

Research on Ethics and Integrity in Public Administration: Moving Forward, Looking Back

Donald C. Menzel

Northern Illinois University

This article reviews and assesses research on ethics and integrity in public administration published in two peer reviewed journals—the *Public Administration Review* and *Public Integrity*—for the ten year period, 2005–2014. It builds on two previous reviews conducted by the author in 1999 and 2005. Seven research themes are identified with suggestions put forward to advance research on topics overlooked or in need of additional attention. The author concludes that the research reviewed in this article points to a healthy, robust enterprise in the United States and Europe, with contributions from other world regions.

BACKGROUND

In 1999, Menzel and Carson reviewed the state of public administration ethics research published in the United States. That review, among other things, called for “greater cross-fertilization of ideas and study approaches among fields such as business, psychology, education, and engineering” (Menzel & Carson, 1999, p. 260). It also pointed to the need for public administration ethics research to be more firmly grounded in methodological rigor that included contextually rich case studies. A half-dozen years later, Menzel (2005) conducted a second review and assessment that documented the growth of ethics research in public administration, even suggesting that it was “astonishing,” with more scholars engaged than at any other period in recent memory (Menzel, 2005, p. 147). The 2005 review concluded that substantial progress toward building a body of knowledge about ethics and integrity in governance had occurred. It also pointed out that the field of policy ethics had blossomed, but developments in the areas of performance and ethics management were still at an embryonic stage. Neither review claimed closure.

The reviews noted above prompted others to join the journey. The European scholars Lawton and Doig (2006) surveyed six English-language journals published during 1999–2003. Their research focused on: (1) public sector ethics in general, and (2) fraud and corruption in particular. Their findings on the first topic resulted in the following themes: the public service ethos; the regulation of conduct; trust; individual behavior; professionals, and context. Their findings on the second topic, corruption, led them to conclude that there was a growing body of practitioner material to use for description and analysis, but an absence of significant scholarship. They

Correspondence should be sent to Donald C. Menzel, Department of Public Administration, Northern Illinois University, 3421 Reynoldswood Drive, Tampa, FL 33618, USA. E-mail: donmenzel@verizon.net

Color versions of one or more of the figures in the article can be found online at www.tandfonline.com/mpin.

noted, further, that a small number of academics publish across a range of journals, but “only a few demonstrate the cumulative knowledge that informs wider academic discussion” (Lawton & Doig, 2005–2006, p. 27).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Four sets of questions guided the 1999 and 2005 reviews and serve as benchmarks for the current review:

1. What is the primary focus of empirical research on ethics in public administration and governance? What research questions are being asked?
2. How well does empirical research inform ethics theory? How well does ethics theory inform empirical research?
3. Are the research findings cumulative? Is progress being made toward building a body of knowledge?
4. Are there neglected or overlooked areas of study? Are there new avenues of research?

The answers to these questions resulted in five interrelated themes: (1) ethical decision-making and moral development; (2) ethics laws and regulatory agencies; (3) organizational performance; (4) ethics management; and (5) the ethical environment. This article returns to these themes along with two new themes: (6) policