salminen and Ikola-Norrbacka 2009; Transparency International 2009). From the citizens' view, "old-boy networks" are the most common integrity violation. It is acknowledged that the neutrality and integrity of managers is a permanent ethical issue, but officials cannot be value-free.

To some extent, citizens' well-being and the variety of public services determine the administrative system, the managerial culture and the finances of public service, increasing the emphasis on citizens' equality, justice in society, and the public interest. Compassion and equality are highly valued, and a central role of the state is to provide equal opportunities. Education and health care are free for all citizens. Current trends in public services have raised efficiency and effectiveness to a central role, and the idea of "doing more with less" is an important principle; in fact, a new productivity program focuses on cutbacks and sets targets for greater efficiency of government personnel (Ministry of Finance 2007, 2010; Rissanen 2008).

Despite the reforms, traditional welfare state values are still upheld. Even if the lack of resources may challenge their full realization, the ideals of the equal treatment of citizens and the common good are embedded in the system. Justice in society also concerns future generations, and the principles of sustainability and ecological awareness are on the political and administrative agenda. In short, the demands on managers' expertise, awareness, and ethicality are multiple. In this complex value-jungle, the public service ethos constitutes the most important value-set, but how can the contents of the ethos of Finnish public service be discerned?

In the empirical part of this study, the public service ethos is explored on the premises set earlier—namely, that a common ethos binds together those who work in the civil service, and that there is something different about managing in the public services. However, since individuals may have different values, it is appropriate to investigate whether different ethical profiles exist.

Methodology

The purpose here, aiming to extend prior research, is twofold. First, the meanings of individual beliefs, value considerations, and even ethical judgments are interpreted in specific managerial contexts. Second, due to the complexity of qualitative and quantitative techniques, mixed methods are used (cf. Pitts and Fernandez 2009).

Quite suitable for present purposes is the Q-method, which utilizes both qualitative and quantitative research orientations. The Q-method studies operant subjectivity, and offers an insight into individual conceptions. In the field of administrative ethics research, the Q-method is unusual (cf. de Graaf and van Exel 2008–2009).

Q-methodology makes it possible to study personal beliefs, attitudes, and values regarding the public service ethos; more important, it offers the possibility of examining and building a theory without using previously developed categories. The use of the method leads to an empirically based theory (categories). The strength of the method is its ability to uncover viewpoints often concealed in survey research (cf. Brown 1980; de Graaf and Van Exel 2008–2009; Van Exel, Arnold, and de Graaf 2005; Lawton and Doig 2005–2006; Stephenson 1953).

The starting point for a Q-study is the definition of the concourse (i.e., the totality of what people say or think about the issue under study), meaning that information about public service ethos themes is collected from a wide range of sources. Traditional themes, such as justice and public interest, are included in the literature, and themes that appear in the current debate and discussion on the Finnish public service (e.g., limited resources, sustainability) are taken as a part of the concourse. The development of ethical values and administrative traditions described in the following section provided material for the concourse. The chosen themes based on the Q-concourse were divided into six question categories (see Appendix 1 for a list of the categories and related statements).

Altogether 31 statements of the Q-set were edited, numbered, and printed on separate cards (see Table 2). These cards were the basic tool for ranking statements, according to instructions (the scale of rank-ordering of the statements is shown in Appendix 2, and the factor matrix in Appendix 3). The method does not require a large sample due to the measurement of subjectivity (Selden, Brewer, and Brudney 1999). The sample (i.e., the P-set or the respondents) consisted of Finnish public sector managers in local and regional administrations. The sample was consciously chosen to be mainly homogeneous, consisting of individuals employed in executive positions in large organizations and with long public service careers (the majority had at least 10 years of experience). The respondents worked in 25 different public organizations and various administrative branches of the public service, such as taxation, education, health care, environment, economy, and judiciary. They were “street-level” bureaucrats whose contacts with citizens were not as distant as those of their counterparts in the central government. Respondent characteristics are described in Table 1.

In face-to-face interviews, managers were asked to rank-order the pack cards according to their subjective viewpoints. Thus, an outline of their preferences was formed with the ranking of cards according to the same system for all the respondents, ranging from “mostly disagree” on one side of a score sheet, and “mostly agree” on the other (the statements were divided into disagree, agree, or neutral). This Q-sorting was followed by a short interview with additional questions providing deeper insight into the reasoning behind respondents’ sorting. The answers supported the analysis of the empirical findings. Interviews and data analysis occurred in late 2009 and early 2010. The Q-sorts were subjected to factor analysis (CFA), for which SPSS can be used, or, as in this study, a customized program for the Q-method (available via the Internet, cf. Schmolck 2001). Manual rotation was suitable in exploring factors; scores indicate the differences and similarities of opinions.

TABLE 1
Respondents: Regional and Local Sector Managers (N = 35)

<i>Level of administration</i>	<i>Branch of administration</i>	<i>Work experience in public sector</i>	<i>Gender</i>
Regional..... 22	General administration* 19	More than 10 years..... 30	Male..... 18
Local..... 13	Welfare and culture**..... 16	Less than 10 years..... 5	Female..... 17

* taxation, employment, police, customs
 ** social and health sector, education

Findings

As described, current reforms alter traditional public services and structures. A public service ethos is needed for the new circumstances and challenges. It is hard to say from the outside whether the traditional public service ethos is on the decline. Thus, it is reasonable to study the actual character of the ethos through the perspectives of public managers. Topic areas, from the outcome of the Q-study, are the guiding principles of managers that constitute their ethos: law-abiding/legality, public interest, sustainability, integrity, expertise and efficiency, and justice and equality (described in Appendix 1).

The statements in Table 2 all reflect the ethical problems and challenges that public administration is undergoing. Certain statements support efficiency and market orientation; others encounter traditional values, such as justice and equality. The results show that traditional regime values prevail and that the managers' attitudes are rather conservative with respect to public services. To some extent, there is an introduction of private sector values, and their influence is not ignored. The data, however, do not give evidence of a new entrepreneurial ethos among the managers (cf. Llewellyn, Lewis, and Woods 2007).

With regard to ideals, the managers' perceptions include equal treatment, law, and justice. Private sector values are not strongly emphasized, and instead, several respondents clearly thought that some areas of public service are simply not compatible with profit-seeking or high efficiency requirements. What the results do clearly confirm is an emphasis on justice and equality, and the managers' respect for these values (cf. Selden et al. 1999). Therefore, traditional values seem to be prioritized in the management of public services, even though they are perceived as relevant in certain organizations and branches of administration.

An elucidating example of the low support for business values is the notion that they might contradict the values of health care by reducing fairness and equality. Respondents considered effectiveness far more important than efficiency alone. Some managers concluded that private sector values cannot be guiding principles, even if they are important; however, certain methods should be applied in public services, such as performance management.

Generally statements 3 and 14 received strong support. This was justified by a common view that legality, equality, and justice are the foundational pillars of the value framework of a public official, and are congruent with their personal value systems. Respondents pointed out that lawfulness is not always the same as justice, that being lawful does not mean that the outcome is just. In addition, a majority of officials indicated that setting aside personal interests and respecting the public interest should be self-evident.

Profiles of a Public Service Ethos

The analysis clearly shows that the respondents had different ethical profiles. Three distinct profiles emerged, showing the diversity of the managers' ethos, despite the fact that the managers were viewed as more or less homogeneous when selected for the study. The respondents represented a variety of organizations and served in different roles. The differentiation found among the respondents is natural even though they shared a similar ethical framework to some extent. The question is

TABLE 2
Statements and Factor Scores

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Factor I</i>	<i>Factor II</i>	<i>Factor III</i>	<i>Factor IV</i>
1. Despite others' reactions, responsibility is always my first duty.	2	0	3	2
2. Profit seeking and private sector values influence the ethical values of public service too extensively.	-1	2	-3	-2
3. Independent of wealth or social status, every citizen should be treated equally.	3	3	2	2
4. Public office must never be abused for private gain.	0	2	0	3
5. Rules and norms must be strictly obeyed under every circumstance.	-1	-2	-1	-1
6. The public interest must be privileged before everything else.	-1	-3	-3	-3
7. Personal moral judgment is the most important guideline in my work.	2	-2	-2	0
8. What motivates me the most is caring for other people and the common good.	0	-1	1	0
9. Principles of sustainable development must control the use of public sector resources.	0	2	0	0
10. In order to be efficient, a public official is forced to act in the "gray area."	-3	-1	-3	-3
11. The needs of future generations must be safeguarded by public policy decisions.	0	3	2	0
12. The main function of public services is to ensure the income and equal opportunities of the least-advantaged.	0	1	1	-1
13. Public service expertise has to rely more on private sector values in the future.	-2	-3	-2	-3
14. Law and justice are the most important ethical principles in the public service.	3	3	2	2
15. The best way to promote the common good is to limit personal good and individual gain.	-2	-1	-2	-2

16. The current attention to environmental issues wastes the time and resources of the basic public service.	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2
17. Breaking the law ruins the reputation and integrity of public sector employees.	2	0	0	0	3
18. Public servants have to be loyal to their superiors and treat their subordinates fairly.	2	1	0	0	1
19. Due to ineffective measures, the public sector wastes resources.	-3	-2	-1	-1	-1
20. The common good is more important to me than individual gain.	0	0	0	0	1
21. The law is the most significant ethical code in public service.	1	0	-1	-1	-1
22. Exactly the same compensation for the same work must be paid, independent of gender.	3	0	3	3	2
23. Lack of market orientation in public services leads to inefficiency.	-1	-3	-1	-1	-1
24. One should always speak the truth even if it has negative consequences.	-1	0	1	1	0
25. Public services have to be delivered with particular attention to the environment.	0	2	0	0	0
26. The needs of citizens must always be the first priority.	1	-1	3	-2	-2
27. The impartiality of public officials must not be endangered by political linkages.	1	1	2	3	3
28. Due to public sector tendering, efficiency is prioritized over effectiveness in public service.	-2	0	-1	-1	-1
29. Justice must be promoted in public service, because it guarantees peace in society.	1	1	0	1	1
30. The basic duty of public administration is to promote pluralism.	1	1	1	1	0
31. Safeguarding the public interest justifies the control of citizens.	-3	-1	0	0	1

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how to specify the characteristics of Finnish public sector managers. Managerial profiles were interpreted, first, by adopting the logic of using the most significant ethical statements, and second, by using those statements that separated the factors. Three ethical profiles were identified: traditionalist, eco-bureaucratic, and puritanist.

Traditionalists

The traditionalists encompass a spirit that emphasizes the equal treatment of citizens and conservation of public services. This profile conveys an image of an administrator who emphasizes effectiveness instead of efficiency, but still encompasses the influence of both the bureaucratic and the democratic ethos. The value set is described by statements 3, 14, 19, 22, and 28 in Table 2.

Traditionalists wish to preserve and defend the special role of public services without compromising the equality of citizens by cutbacks. New measures improving the effectiveness of public service are moderately welcome. The views of these managers are summarized in the idea that market values and profit-making are not compatible in all areas of public service. Areas such as health care and education are difficult to evaluate through performance measurement. A local manager (personal communication, September 12, 2009) said, "In certain branches of public administration . . . quantitative measurements do not produce added value, or even measure what they should measure." Traditional managers strongly respect the freedoms of citizens in relation to public policies. Their views communicate a Rawlsian view of public services: "Market values are not compatible in the world, where we are on the side of . . . the least-advantaged of the society" (local manager, personal communication June 11, 2009).

Eco-bureaucrats

Eco-bureaucratic managers share a value set that show some similar elements with the others, but they most strongly disregard any market orientation and are distinguished by their emphasis on sustainability and justice for future generations. Their profile implies the framework of a modern bureaucratic ethos. In the provision of public services, the environment should be taken into account, and that is part of justice. Statements 2, 9, 11, 16, 23, and 25 reflect this value set (Table 2).

Strong opposition to emphasizing efficiency is conveyed, and, as in the first profile, these managers perceive themselves more as administrators or public servants than as leaders. Eco-bureaucrats value honesty, but reason that being too outspoken in every situation is not worthwhile. Practice is sometimes different from abstract principles; and in consequence personal discretion is necessary rather than mere rule-following. Since there is no clear line between acceptable and nonacceptable behavior, dubious actions occur. However, the respondents thought, with some reservations, that the goal is to be ethical in every sense. A local official (personal communication July 12, 2009) stated that "sometimes, practice is something other than great ideals and principles. . . . Being too outspoken and honest is not always worthwhile: it requires discretion, and should be pondered according to the situation."

Puritanists

How does the puritanist profile differ from the other profiles? It is a strong morality aimed at two ethical considerations: citizens and rules. Citizen-centered puritanists prioritize the needs of the people above other areas. Their value set is described by statements 1, 2, 8, 15, 22, and 26 (Table 2). A regional manager (personal communication November 12, 2009) stated, "Public administration does not exist for itself, but for the citizens." Compared to other profiles, these managers do not express opposition to a market orientation, but perceive it as a way to be accountable in that the rational and efficient allocation of taxes serves citizens' interests.

From the puritanist perspective, public interest and individual needs should be in balance. Open communication about public services should be improved, since citizens are not necessarily aware of the benefits and services they are entitled to: "Communication and information [about public services] is extremely important: citizens must be told and informed about their rights and benefits, so that they can make the most of administration and public services" (local manager, personal communication September 26, 2009). The puritanists have a strong sense of duty and a feeling of personal responsibility to the populace.

Rule-oriented puritanists emphasize the sense of morality in public office. This profile is focused on moral character as a defender of the public. The values emphasized are independence, impartiality, and integrity (statements 4, 5, 17, 20, 27, and 31 in Table 2). These managers are obedient, but are not blind followers of laws and norms. They are more motivated by the common good than by the needs of individual citizens or themselves. Again, the traditions of public service are not replaced with new models or private sector values. A common view was that the basic principle of public service is the pursuit of the common interest in a way such that the public office is not used for personal reasons. A regional manager (personal communication September 27, 2009) encapsulated the idea, stating, "It is the basic principle that public office is not abused for private gain."

Further, these managers consider certain key principles to be an intrinsic part of their ethos: "Law and fairness as guiding principles is like stating the obvious; it should be built-in. But the law should be obeyed expediently, not too naively" (local manager, communication September 11, 2009).

As stated, these ethical profiles convey the image of ethical managers who aim to prioritize fairness and equality in their profession. It is evident that the quality and effectiveness of public services should be prioritized, and a market orientation and private sector measures should only be adopted when they clearly lead to a better outcome from the citizens' perspective. Integrity and honesty are highly valued, and therefore the occurrence of integrity violations is not approved. The managers stated that they reflect on ethical questions in their everyday work and sometimes found these issues challenging.

These ethical profiles convey the image of ethical managers who aim to prioritize fairness and equality in their profession.

Conclusion

This article explored the core ethos of Swedish public managers and investigated their individual conceptions of the public service ethos. The aim was to identify different

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ethos profiles in Finnish public service management. The main research question was: What are the ethical profiles of Finnish local and regional public managers?

The central findings concentrated on the ethical profiles of administrators. The profile types identified here—traditionalist, eco-bureaucratic, citizen-centered puritanist, and rule-oriented puritanist—make a reasonable contribution to the scientific discussion of the public service ethos as it approaches the topic from a subjective viewpoint. However, various theoretical and methodological challenges remain. Because ethos is a complex concept (cf. Carr 1999), one challenge was how to use it in the empirical analysis. The concept was considerably narrowed here. Another issue was the choice of ethical values. Such values as the public interest and justice are conceptually broad; instead of a precise interpretation, they offer a wide perspective.

A closer look at the profiles revealed something expected and something not expected. A common denominator was respect for traditional values like the public interest, equality, and integrity. These were all highly appreciated by the managers, which is not surprising; the traditional public service ethos is not in decline (cf. Horton 2006b; O'Toole 1993). Clear responses about attitudes toward the bureaucratic and democratic ethos were not, however, obtained. Several profiles considered the new entrepreneurial spirit welcome, to the extent that it improves accountability to citizens because it highly prioritizes their needs.

There has not yet been a reconciliation between the traditional perception of ethos and efficiency. New values have seemingly not affected individual perceptions or rankings as much as presumed. Even if the managers acknowledged the importance of new values, most of them identified areas in which market values are incompatible with the aim of the public organization (cf. Gortner 1991; Lawton 2004).

There was less evidence than expected of an entrepreneurial ethos and a market-oriented ethos serving as motivations for public service. This was surprising, because reform is prevalent in the public sector. It is partially explained by the long careers of the respondents. Influenced by their accumulated experience and knowledge and their acceptance of virtues like the common good, they embraced the basic values of public service. A younger generation of employees is more accustomed to and motivated by the New Public Service ethos. Ethical tensions between experienced officials and newcomers may be expected in the future.

Finally, ethos should be considered in relation to the reformist public administration. A deeper knowledge of the ethos in specific contexts and increasing empirical research based on individual perceptions of ethos would be significant both in scientific and practical terms. The discussion of ethical values from the individual viewpoint empowers public debate and reveals some of the latent considerations about what is morally correct, what sort of productivity is required, and which virtues are followed in public offices.

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Appendix 1. Question Categories

- 1. Law-abiding/legality: 5, 7, (14), 17, 21
- 2. Public interest: 6, 8, 15, 20, 26, 31
- 3. Sustainability: 9, 11, 16, 25
- 4. Integrity: 1, 4, 10, 18, 24, 27
- 5. Expertise and efficiency: 2, 13, 19, 23, 28
- 6. Justice and equality: 3, 12, 22, 29, 30

Appendix 2. Q-sorting

mostly disagree			mostly agree			
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(5)	(4)	(3)
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	
		=====	=====	=====		
			=====	=====		
			=====			

Appendix 3. Factor Matrix with Q-sort

Factor Matrix

<i>QSORT</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
1 jpe01F	0.552	0.376	0.149	0.559
2 jpe02F	0.593	0.060	0.207	0.382
3 jpe03F	0.268	0.363	0.326	0.496
4 jpe04F	0.312	0.318	0.276	0.537
5 jpe05M	0.654	0.319	0.144	0.398
6 jpe06F	0.574	-0.125	0.031	0.578
7 jpe07M	0.526	0.194	0.227	0.584
8 jpe08M	0.644	0.280	0.395	0.296
9 jpe09M	0.193	-0.255	0.386	0.497
10 jpe10M	0.095	0.394	0.667	0.036
11 jpe11M	0.567	0.560	-0.071	0.309
12 jpe12M	0.481	0.401	0.525	0.224
13 jpe13F	0.727	0.307	0.175	-0.022
14 jpe14M	-0.044	0.227	0.547	0.558
15 jpe15M	0.649	0.426	0.206	0.006
16 jpe16F	0.140	0.648	0.049	0.487
17 jpe17F	-0.024	0.370	0.009	-0.348
18 jpe18M	0.487	0.136	0.277	0.684
19 jpe19M	0.257	0.461	0.726	-0.076
20 jpe20F	-0.257	0.089	0.385	0.677
21 jpe21M	0.050	0.638	0.416	-0.053
22 jpe22F	0.467	0.054	0.482	0.434
23 jpe23F	0.362	0.118	0.700	0.250
24 jpe24M	0.247	0.478	0.181	0.466
25 jpe25F	0.415	0.365	0.521	0.374
26 jpe26F	0.261	0.571	0.387	0.385
27 jpe27M	0.365	0.765	0.309	-0.070
28 jpe28F	0.349	0.206	0.581	0.397
29 jpe29F	0.333	0.377	0.166	0.600
30 jpe30F	0.158	0.487	0.155	0.293
31 jpe31M	0.647	0.274	0.417	0.070
32 jpe32M	0.129	0.700	-0.182	0.325
33 jpe33F	0.476	0.585	0.018	0.285
34 jpe34M	0.652	-0.138	0.4177	0.244
35 jpe35M	0.207	0.537	0.5162	0.320
% expl.var.	18	16	14	16

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The Importance of Transparency in Ethical Governance: Current Research and Finnish Citizens' Perceptions

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Introduction

For a while a consensus has prevailed on the importance of transparency in ethical governance. For citizens, transparency is expected to guarantee the access to information and allow public scrutiny of government and decision-making. In the ideas and strategies of developing public administration, especially from an ethical approach, the quest for more transparency has nearly become a magic trick, or a moral imperative, that has been offered as a solution to a variety of problems spanning from combating corruption to improving citizens' trust in government. It appears that transparency has attained an almost quasi-religious significance in the design and debate of governance (cf. Hood and Heald 2006, Bennis et al. 2008). The aim of this article is to focus on recent theoretical and conceptual debate on transparency and on the significance that is defined by the citizens and to evaluate transparency from their point of view.

Transparency deals with the disclosure of information, and for the purposes of this article it is defined as the *availability and accessibility of relevant, timely, comprehensive, high-quality and reliable information about the functioning of the polity and government activities, and the possibility to give feedback and act upon the provided information* (cf. Gerring and Thacker 2004, Vishwanath and Kaufmann 2001). The word transparency originates from the Latin word *transparere*, combining *trans-* (through) and *-parere* (come in sight appear) (Ucok 2006, www.etymonline.com). Criteria for information listed here include nominators such as timely, high-quality, comprehensive and reliable. The mere provision of information is not enough. Transparent behavior entails that public officials should be as open as possible in all the decisions and actions they undertake. These definitions refer to the relationship between the citizens and the government, but the same systematic and demand for transparency applies to other organizations as well, and for example to the relationship between management and staff.

The freedom of information requirements form the basic premise of transparency, whereas a more demanding perspective to transparency asserts that citizens or stakeholders must be able to react and influence based on the information they have received, therefore transparency becomes a two-way, reciprocal activity (c.f. Bessire 2005, Piotrowski and Van Ryzin 2007, O'Neill 2006, Heald 2006a). The concept of

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transparency has evolved over time, and due to popular usage, it is often intertwined with publicity, openness and communication. Transparency is the opposite of secrecy, opaqueness and closed proceedings. Hood and Heald (2006) and Piotrowski and Ryzin (2007) note that the increasing importance and central role of transparency in public administration and governance stems from the usage of the term itself, intertwining and even replacing other concepts (such as openness and publicity). Especially the increase and demand for bureaucratic transparency has been high in recent decades (Hood 2007).

According to Cooper (2004), transparency could well be the value that is most agreed upon and the closest to a universally accepted value in the field of administrative ethics. This is why it is important to account for transparency from the citizen perspective, and it explains why it remains a topical issue in the ethical governance debate. Transparency is by no means a new concept, promoted by Brandeis, with the idea of “sunlight as the best disinfectant” already at the beginning of the 20th century, but especially during the 21st century the academic discussion around the concept has also flourished and expanded, also with criticism (Finel and Lord 1999, Hood and Heald 2006, Bennis et al. 2008, Roberts 2004). Academics in various fields have been debating the role and value of transparency, and whether it should be valued intrinsically or instrumentally, or more in the institutional reforms.

From an international perspective, Finland is considered to have an open and transparent government like other Nordic countries (e.g. World Bank Governance Indicators, OECD Open Government, National Integrity Systems Assessment). The rankings show one side of the coin; there has been some debate over the actual realization of transparency compared to the ideal situation or regulation. Recently Finland has experienced various challenges of transparency and openness in governance, for example the publication and availability of the loan and debt contracts with Greece were hindered. Election-finance scandals have tarnished its corruption-free reputation and brought up the problem of non-transparent practices, as regulation without sanctions did not guarantee the delivery of campaign-finance reports. These events also relate to a longer tradition of questioning the concept of Nordic transparency and how effectively the current legislation guarantees transparency in practice, with all limitations and restrictions that have come to light. Currently, one of the big questions related to transparency and openness is the use of social media as a device to improve the availability of information and encourage new forms of participation (e.g. Mergel 2012).

The National Integrity Systems assessment was carried out in Finland as part of a European-wide project carried out by Transparency International. In the integrity-system assessment, transparency is the essential element of governance alongside accountability and integrity mechanisms (Salminen et al. 2012). The transparency mechanisms of 13 institutions were evaluated by two experts, one in the role of internal expert (e.g. working in the institution) and the other as an external expert (e.g. academician). The items were assessed and scored both from the legislation perspective (normative view) and the practical perspective, assessing what the situation actually is. To some extent the results indicate a gap between the ability of legislation to guarantee transparency in the institutions, i.e. the should-be and the practical aspect, how well transparency actually works. Therefore the discrepancy

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between legislation and practice brings about the question of *nominal* vs. *effective* transparency (cf. Hood and Heald 2006). This indicates that the level of transparency remains less effective and influential. The experts interviewed criticized, for example, the exchange of information between different institutions and indicated that there was a culture of preferring to withhold information in case of doubt rather than disclosing it.

Research goals, data and method

The purpose of this article is two-fold; the first aim is to uncover the recent theoretical debate around transparency as an ethical value and its role in public administration; why and how is transparency so important in ethical governance and what kind of constraints does the popular building block of ethical governance actually entail.

The second aim is to study how citizens perceive the role of transparency, to discern and analyze the functions and influence of transparency in practice from the perspective of citizens and account for the development of transparency and the question of nominal vs. effective transparency. The empirical analysis approaches transparency from the aspect of information and communication, the role of transparency in public service and administrative practice. The underlying premise is that for the citizens, transparency holds a key role in creating ethical and trustworthy governance and ethical public services; the availability and clarity of administrative processes is a determinant of transparency in citizens-administration relations and influences the experience of quality in public services. Finally, transparency is achieved when citizens have the possibility to influence and participate in the processes. The research setting is presented in Figure 1 below:

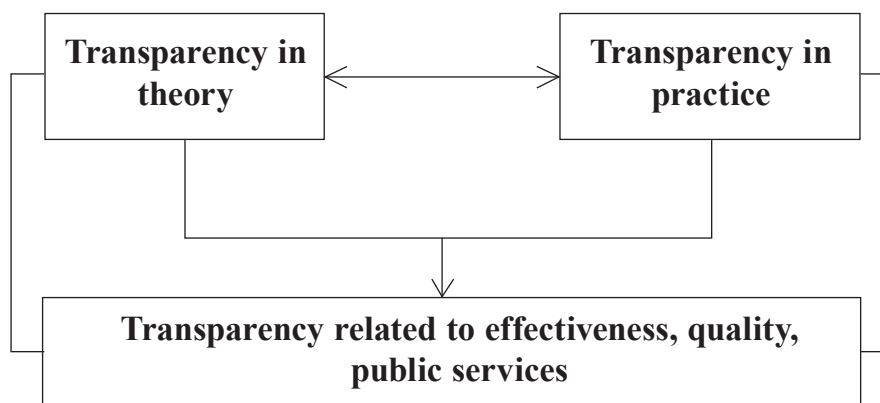


Figure 1. **Research setting**

Definitions of and discussion on the concept of transparency and its evolution are accounted for in the introduction and the theoretical analysis. Aspects of transparency are further analyzed in the review focusing on the critical viewpoint and on the citizen perspective on transparency. There are certain key areas and functions con-

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stituted in theory and current research that appear to be especially important for citizens (cf. Park and Blenkinsopp 2011).

The perceptions of transparency, forming the empirical part of the article, focus on assessing how well transparency does, regarding communication and information, service orientation and administrative practice and the functions and value citizens associate with the concept.

Data and conclusions pinpoint aspects that are essential in developing transparency from the citizen-administration approach, bringing about potential pitfalls and critical points that are prohibiting the promotion of ethically good governance. The cases brought up to discussion in this article could provide a potential starting point for a comparative study in different countries. This article continues within the research framework of administrative ethics that has been current in Finland during recent years, on topics such as trust, good governance, corruption and citizen perspective (cf. Salminen 2010, Salminen and Ikola-Norrbacka 2011, Salminen and Mäntysalo 2013).

Surveying is used as the method of empirical data collection, because it provides a large amount of valid and reliable data on the citizen perception. The survey used in this article is a large citizen survey, carried out at the University of Vaasa in 2008, focusing on ethical governance and the ethics of the politico-administrative system. It is a unique survey, among the first surveys in Finland to ask citizens' opinion on a variety of topics in administrative ethics. The questions focused on issues such as ethics of public services, good administration and the ethics of the political system. A variety of ethical values and topic areas, such as justice, trust and accountability were covered. The items that are chosen measure citizens' experiences and perceptions of transparency.

For the survey a large sample was chosen for the study, to represent Finnish population in miniature. Altogether 5000 questionnaires were sent out, out of which 2010 completed forms were returned, producing a response rate of 40.4%. The respondents' age varied from 25 to 65 years old, and respondents were from different regions in Finland. The large sample ensures the validity of the survey, and the question structure in the form of a Likert scale gives the possibility to employ various statistical analyses with SPSS. Initially independent variables include background factors such as age, income level and location. The questionnaire form covers 18 question groups and 128 question items, out of which 4 groups produce relevant and accurate data for the research in transparency. The questions chosen for this article are presented in Appendix 1. In order to gain a more in-depth and elaborate view, open-ended responses are also used in the study (altogether 92 open responses).

Current research on transparency

The aim of this article and the theoretical part is to map out and analyze the state-of-the-art transparency debate, focusing on the *public administration, administrative ethics and governance* perspective. Therefore it focuses on the development of the idea and functions of transparency, especially on the recent research debate. Transparency and openness are often ambiguously used, one useful distinction is that transparency contributes to a larger end of openness in a democratic society and governance, offering a tool and a mechanism with which the purpose of openness can be achieved.

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Concerning the functions of transparency, the main arguments revolve around different roles assigned to transparency and openness. They include the control and surveillance function, role in increasing trust and participation of citizens/stakeholders, and the influence of transparency on individuals' behavior. A common assumption is that transparency has mainly positive outcomes, but also it is noted that, for example, trust or service satisfaction may also decrease due to the dissemination and disclosure of information (e.g. Fung et al. 2007, Pasquier and Villeneuve 2007, Sharman 2009, Bauhr and Grimes 2013).

The traditional control function remains on the basic level and underpins other important contributions. In the control function transparency is understood as a mechanism of control and surveillance, making it possible to verify that established rules are being followed. When decision and actions are put under public scrutiny, wrong-doings can be detected, and even prevented due to fear of being caught (e.g. Ball 2009, Bauhr and Grimes 2013).

Recent academic research seems to have an increasingly critical take on transparency. Whereas the previous discussion has positioned transparency as a highly desirable value in public administration and public policies, many academics take on the critical approach, emphasizing the reciprocal nature of transparency. Without the ability to act, participate or influence, many of the transparency policies will remain ineffective, or only nominal. Many definitions and analyses have viewed transparency as the availability and accessibility of information, perceiving it more as a "one-way" street of information flow (implying that transparency in itself requires no communication).

However, later on researchers have emphasized and included the role of citizens as more active participants, suggesting that information availability in itself does not create transparency; according to Mitchell (1998) transparency constitutes the demand for information and if transparency, or other ends through it, is to be achieved, it requires for the citizens to be active participants. It is not enough that governments or companies simply publish information about their decisions and activities. The usefulness of transparency is fulfilled when the public acts on the information the policy and decisions provide (c.f. Finkelstein 2000, Stirton and Lodge 2001, Ball 2009). Researchers suggest that this aspect is the distinguishing element between openness and transparency; transparency goes beyond openness, when the information available is used and interpreted (O'Neill 2009).

Transparency is often considered an *instrumental* value, agreeing with Heald's (2006b) argument that transparency is an instrument with which other values can be achieved (such as accountability, trust, effectiveness). Koppell (2005) views transparency as an element or part of accountability, but on the other hand he also argues that transparency is an end in itself, so embedded into our collective consciousness that it has an innate value. This is especially relevant when we refer to transparency as a larger notion of openness and democratic control over decision-making. Here the concept of the role underpins that transparency has a function or a purpose to achieve an end, therefore emphasizing the instrumental value.

It appears that the recent studies of transparency have begun to question the mantra of the values' omnipotence, and also bringing in the perspective of participation and reciprocity, a novel critical approach focuses on the process of transparency

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itself; who decides what is disclosed, and how transparent are the transparency procedures themselves? Transparency policies may also conceal power struggles, and if misused, they can lead to a false perception of openness (e.g. Pasquier and Villeneuve 2007).

In the sense of building and strengthening ethical governance, alongside trust and citizens' satisfaction, the question of integrity, control of corruption and accountability are key issues that are linked to increased transparency (Stirton and Lodge 2001, Fairbanks et al. 2007). Transparency is considered a precondition for accountability. From the citizens' perspective it enables the indication of responsibility. For example Prat (2006) analyzes transparency from the principal-agent model, connecting it to various economic relations, questioning the applicability of the Holmström principle, that means more information about the agent's behavior "makes the agent more accountable and more likely to work for the common good."

Even if transparency serves multiple good and even ethical purposes, it contains multiple challenges and potential pitfalls if it is not carried out with careful consideration for the manner, timing, and direction of information disclosure. An ethical question lies within the responsibility of the quality of communication. When transparency practices and policies give different stakeholders the possibility to monitor others (governments, CEO etc.) it contains the risk of misinterpretation (cf. O'Neill 2009). There is a multitude of issues to be reconciled with the control function, such as the extent of disclosure, and basic questions of how much, by whom and to whom information is provided. The monitoring role of transparency should be reconciled with the issues of privacy, confidentiality, secrecy and efficiency.

Heald (2006) calls it "transparency-illusion", when there is a large discrepancy between effective and nominal transparency. There are several concerns and problems to be solved with the increasing popularity of transparency as well as in general inherent challenges, such as ethical issues related to full disclosure. Basically all roles of transparency, assumingly leading to positive outcomes, have a negative counterpart. Transparency may be in conflict or influence negatively several other values, e.g. efficiency, trust, privacy and confidentiality, to mention but a few examples (cf. Heald 2006a, Prat 2006, O'Neill 2009, Sharman 2009). However, it seems logical that in a society fostering openness and transparency to begin with, further claims to transparency will be tested and considered instead of accepting them at face value, or allow demands of transparency to go unchallenged.

Another possibility to categorize the meaning of transparency in ethical governance and ethics management relates to transparency as a modifier of behavior; this is a more psychological aspect of the control aspect, suggesting that it influences individual or group behavior. It is questionable, how much influence transparency has on individuals. It can be assumed that, for example, public officials will avoid situations in which they might yield to corrupt actions, when there is greater transparency. The suggestion of transparency as a modifier/moderator implies that transparency does alter our behavior, therefore contributing to our honesty, integrity and the service attitude towards citizens, following the assumption asserted by Bentham that the more closely we are watched, the better we behave. When we are accountable for our actions to a third party, it can lead to improvements that might not otherwise occur. This role has been criticized, for example, by Prat (2006), questioning

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the positive effect of transparency on the agent's behavior. Also when transparency moderates our behavior or decision-making it may lead to negative side-effects, such as conformism and furthermore to ineffective decisions due to a lack of courage or risk-taking. When there is both *process* and *event* transparency, and decision-making requires either radical policies or status-quo policies, the decisions and the choices may be influenced by the leaders' and politicians' knowledge that will be put under public scrutiny. This, in turn, may not lead to the best end result.

However, research and case studies indicate that transparency serves as an instrument towards a more corruption-free government and business, and possibly encourages more honest transactions in different spheres of governance and business. Transparency or full disclosure may conflict with other values, and especially the public and private interests may be very different.

Citizen perspective to transparency: The context of Finnish public administration

The core of transparency in government and public administration is access to information, or the principle of publicity. In Finland the legislation in regulating access to information originates from a Swedish model. The emphasis on transparency and openness of government actions has been increasing and is seen as a cornerstone of good governance. The Act of the Publicity of Government Activities that was passed in 1999 set high requirements on the transparency of public activities. From the government perspective the access to information has an economic function; well-performing institutions, citizen trust and re-use of information are nowadays seen as components of national economic advantage (Erkkilä 2010).

Traditionally transparency has been valued as a monitoring and control mechanism in Finland. During the past two decades, the understanding of the "principle of publicity" has shifted towards its understanding as the "active communication" of the aims of public actions or result information (Erkkilä 2010). This development is in line with the scientific debate around transparency and the evolution of the concept. However, assessing the quality of communication and the influence of transparency is still challenging. Issues that have arisen in the debates of the principle of publicity or the optimal level of transparency are mainly about the value conflict that the transparency doctrine creates. Even if publishing and accessing information has become easier, faster and less expensive in the digital age, the conflicts and concerns (for example related to privacy and confidentiality questions) become salient (Sharman 2009).

Earlier the idea that greater transparency would make public institutions and officials more trusted and trustworthy was widely accepted. Nevertheless in many countries, trust in institutions and especially in politicians has eroded and is decreasing despite various transparency policies and regulations.

The survey technique is an accurate and useful tool when the purpose is to gather opinions, perceptions and attitudes of a larger population. Often, a division is made on surveys measuring perception and reality, a division of measuring "what should be", and "what is" (Andersson and Bergman 2009). In administrative-ethics research, the use of questionnaires is among the most common methods, even if the amount of field-based empirical research has been in the minority compared to literature-based research (Frederickson and Walling 2005).

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The results of Citizen Survey indicated that Finnish citizens consider transparency to be an important value in society, with some major reservations with regard to the actual realization and effectiveness of transparency in governance and public services (c.f. Salminen and Ikola-Norrbacka 2010).

The empirical part consists of three sections with different focuses of analysis. The first part of the empirical analysis focuses on the importance and role of transparency, related to communication and decision-making. These responses emphasize the meaning of transparency as a form of communication in many varieties of transparency: the access to information, openness of decision-making and active communication between citizens and public administration.

Table 1. **Transparency as information, control and communication.**

Functions of transparency in citizen perception	Not at all important	Not very important	Somewhat important	Fairly important	Very important	Total
Free access to Information (n=1981)	0.4%	0.9%	6%	35.6%	57.1%	100%
Openness of decision-making (n=1984)	0.4%	1.4%	8.6%	40.1%	49.5%	100%
Avoiding secrecy and operating in transparent manner (n=1986)	0.3%	1%	7%	35.2%	56.5%	100%
Active communication with citizens (n=1985)	0.3%	1.5%	15.9%	42.4%	49.9%	100%
Duty to give information to citizens (n=1985)	0.2%	0.5%	4.4%	30.1%	64.8%	100%
Citizens' control over decision-making (n=1979)	0.4%	3.5%	18.3%	40.2%	37.6%	100%

On a scale from 1 to 5 (1=not at all important, 5=very important), all questions concerning the importance of transparency and openness got a result above 4 (Table 2): duty to give information, availability of information, transparency and openness of decision-making, active communication with citizens and citizens' control over decision makers. This result is hardly surprising, but when asked whether citizens believe that transparency and openness will increase in the future, only one-fifth of the respondents thought it would increase, and nearly forty percent of the respondents estimated it would not increase at all or only moderately. It is possible to interpret this as meaning that citizens are either doubtful if transparency will decrease due to more secrecy, or that they find that a somewhat adequate level of transparency has already been obtained. One opinion expressed in the open comments linked the secrecy to the decision-making process in the European Union.

Secondly, the citizen-administration relationship forms an overview of how citizens perceive the effectiveness of transparency in practice (Table 3) The third area of estimation (Table 4) is based on the requirements of Administrative Procedure Act (434/2003), which aims to enhance the service orientation and ensure good commu-

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nication between citizens and administration. The results of the third estimation produce a highly critical image from the respondents.

Table 2. **Service orientation and transparency**

Transparency and service-orientation	Not at all	Poorly	Neutral	Quite well	Very well	Total
Citizens are being heard in matters concerning them (n=1965)	10.5%	39%	37.6%	11.9%	1%	100%
Public servants listen to citizens and are helpful (n=1981)	5.3%	21%	48.2%	22.7%	2.8%	100%
There is a good possibility to give feedback about public services (n=1967)	5.3%	21.1%	19.7%	39.1%	14.7%	100%
Feedback is taken into account (n=1965)	16.2%	37.6%	33.1%	10.8%	2.3%	100%
There is efficient communication about public services (n=1962)	8.1%	37.2%	24.9%	26.1%	3.7%	100%

Table 3. **Quality of transparency in public administration**

Practical aspects of transparency	Not at all	Poorly	Neutral	Quite well	Very well	Total
Administrative issues are easily understood (n=1957)	13.7%	47.4%	30.1%	7.9%	0.7%	100%
Guidance and advice are carried out well (n=1964)	3.9%	27%	42.7%	25.2%	1.2%	100%
Application forms are clear (n=1964)	12.1%	35.2%	31.1%	20%	1.6%	100%
Decisions are explained and justified (n=1963)	8.3%	35.5%	33.3%	20.8%	2%	100%
Decisions are easy to understand (n=1964)	12%	44.7%	29.8%	12.5%	1%	100%
Language used in administration is comprehensible and clear (n=1966)	14.9%	35.8%	29.7%	17.8%	2%	100%

In order to achieve effective transparency, the information provided should be both accessible and assessable, presented with objectivity and clarity (cf. O'Neill 2009). According to citizens' evaluations, these aspects of transparency should be improved. Only one-tenth of the respondents (n=1964) thought that decisions were easily understandable, whereas more than half of the respondents thought vice versa. A few crucial aspects of transparency seem to be on a poor level in Finland, as nearly half of the respondents disagreed with the view that decisions were justified and argued. Also half of the respondent disagreed with the assessment that there was an efficient communication about the public services. Another critical item is feedback; citizens

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evaluated the possibility to give feedback positively, but regarding the effectiveness of the given feedback, they were skeptical, as more than half of the respondents thought that the feedback was not taken into account. These results indicate that in certain areas there is no effective, actual transparency, but only nominal transparency, indicating the result that transparency policies and measures appear to function well on paper, but not in terms of reality or the end user, that is, the citizens.

Citizen demand for more effective transparency

More detailed views were presented in the open-ended questions and comments in the survey. Citizens criticized the role of public service in the production of information and communication. Their comments indicate that the information is “out there”, but in order to get it and be fully aware of the rights and services they are entitled to, they would have to take initiative and an active role, and ask the right questions. The internet has remarkably improved the availability of information, but respondents remarked that not all citizens had access to or sufficient knowledge of using services via the internet or searching the necessary information. There is a worry of increasing inequality when it comes to the awareness and use of the information provided by public service. Out of nearly one hundred open-ended remarks (92 comments), more than half represented a clearly negative opinion of transparency and one-fourth of them expressed a positive opinion.

On one hand, especially the difficulty to find information about social services is criticized as well as the opaqueness of preparing legislation and decision-making. On the other hand, the services and e-services of the National Social Insurance Institution (KELA) and the tax administration also receive positive evaluations. One comment represents the problem of finding information and lack of customer service:

Access to information and receiving information from the public sector and different authorities is quite difficult. If you do not know to ask the right questions, you will easily lack information, and the issues remain unsolved... A more active role in customer service is needed from the public authorities.

Another critical comment brings about the notion that decision-making transparency could reduce the doubts of unequal treatment:

The decision-making criteria in KELA are not transparent; in different municipalities you get different decisions, the same cases produce different outcomes. Maybe this is because of different allocation of resources.

The following comments represent the more positive experiences:

Municipal administration: customer service. I have always received the information and service I have needed.

KELA websites are good. There is a lot of information on many necessary things, also the applications are there. Thanks for the clarity and usability.

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One example both presents a positive view and points to a need of improvement in the communication about services:

It is really convenient to run errands in agencies that have clearly put an effort into their service and they communicate openly about their services – the public sector should utilize more different media channels when introducing and informing about public services; often the lack of information is critical, especially for marginalized groups.

The answers indicate a problem in achieving an optimal level of transparency and a right way of communication. Greater transparency does not guarantee or ensure communication (or even the understanding of the information). For citizens, communication about public services is relevant, not only the amount and availability of information. (O’Neill 2009).¹

In order to fulfill the requirement of reciprocity and two-way communication, citizens must be able to use and discern the information made public, and also participate in the process of decision-making. The information should be easily accessible and understandable. Media and research can use the information and make it more easily readable for ordinary citizens, but on the other hand this makes the citizen more passive and dependent on the choices and representations made by others. Therefore, in the optimal case, transparency serves as a mediator, when citizens actively use and process the information provided by public institutions.

Three factors of transparency

The chosen transparency items presented in the previous chapter are further analyzed by means of factor analysis. In order to find out groups of opinions and statements, factor analysis is a useful tool, with different possibilities of extracting the values. In this case, Principal Axis Factoring was used in order to achieve a genuine factor analysis instead of Principal Component Analysis. The large number of respondents secures the reliability and validity of the material; in addition a chi-square test is conducted. The process and results of the factor analysis are presented in Appendix 1.

With the use of OBLIMIN rotation (justified to use instead of VARIMAX rotation due to predicted correlation between the items) factor analysis gives the following results of three different factors and the items included:

¹ This is especially important when it comes for example to older people; according to codes and instructions, citizens above 75 years old and disabled people have the right to get the mail delivered to their home door, instead of a mailbox that may be relatively far away). This possibility was hardly communicated and not advertised. Had the citizens been aware of it, the costs for the post office could have increased. Citizens have to know and demand the service. When the media brought up the issue, a year later the post service announced they would only offer the door-delivery service to disadvantaged people. In this case, paradoxically when transparency improved with more communication and thence awareness, the company had to limit it.

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Table 4. Factor Analysis

Pattern Matrix ^a			
	Factor		
	Quality 1	Control 2	Communication 3
Decisions are explained and justified	.633	.038	.128
Decisions are easy to understand	.782	.009	-.043
Administrative issues are easily understood	.630	-.025	-.068
Guidance and advice are carried out well	.670	.003	.085
Application forms are clear	.685	.019	-.024
Citizens are being heard in matters concerning them	.571	-.024	.201
Language used in administration is comprehensible and clear	.723	-.008	-.087
Openness of decision-making	-.006	.761	.053
Free access to information	-.012	.779	.051
Avoiding secrecy and operating with transparency	.015	.794	.061
Duty to give information to citizens	.055	.800	-.013
Active communication with citizens	.010	.622	-.073
Citizen control over decision-making	-.031	.581	-.049
Public servants listen to citizens and are helpful	.493	.015	.184
Feedback is taken into account	.104	-.033	.685
Good possibility to give feedback about public services	-.075	.054	.762
Efficient communication about public services	.184	-.064	.461
Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.			
a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.			

Three factors were created, and they can be divided into topics of quality, control and communication (the first one has the explanatory power of nearly 30%. The second factor accounts for 21% and the third for 7%, having also the least number of items).

Factor 1: Transparency as a determinant of the quality of public administration and public service (service orientation and practical aspects). The first factor focuses

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on the quality of public administration, where transparency is a measure or an indicator of the quality. This point emphasizes the argument suggesting that information disclosure itself is not sufficient but that the clarity and comprehensibility of the information is essential. The results indicate that the respondents are not satisfied with the quality of transparency related to decision-making. In the literature review, this aspect of transparency is present as an underpinning principle. The items that are present in the first factor basically create the first, basic criteria for transparency and connect it to the overall quality of public administration and public service.

Factor 2: Transparency as a control tool, information and communication. This factor emphasizes the traditional function of transparency as a tool of control and as a mechanism to ensure accountability. From the citizens' point of view, the right to have access to information is the first precondition of transparency, and the high loadings indicate the emphasis on the public officials' *duty* to give information to citizens. This is a normative take on transparency as a constituent of ethical governance. This type of factor underlines the significance of transparency as an instrumental value. In several articles chosen for the literature review, transparency was weighed more important as an instrumental value, with which other ethical values such as accountability and trust are achieved.

Factor 3: Transparency as a two-way communication. The third factor brings out a concern regarding the final realization of transparency and groups together the variables concerning reciprocity: the actual way in which transparency should work as a two-way road, where producing information is not merely a duty of public officials, but their ethical requirement is to take the given feedback into account. The actual responses to these items indicate a clear dissatisfaction with these qualifications, so in citizen perception, transparency in practice does not correspond to the ideal. This take on transparency brings in a more developed and demanding perspective of transparency, from merely being an instrument for access to information and a control tool, the current debate folds around the two-way influence and the possibility to act and participate based on the information that has been disseminated and communicated.

Conclusions and discussion

The research questions set in the article were why and how transparency is so important a value in ethical governance, and how citizens perceive the role and functioning of transparency in Finnish public administration. My main conclusions stem from three themes; the quality and effectiveness of transparency, transparency as a part of public service, and the value and use of transparency with its tradeoffs and limitations. In this study, a survey was implemented as a useful tool to analyze the general viewpoints of the larger population.

When governance and public services are explored from the citizens' perspective, the results confirm that transparency plays a key role, and citizens highlight the importance of transparency as a control mechanism and as the access point to information, thereby agreeing with the arguments made in theory and research. However, empirical analysis points to an imminent need to improve the practice of transparency in the Finnish public services, especially to focus on creating effective transparency instead of nominal transparency.

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The quest for *effective* transparency is one part of the dilemma around the whole concept and its realization in governance. The illusion of transparency occurs when there is a large discrepancy between effective and nominal transparency (Heald 2006a,). Another challenge for the development of transparency in practice, expressed in the citizens' views, is the feedback, to move from the first premises of transparency toward two-way communication. This would enhance the experienced quality of transparency in governance by taking into account the citizens' feedback. Also the quality of transparency itself attracts criticism; there is a need to enhance service orientation with clear and timely communication in the citizens-public services relations. In theory this is expressed as the need for citizens to become more active participants.

It is still questioned whether transparency leads to increased trust, or whether more transparency, or excessive transparency, is actually in contradiction with the notion of trustworthiness (cf. O'Neill 2009). From a citizen point of view, especially transparency's role as a monitor, which is closely linked to the control function, raises the question how stricter control and surveillance really contributes to trust and trustworthiness. Here again the purposeful and correct timing, manner and level of transparency and publicity are crucial.

Information and better communication can encourage citizens to become active participants, when there is open mutual scrutiny. The availability and quality of information should be assessed, so especially in this sense the quality, efficiency and manner of communication are quintessential. Some useful distinctions were presented by Heald (2006a, 2006b); between *event* and *process* transparency ("events" viewed as constituting points at which measurement is feasible and "processes" as being what connects these events), between transparency in *retrospect* (providing a comprehensive account after the event) and transparency in *real time* (exposing internal processes to public scrutiny and influence when decisions etc. are still being made) and between *nominal* and *effective* transparency. The precondition for effective transparency is a capable receptor; i.e. the recipient of information must be able to understand, interpret and use the available information (Heald 2006b).

The question of service quality and transparency is another instrumental aspect of transparency. From the citizen point of view, as the end user of public services, the traditional functions of transparency, such as oversight and access to information, remain crucial, but most importantly, in the daily activities it is the service encounters that occur within public services and government entities that define the experience of service quality.

Regarding the belief in the importance and usefulness of transparency as a fixer of a multitude of governance problems, the critical standpoint has gained more footing. Criticism toward the effectiveness and influence of transparency has started to diminish the all-powerful reputation of transparency; however, most often a rational and effective increase of transparency is still argued for. It is still a poignant question what the actual ends are that transparency serves best, whether they are related to democracy and citizens or to other issues, such as performance and control of an organization.

There are several concerns to be solved with the increasing popularity of transparency, as well as general inherent challenges, such as ethical issues related to full

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disclosure. Transparency may be in conflict with several other values or influence them negatively, such as efficiency, privacy and confidentiality (cf. Heald 2006b, Prat 2006, O'Neill 2009, Sharman 2009, Piotrowski & Borry 2010). However, it seems logical that in a society fostering openness and transparency to begin with, further claims to transparency will be tested and considered instead of accepting them at face-value or allowing demands of transparency to go unchallenged.

The value of transparency should be understood as a more complex building block of ethical governance and public services. It is reasonable to assume that timely provision of information and good communication about the public service will benefit the citizens, the question how demands new methods and innovations. Therefore transparency understood as information provision and communication provides another argument for its importance. With greater transparency it is possible that stakeholders' trust will increase (or decrease) as well as their satisfaction with government and politics.

Transparency has several roles and functions in governance, and when it is properly used, it can lead to a variety of improvements, such as a reduction of corruption, increased trust and satisfaction and better accountability. The effectiveness of transparency should be measured from both perspectives, the information provider and the information receiver. Negative consequences inflict mainly the information provider, but they may also harm the information receiver, if the information is misinterpreted or the information provided is not accurate or clear enough. Where the boundaries of transparency should be drawn, must be considered in different contexts.

Certainly, at its best transparency offers a solution to various problems, but a further question is what the best practices of transparency are, and whether it is possible to achieve an optimal level. The assessment of transparency and its role should be made in relation to the context and aim of a policy or the public service. What the purpose of transparency is and how it should be applied varies according to the desired goal and the limits set by the matter at hand. These questions should all be considered, of course, when new transparency mechanisms and policies are designed, but more importantly also in the everyday administrative practices and public services.

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Appendix 1. Factor Analysis (Eigenvalues)

Total Variance Explained							
Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	5.005	29.439	29.439	4.483	26.368	26.368	4.252
2	3.615	21.267	50.705	3.172	18.660	45.028	3.207
3	1.225	7.207	57.913	.719	4.230	49.258	2.819
4	.969	5.701	63.614				
5	.731	4.300	67.914				
6	.706	4.156	72.070				
7	.593	3.486	75.556				
8	.577	3.393	78.949				
9	.518	3.045	81.994				
10	.500	2.941	84.935				
11	.467	2.748	87.683				
12	.439	2.581	90.263				
13	.402	2.364	92.627				
14	.367	2.159	94.786				
15	.330	1.941	96.727				
16	.303	1.784	98.511				
17	.253	1.489	100.000				
Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.							
a. When factors are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.							

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Appendix 2. Questions selected from Citizen Survey 2008.**1. Do you agree with the following statements about the public services?**

	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral Agree	Somewhat	Agree %
1. The communication about the services is efficient (n=1962)	8.1	37.2	24.9	26.1	3.7
2. It is possible to give feedback about public services (n=1967)	5.3	21.1	19.7	39.1	14.7
3. The given feedback is taken into account (n=1965)	16.2	37.6	33.1	10.8	2.3

6. According to you, how are the following principles of governance functioning in practice?

	Not at all	Quite badly	Neither badly nor well	Quite well	Very well %
1. Administration is simple and easy (n=1957)	13.9	47.4	30.1	7.9	0.7
2. Guidance and advice are carried out well (n=1964)	3.9	27.0	42.7	25.2	1.2
3. Application forms are clear (n=1964)	12.1	35.2	31.1	20.0	1.6
4. Application forms are easily accessible (n=1962)	4.2	20.8	31.9	39.0	4.1
5. Decisions that have been made are explained (n=1963)	8.3	35.5	33.3	20.8	2.0
6. Decisions are easy to understand (n=1964)	12.0	44.7	29.8	12.5	1.0
7. It is easy to run errands in administration (n=1962)	9.7	38.1	37.1	14.0	1.1
8. Language used in administration is comprehensible, clear and understandable (n=1966)	14.9	35.8	29.7	17.8	2.0
9. Citizens are heard in matters concerning them (n=1965)	10.5	39.0	37.6	11.9	1.0
10. Public servants listen to citizens and are helpful (n=1981)	5.3	21.0	48.2	22.7	2.8
11. The possibilities of appeal are well communicated (n=1984)	5.2	21.7	29.7	26.4	16.9
12. The mistakes of public officials are corrected without delay (n=1978)	11.0	29.1	18.9	16.3	24.7

13. How important do you consider the following things to be, related to the openness (transparency) of political decision-making?

	Not at all important	Not very important	Somewhat important	Fairly important	Very important %
1. Openness of decision-making (n=1984)	0.4	1.4	8.6	40.1	49.5
2. Free access to information (n=1981)	0.4	0.9	6.0	35.6	57.1
3. Avoiding secrecy and operating in an open and transparent way (n=1986)	0.3	1.0	7.0	35.2	56.5
4. Duty to give information to citizens (n=1985)	0.2	0.5	4.4	30.1	64.8
5. Active communication with citizens (n=1985)	0.3	1.5	15.9	42.4	39.9
6. Citizens' control over decision-makers (n=1979)	0.4	3.5	18.3	40.2	37.6

The Importance of Transparency in Ethical Governance

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Hiding in plain sight? An exploratory study into the limits of transparency

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Introduction

Increased transparency in government has often been advocated as contributing to a variety of ‘good governance’ outcomes, such as increased trust, less corruption, and more accountability. Cross-national research has indeed found a correlation transparency and good governance (e.g. Islam, 2006) or corruption (Lindstedt & Naurin, 2010), especially in democratic countries with a free press. However, recent research from the UK indicates that transparency has had little impact upon ethical behavior in a number of key institutions, perhaps most notably politicians and members of the UK government (TI UK, 2011). It is difficult to reach firm conclusions in this regard, however, for a number of reasons.

First, although transparency is almost universally accepted as a positive value, which helps to combat corruption and unethical behavior, it remains a contested concept. While the meanings of transparency have been discussed (e.g. Hood 2006, Heald, 2006) and various indices to ‘measure’ transparency have been proposed (e.g. Bellver & Kaufmann, 2005, Islam, 2006, Lindstedt & Naurin, 2011, Michener & Bersch, 2011), there is still little academic or cross-national consensus on what transparency in government actually means and how it can be achieved. One must be absolutely clear, therefore, how transparency is to be defined and delineated into different forms. Second, too often the analysis of transparency has focused primarily on the existence of transparency-related laws and regulations. Yet, actual – as opposed to nominal transparency – requires these laws to be implemented and used by citizens, which is not automatically the case. Third, in order to promote ethical behavior and thus reduce corruption, transparency has to be effective not just as a monitor but also as a modifier of behavior (e.g. Heald 2006, Prat 2006, Heungsik & Blenkinsopp 2011, Mäntysalo, 2011). Within each of these roles, however, are many potential variables that would allow for the effectiveness of transparency to be tested.

Recent developments in the UK has demonstrated both the importance of transparency and its inherent limitations. In March 2012 the Conservative Party co-treasurer resigned after being secretly filmed by the *Sunday Times* newspaper offering direct access to David Cameron in return for £250, 000. From the ensuing outrage came repeated calls for increased transparency and the Prime Minister subsequently revealed a list of major Conservative Party donors that he had hosted at his private residences (10 Downing Street and Chequers). What could not be revealed is what effects or outcomes these meetings may or may not have had on UK public policy.

The research question to which this paper addresses itself, therefore, is how best to construct a study to test the effectiveness or limits of transparency in increasing ethical behavior and reducing corruption.

Methodology

This paper offers an exploratory comparative analysis of the way in which transparency has been interpreted in three different countries: Romania, Finland and the UK. The countries under study here are all members of the European Union, but each country ranks very differently in terms of corruption and transparency. Using the Transparency International 2010 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) Finland has the second highest CPI score in the EU with 9.2; the UK has a score of 7.6; whereas Romania has the third lowest score of 3.7. This selection includes a “best-performer”(Finland), “worst-performer” (Romania) and an “in-between country” (UK) in terms of corruption and transparency, thus providing a useful contrast, but has an overall context of EU membership in which the research can be grounded.

The research is based on qualitative data from over thirty key respondent interviews, which is analysed to explore how transparency can act as monitor, and modifier of ethical behavior. Qualitative research plays a critical role in theory development and exploratory data can be analysed to provide frameworks for future testing. It will look at the limitations and examples of transparency law and practice in the respective countries. The paper will then map how these developments onto a framework for understanding transparency more generally, before critically analyzing the possible limits to which transparency alone can provide effective mechanisms against corruption and (more broadly) unethical behavior.

The meanings of transparency

Transparency as a public value has a long history that has amply been discussed in previous studies (Schnell, 2011) but it crucially retains not only a strong popular governmental appeal, but in fact it appears to be becoming increasingly popular. Hale (2009: 73) has recently suggested that transparency: “has become the international community’s standard response to accountability concerns at international institutions, appearing in the pronouncements of government and international officials, corporate executives and activists alike”. Hood (2006) takes this even further and suggests that transparency has attained nearly a quasireligious significance in the design and debate of governance.

Transparency, is frequently used as synonymously with openness or publicity, or with communication. Hood & Heald (2006) and Erkkilä (2010) noted that the increasing importance of transparency in governance stems from the usage of the term itself, intertwining and even replacing other concepts (such as openness and publicity). Especially the increase and demand for bureaucratic transparency has been high in recent decades (Hood 2007). The usefulness of transparency is fulfilled when the public acts on the information the policy and decisions provide (cf. Finkelstein 2000, Ball 2009). Some researchers suggest that this aspect is the distinguishing element between openness and transparency; transparency goes beyond openness, when the information available is used and interpreted (Erkkilä 2010, O’Neill 2009).

Transparency has become a cornerstone of good governance, considered as a major contribution in reducing corruption and creating trust. Transparency can be seen as a complex tool of good governance that is used in different programs, organizations and policies. Transparency encourages or requires open decision-making, thereby leading to better accountability and trust. (Finel & Lord 1999, Hood 2006, Ball 2009). Recent work suggests, however, that although increased transparency leads to better knowledge of a government agency it does not necessarily also increase trust in it (Grimmelikhuijsen, 2009). This can be for various reasons – e.g. if the agency performs in line or below public expectations, trust will stay the same or even decrease. It is only when increased publicity brings to light a higher than expected performance or more integer behavior than expected, that trust will increase.

Nevertheless the link between transparency and knowledge is, therefore, crucial to an understanding of its effectiveness. Hale (2009: 85) argues that transparency “institutionalises public discourse” and opens a credible (i.e. realistic and truthful) dialogue among stakeholders. Keohane and Nye (1988) suggest that transparency

fulfills a crucial role in editing public knowledge – cutting through rhetoric and hyperbole in order to reveal a more realistic policy situation. Finally transparency arguably promotes reflection (Luhmann 2005) for both individuals and organisations – allowing them to investigate and evaluate behaviours against internal values and norms.

Transparency is thus both an *instrumental* value, with which other values can be achieved such as accountability, trust, effectiveness (Heald, 2006); and *end* in itself, some authors arguing it is so embedded into our collective consciousness, that it has an innate value (Koppel, 2005). However, as an instrumental value, whether transparency can achieve its - quite ambitious – objectives depends also on the broader political and government context. For example, even if transparency helps uncover corrupt or unethical behavior, without significant sanctions for such acts changes in behavior – towards more integrity – are unlikely. Even more, if increased transparency contributes to more exposure of corrupt acts without visible consequences, it could even result in undesirable outcomes. For example (Chong et. al. 2011), find that increased knowledge about corruption of political candidates results not simply in losses for these candidates, but in overall decreased election turnout. Indeed, wide-spread knowledge of corruption without corresponding sanctions can result in decreased trust in the political system overall and thus undermine one of the main goals of increased transparency itself.

These challenges and the quest for *effective* transparency are one part of the dilemma around transparency, what Heald (2006) referred to as ‘transparency-illusion’, when there is large discrepancy between effective and nominal transparency. Furthermore, some authors argue that transparency is not always “good”, and that it can be in conflict or influence negatively several other values, like efficiency, or privacy and confidentiality (cf. Heald 2006, Prat 2006, O’Neill 2009, Sharman 2009). The next sections offer three short illustrations of the limits and challenges of transparency in UK, Romania and Finland. Building on that, the conclusion suggests a theoretical framework for a deeper analysis of the limits of transparency.

Lessons from the UK

It has been suggested that transparency is one of the key features in the UK public sector at all levels: “there is a considerable amount of transparency in public life”. Indeed since coming to power in the election of 2010, the coalition government has prided itself in enhancing levels of transparency surrounding both government

and Parliament. The Prime Minister has established a Public Sector Transparency Board, chaired by the Minister for the Cabinet Office, which seeks to improve transparency across Government.

More recently the Cabinet Office has established dedicated information websites to promote transparency (<http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/transparency>), and has introduced an online transparency tool that allows public access to information on all central government spending (over £25, 000); details of Ministerial meetings; all government contracts; salaries of civil servants; and business plans in each government department. (<http://transparency.number10.gov.uk/>). In addition Ministers are subject to the register of interests which is publicly available as well as details on gifts, hospitality and travel. The Cabinet Office has dedicated information websites to promote transparency and has introduced an online transparency tool, that allows public access to all central government spending (over £25, 000); details of Ministerial meetings; all government contracts; salaries of civil servants; and business plans in each government department.

Members of the public can attend debates and committee meetings. There is a register of members' financial interests available to the public and a searchable database of members' allowances. The Parliament website carries live and archived coverage of all UK Parliament proceedings taking place in public, including debates and committee meetings of both Houses. There is a gallery for members of the press. As well as interacting with the legislative process via eConsultations on Parliament's website it is also possible to follow Parliament on a variety of social networking medial e.g. Twitter, Youtube and Flickr. Most MPs also have their own constituency website. Since 1997, Hansard (which publishes verbatim debates, questions and proceedings for both the House of Commons and Lords) has been available on-line. It is relatively straight forward to gain access to the legislature and obtain relevant information.

Nevertheless in 2009 the Reform of the House of Commons Select Committee report concluded that "The system for scheduling business is not transparent to many inside the House, let alone those outside" (Reform of the House of Commons Select Committee, 2009), and a number of recent cases highlight the extent to which this apparent transparency is actually quite limited.

One concern is that some of these new transparency mechanisms only occurred in response to a substantial public outcry, such as the Derek Conway affair. Derek Conway was a Conservative MP who employed his son Freddie as a Parliamentary researcher at an annual salary of £25, 970 to be paid from public funds (Conway also employed his other son Henry). At the time, however, Freddie was a full-time undergraduate student studying at the University of

Newcastle and apparently did little research, if any, to justify his salary. After an investigation by the Parliamentary *Standards and Privileges Committee* Conway was suspended from the House of Commons for ten days, agreed to pay back approximately £13, 000 and also announced that he would resign his seat at the next available election. The Conway case, however, had a broader effect on the public who were far more interested in the extent to which family members were being employed by politicians. In March 2008 the *Standards and Privileges Committee* published a report (HC 436) suggesting that this information be made publicly available on the Register of Members Interests and this was enshrined in a Commons resolution passed on March 27th 2008. After August 2008 this declaration was compulsory for all MPs. The truth emerged that again a significant number of MPs employ their spouses, siblings and children using taxpayers' money – approximately 200 in total. In fact three out of then ten members of the *Standards and Privileges Committee* employed family members including its Chair at the time, Sir George Young, who employed his daughter Camilla as his Office Manager.

The reactive nature of transparency is one issue, but another is that even after public scandals some processes and information were still conducted privately, for example the *rectification* procedure for dealing with many of the MPs expenses cases. Rectification allowed the Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards to deal with expenses investigations that he did not consider serious and when MPs have accepted responsibility for breaking Parliamentary rules. This process only became publicly recognised in 2010, after it was disclosed that 16 cases were rectified in 2008/9, 14 in 2009/10 and 10 so far in 2010/11. These included cases such as David Tredinnick, who accepted spending of £755.33 on astrological computer software.

The second issue is the extent to which the apparently new levels of transparency still hide as much as they reveal, particularly in relation to party funding and lobbying. There is a continuing issue, for example, with the absence of transparency within the reporting requirements for political party funding and loans, a significant loophole that came to public attention in early 2006. The rules on the transparency of party funding only covered donations: it omitted commercial loans to political parties. It subsequently emerged that before the 2005 general election the Labour party had been loaned almost £14 million from unnamed sources; the Conservatives had also been loaned £16 million from private backers; and even the UK's third party, the Liberal Democrats had been loaned £850, 000 by three sources. All three parties maintained their innocence as such loans were not covered by PPERA 2000. An investigation was subsequently conducted by the Metropolitan police but no arrests were made.

The limits of transparency in the UK are noticeable also through the *Freedom of Information Act* (and *Freedom of Information (Scotland) Act 2002*), gives citizens the right to request official information held by public authorities, unless there are good reasons not to do so. FOI was identified by none other than Tony Blair as the worse piece of legislation that any of his three governments was responsible for (Blair, 2010). Two reports have recently shown that FOI has not been very successful in promoting transparency. Procedurally, FOI requests in the UK suffer long delays in completing investigations: on average it took 19.7 months from the date on which a complaint was made to the Information Commissioners Office to the date of its decision notice (CFI 2009). The report identified a number of contributory factors to such delays, including reluctance by the authorities under investigation to co-operate and respond quickly to requests for further information. Following up these factors, the report subsequently examined how long it took the Information Commissioners Office to begin an investigation into a complaint. Again the report found significant delays and on average it took more than 8 months before an investigation began.

The report suggests, therefore, that FOI requests are not necessarily easy to obtain and that in over a quarter of cases, more than a year passed before the ICO's investigation even started (CFI, 2009). A 2012 report suggests that FOI is frequently used to forward vexatious and nuisance complaints.

Another key question for transparency in the UK is the link between access and influence and again this is highly prevalent in political party funding. For example, before the 2010 election David Cameron held dinners for paying guests initially at the House of Commons, and when that was stopped, at his own home. Although one cannot conclude that this led to any undue influence being offered to donors there is a sense that "a small group of people having discussions with future Prime Ministers creates potential for the perception of corruption". Even now, a £50,000 annual donation grants membership of *the Leaders Group*, which by its own publicity allows donors direct access "to join David Cameron and other senior figures from the Conservative Party at dinners, post-PMQ lunches, drinks receptions, election result events and important campaign launches" (http://www.conservatives.com/Donate/Donor_Clubs.aspx).

On one level this could be seen as transparency in action, but in others it demonstrates inherent limits: there is no indication as to what such access brings and the suspicion that it may create undue influence cannot be shaken. Therefore transparency in the UK can actually increase innuendo about the extent of influence. In 2011, for example, Treasurer George Osborne announced that first-time mortgage buyers will be offered tax relief as an incentive to get them on the

property ladder. This incentive would only be offered, however, to first time buyers buying newly built properties. The increased levels of transparency in the UK shows that among major donors to the Conservative Party are major house-building firms such and although this does not mean that there is anything untoward about these events it does demonstrate that in this case more transparency has only led to even more questions being asked.

Lessons from Romania

Asked what the main government transparency policy is, many Romanian respondents almost instinctively answered “do we have one?” Indeed, since 2000, Romanian government have passed a number of laws aimed at increasing transparency – chiefly among them the FOIA (in 2001), the sunshine law (2003), and the ‘law on certain measures to increase transparency in the public and the private sector’ (2003), which among other requires the disclosure of assets and interests of public officials and regulates conflict of interest. This is accompanied by other – less prominent – legislation, such as a whistleblower protection law, provisions for increasing transparency contained in other laws, such as on political finance or local government, and internal rules and regulations aimed at increasing transparency in different public institutions, including the legislative and the judiciary. For example, both Chambers of the Romanian Parliament have websites where the debate transcripts and videos are published and the public has access to their plenary sessions. More recently, the Romanian government has signed an agreement of participation in the Open Government Partnership. It remains to be seen if and whether this will translate into new transparency measures and a consistent transparency policy across government agencies. Nevertheless, this does send a signal that openness is a desirable value for the Romanian government – at least on paper.

However, one common theme throughout the interviews was that to the passage of transparency legislation is insufficient to produce actual – or effective – government transparency, for three reasons. First, legislation has to be adequately implemented. In Romania, there is overall a large gap between the adoption of laws and rules to promote transparency and integrity – where it is among the “top performers” according to some international indicators, and their implementation, where it lags severely behind (GIR, 2008). While implementation has improved over the years (Schnell, 2011), many respondents see a “transparency recession” emerging recently, where the government, the public administration, the judiciary etc. are becoming less responsive to pressures for transparency and release of information. At least in part, this is due to such reasons as the financial crisis and

resulting austerity measures. The budget cuts have reduced funds available to promote transparency in the public sector, e.g. through support from dedicated government units, and the political controversy surrounding them has led to a shift in government priorities, where “lack of transparency is the least of their worries at this point in time”, as one respondent put it.

But even beyond constraints resulting from budget cuts and shifting political priorities, other constraints on implementation exist – such as low administrative capacity, weak internal communication systems, and remnants of an administrative and political culture where secrecy, top-down decision-making, and a weak understanding of the separation between public and private interests dominate (Schnell, 2011). Transparency emerges from a myriad of interactions between the public sector and citizens, not all of whom can be controlled and sanctioned for lack of transparency. This means that legislating transparency is not enough – it has to be accompanied by a corresponding change in political and administrative culture and behavior.

Second, the content of the legislation and its consistency with other laws also matter. While respondents generally praised the quality and the extent of the Romanian FOIA, it nevertheless ranks comparatively low in international comparison⁹. Transparency is also limited if different pieces of legislation contradict each other or put undue limits of transparency. For example, some respondents pointed out that the state secrets law includes provisions that allow the arbitrary classification of information by public agencies as “secrets of service”, without adequate definitions of what those secrets represent and without allowing for a procedure to review if classification is “rightful” or not. Information that is classified as ‘state secrets’ under FOIA has to be reviewed by judges who have received security clearance. But the number of such judges is limited, particularly outside of the capital, which can lead to bottlenecks in the judicial review of FOIA cases.

The question of what limits on transparency are “undue” is in itself a highly debatable issue. In Romania, the balance between privacy rights of individuals in public functions and the right of the public to be informed generated some of the most heated debates. Indeed, in 2010 a decision of the Constitutional Court declared the ‘law on certain measures to increase transparency in the public and the private sector’ unconstitutional, among others due to infringement of the right to privacy. While the decision has been criticized for its failure to analyze and

⁹ See <http://www.rti-rating.org/results.html>

balance the trade-offs between competing values – i.e. the public interest and the people's right to know vs. the right to privacy, it nevertheless illustrates one of the limits that the pursuit of transparency faces.

Third, even when implemented and resulting in increased publicness and openness of government, the information and the opportunities for participation created by increased transparency have to be seized and processed by the public and by civil society organizations (CSOs) to generate the kind of knowledge and participation increased transparency promises. However, in Romania, while there is a vocal core of NGOs advocating for and monitoring government transparency, there are comparatively few intermediary organizations/ CSOs able to review, process and publicize information generated by such measure, as well as engage in dialogue with government (Schnell, forthcoming). This is particularly the case outside the capital city. Even mobilizing citizens directly to engage with government at the local level is difficult. While twenty years have passed since the downfall of communism, in Romania, like in other post-communist countries, low trust in government institutions and in other people still persists, contributing to low social mobilization and civic participation (Uslaner, 2003). This means that the “demand side” of transparency is weak, and even when local governments do open up some space for participation and consultation, low attendance on the part of the public limits the degree to which a genuine dialogue, mutual engagement and reflection can emerge.

Finally, even if legislation succeeds in generating effective government transparency, which can act as a “monitor” of government and public employee behavior, it is not in itself sufficient for inducing behavioural change, i.e. acting as a “modifier” towards increased public integrity. To change behavior, the increased knowledge stemming from increased transparency has to result in some form of consequences for unethical behavior, generally in the form of self-reflection, public shaming, or judicial and administrative sanctions. However, where corruption is endemic and corruption scandals are frequent, neither of these mechanisms for modifying behavior is likely to work very well.

Self-reflection or public shaming work in an environment with strong integrity norms, where public knowledge of deviation from these norms is likely to generate a loud outcry, and even have electoral consequences. However, in highly corrupt countries, this is not the case. For example, one respondent pointed out that his organization had uncovered financial abuses of Romanian members of parliament even before the MP expenses scandal broke out in the UK. Nevertheless, this received much less publicity in Romania and did not trigger a comparable scandal. Even more, currently, 19 members of parliament are under

investigations for corruption, 6 of whom already received condemnations¹⁰, without this having so far significant political implications. This illustrates that in a high-corruption environment, where corruption scandals are frequent, ‘corruption fatigue’ may step in, the public might be less inclined to punish deviations from norms of integrity, and public figures might be less likely to change their behavior as a result.

While transparency and the information about corruption it can reveal don’t always result in public sanctions, it could and should result in legal or administrative ones. Indeed, for example the National Integrity Agency does rely, among others, on press reports and citizen complaints, for starting investigations around asset and interest declarations and possible abuses. However, one of the problems that has consistently been criticized in Romania, e.g. as part of EU pre- and post-accession reports¹¹, is the lack of judicial sanctioning of high-corruption cases. While this has improved somewhat over the last year, with several high-profile cases receiving indictments and even – comparatively mild – prison sentences, there is a virtual consensus that there still is ample room for further improvement in this regard.

Finally, it is equally important to highlight that, regardless of its limits as an instrumental value, transparency is important in its own right, as part of larger democratic norms and behavior. For example, the lack of transparency in decision-making was one of the main criticisms of the government in the wake of the protests that gripped Romania in December 2011, and increasing transparency, openness and participation were among the main demands of CSOs vis-à-vis the government and all political parties¹². Whether and how much this call will be heeded remains to be seen, but the mere fact that transparency ranks so high on the public agenda in a country where this concern is a mere 10 years old is in itself a sign of democratic development.

¹⁰ <http://anticoruptie.hotnews.ro/stiri-anticoruptie-11550374-monica-macovei-prezinta-lista-parlamentarilor-functie-care-dosare-penale-instanta.htm>

¹¹ Post-accession reports being part of the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism (CVM)

¹² <http://romaniacurata.ro/ltfont-colorblackgtpentru-o-romanie-curatalt-fontgtltbrgt-semnati-aici-2348.htm>

Lessons from Finland

Finland is often perceived, among the Nordic countries, as a forerunner of transparency. In fact, since the 1990's openness and transparency have been perceived as an essential part of the new narrative of the Finnish state, and thus have been well-rooted in the administrative culture. Transparency is viewed as a basic right. Also, the Finns regard that the promotor and key-influencer of the world's first Freedom of Information Act was a Finn (Anders Chydenius), who was involved in the drafting process of the first FOIA in Sweden 1766. (Erkkilä 2010).

In comparison to UK and Romania, it is possible to assert that Finland stands out as a model example of transparency. With regard to various governance rankings and indices, Finland generally scores well (eg. CPI, World Bank Index, World Economic Forum etc.) These high rankings are often credited to the legacy of transparency. Therefore in Finland, the idea, that transparency is a key to curbing corruption, is widely supported. However, the idealized image of the 'Nordic openness' has been contested, and certain field tests indicate, that at least in some areas, there is more nominal transparency, than actual, effective transparency. The reputation as a forerunner of openness and transparency is well-earned, as Finland has been among the first countries to issue Freedom of Information Act (first under the rule of Sweden in 1766), in 1951, when the Act of Publicity of Government documents was first adopted. Finland followed the Swedish example. This law was renewed in 1999. Also the Administrative Procedure Act (2004) promotes transparency and better communication in administration-citizens relationship.

In the National Integrity Systems assessment it became evident there are some discrepancies between law and practice of transparency.¹³ Respondents expressed views supporting the assumption, that transparency modifies the behavior, and therefore improves integrity, especially in the interaction of business and public administration. What comes to the Securities Market Act draft (leading to the use of nominee registration), one respondent saw it as the 'end of transparency', leading to different possibilities of unethical and criminal activities.

What the respondents in general concluded, was that in legislation, transparency and openness are safeguarded. Some views did emphasize, that there is also

¹³ Salminen, Ari, Rinna Ikola-Norrbacka & Venla Mäntysalo (Transparency International Suomi-ry.) (2012). National Integrity System: Finland.

detailed, and sometimes extensive list of non-disclosure criteria, that are a limitation to transparency, but also necessary in order to safeguard privacy. Respondents pointed out, that even if the transparency laws are well-embedded into the administrative culture in general, there are situations when public authorities are less willing to share the information. One respondent concluded, that often public officials might be uncertain whether information should be made public or given to citizens and journalists asking for it. This is an outcome of a cautious attitude, and the fear of misinterpretations.

An example on the influence of transparency came up with the issue of committee meetings of the parliament. In Finland, the committee meetings are not public, even though records of the meetings are made public afterwards. The interviewees presented differing views, another supporting open committee meetings, stating it would improve real-time transparency and increase participation in decision-making. The other respondent, a former member of parliament, was critical of the idea of open meetings, considering that openness would deteriorate the level of honest discussion and also decreasing the efficiency of decision-making.

Finnish election funding has during the last few years revealed to be more opaque than expected as the amount and sources of external political party funding have been gradually revealed by investigative journalism. During 2008-2009 Finland experienced an unparalleled scandal relating to the linkages between business and political parties, indicating that candidates and political parties were able to receive large sums of money due to minimum requirements of disclosure. Within the past few years (2007 onwards) the election campaign funding scandal has opened external party and election campaign funding up to scrutiny, and indicated that trade unions, business sector and different private foundations had been generous with the political parties and also election candidates.

This 'trading in influence' has been partly the fault of a lax controlling system established by the last election funding law: more emphasis was put on the publicity and transparency as means of control instead of the threat of sanctions - no kind of sanction was placed on the transgressor. It appears, that the requirements of transparency should not be left only on the responsibility of those who are supposed to provide the information. This loophole was then exploited by a Finnish politician who stated (on television in 2008) that he is not going to reveal his campaign funding since "there is no sanction for not doing it". He did not want to reveal the names of the companies that had supported his campaign. He implied this had been the practice for several years among many candidates.

Naturally this produced a scandal, since seldom a representative of the legislative authority refuses to obey the law.¹⁴

Following these events, election and party finance laws have been revised in 2009, amendments entering into force in 2010 and 2011. During the 2011 parliamentary elections, transparency requirements were increased. Political parties, and candidates (still only those who are elected) are required to submit more in detail their financial statements, audit reports, and also identifying sources of funding. Increased requirements are now more in line with GRECO recommendations. Political parties must submit their finance details up-to-date, emphasizing real-time transparency. However, as the limit of disclosure is now set to donations over 1500€, in the end nearly 3 million euros was dominated anonymously in the elections of 2011.

Media coverage and increased requirements of disclosure illustrate the role of transparency as a behavior modifier; the elections 2011 candidates at least seemed to be discreet in their connections with private funding and business. Also without a few exceptions, nearly all the new members of parliament submitted their election finance reports in a timely manner to the National Audit Office, indicating a major improvement to the previous years.

There have been both positive and negative evaluations on the renewed regulation and discussions what are the limits for full disclosure or the right to remain anonymous. Critical views doubt that when the demands for transparency are now crystal-clear, candidates will have even more ability to breach them, and doing it while being fully aware of the rules. All in all the regulation was not enough to guarantee transparency, creating a situation with only nominal transparency instead of effective transparency. Evidently the greatest influence was due to the media coverage of the issue, not so much due to the improvements in regulation. In the long-term the effective transparency may lead to increase in trust. According to the Global Corruption Barometer 2009 and 2010 (Transparency International), Finnish citizens considered political parties to be the most corrupt of all the official bodies.

In order to achieve effective transparency, the information provided should also be both accessible and assessable, presented with objectivity and clarity (cf.

¹⁴ *Funding scandal tarnishes Finland's reputation*. Ivison, David. *Financial Times* [London (UK)] 10 June 2008: 7.

O'Neill 2009). According to citizens' evaluations, these aspects of transparency and communication should be improved. In a Citizen Survey conducted in 2008¹⁵ Only 13% of the respondents (n=1964) thought that decisions are easily understandable, whereas 56% of the respondents thought vice versa. A few crucial aspects of transparency seem to be on poor level in Finland, as nearly 45% of the respondents disagreed with the view, that decisions would be justified and argued. Also 45% of the respondent disagreed, that there is an efficient communication about the public services. These results indicate that in certain areas there is no effective transparency, but only nominal. Even if transparency has been rooted to the administrative culture of Finland relatively well, the lack of communication faces criticism from the citizens.

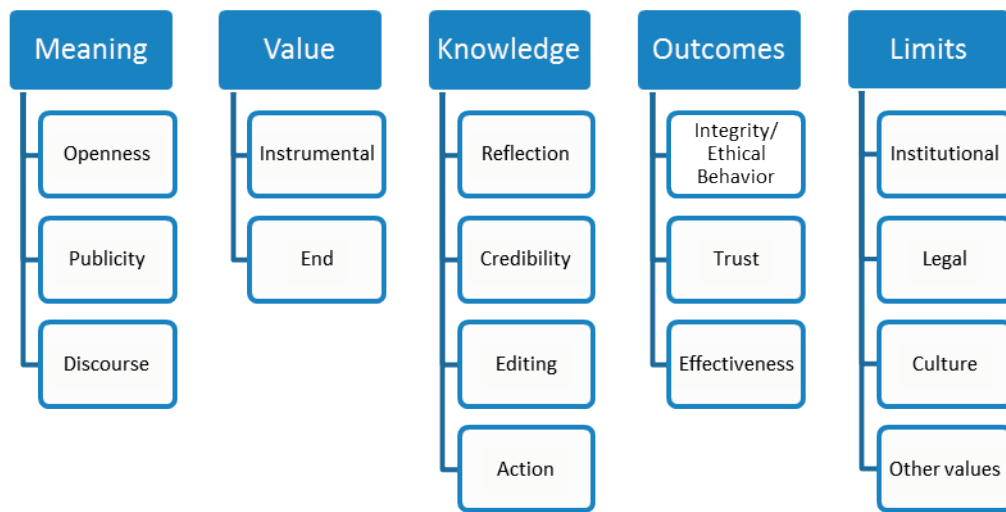
The answers indicate a problem in achieving an optimal level of transparency and a right way of communication. Greater transparency does not guarantee or ensure communication (or even the understanding of the information). For citizens, communication about public services is relevant, not only the amount and availability of information. (O'Neill 2009).

On the basis of Finnish examples, it is questionable whether transparency modifies behavior and improves integrity. Election finance problems indicate that actual publicity and media coverage has been the best disinfectant. (As in the case of Romania, the lack of sanctions has undermined effective transparency.)

Conclusion – the limits of transparency?

This paper has attempted to show the limits and limitations of transparency law and practice in the UK, Romania and Finland. In so doing it seeks to offer suggestions into how to best to construct a study to test the effectiveness or limits of transparency in increasing ethical behavior and reducing corruption. The three cases clearly show that transparency can often face cultural and institutional challenges, and is frequently dependent on leadership and political will. Both the literature review and the case studies demonstrated, however, that these limits are only one part of a broader framework. Using the secondary and primary evidence we suggest that future studies could draw upon the transparency framework below (see figure 1):

¹⁵ cf. Salminen, Ari & Rinna Ikola-Norrbacka (2009). *Kuullaanko meitä? Eettinen hallinto ja kansalaiset*. University of Vaasa.

Figure 1: A framework for Transparency research

The category *meaning* relates to definitional aspects of what policies intended to promote transparency are trying to achieve: openness is accepted as a general synonym of transparency but as has been shown transparency policies are also frequently intended to create publicity, and to promote public discourse. The category *value* relates to transparency as a value mechanism: whether or not it is accepted as an end in itself or instrumentally in modifying other values, such as developing integrity. The *knowledge* category looks at how the knowledge gleaned from increased transparency may be used: does it allow for reflection? Is it credible? Does it result in specific actions to address the issues identified via increased transparency? The *outcomes* category highlights the expected benefits of using this knowledge – such as increased integrity and ethical behavior, trust in public institutions or effectiveness of government actions. Finally, as has been discussed in detail throughout this paper, the limits of transparency relate to institutional, legal, and cultural barriers to its effectiveness, as well as the limits placed upon transparency by competing values.

The preliminary case studies have highlighted some interesting differences between the three countries along this framework, which are summarized in the table below:

Table 1. Summary of transparency dimensions in the three countries

	United Kingdom	Romania	Finland
Meaning	Publicity, openness, transparency	Publicity, openness	Publicity, openness, transparency
Value	transparency as an instrumental value (a monitor of behavior)	transparency as an instrumental and an end value (monitor of behavior and basic democratic principle)	transparency as an instrumental value (monitor of behavior)
Limits in using the knowledge generated by transparency	Difficulties of interpretation of information generated by transparency?	lack of judicial sanctioning, especially for integrity problems uncovered by transparency, e.g. corruption.	lack of judicial sanctioning for non-compliance with transparency requirements (campaign finance)
Desired outcomes of transparency	Increased integrity of political process/ behavior	Increased integrity/ reduced corruption in public administration Increased participation in decision-making	Increased integrity of political process/ behavior
Other limits on transparency		Administrative culture Budget constraints Weak demand-side (esp. at the local level)	
Test for transparency	sufficiency and effectiveness of existing regulation	sufficiency of existing regulation	effectiveness of existing regulation

More importantly, one conclusion that is starting to emerge [from the case-studies?] is however, that transparency can be perceived as potentially self-limiting, in that it can only reveal partial truths. This issue is neatly encapsulated in the debate between access and influence: no matter how much transparency

there is around the number of meetings a Minister may have (or with whom) it is impossible to detail every aspect of that meeting. As one UK respondent suggested: “We used to think that sunlight was the best disinfectant, but now we can see that all the sunlight does is cast more shadows”.

At the end of the day, asking that transparency *by itself* lead to more integrity means putting too much burden on the citizen, who is supposed to monitor everything its representatives and its government do/ does, draw political conclusions, and act on that in – somewhat unspecified - ways. This is not possible. Even if civil society, NGOs, think-tanks, the media etc. can play an intermediary role in processing and communicating the additional information gleaned from increased transparency, this is often not enough, as the additional knowledge often remains partial, open to interpretation, and without clear consequences. Rather, there have to be other mechanisms to insure integrity, like legal restrictions on unethical and corrupt behavior backed up by an effective enforcement mechanism.

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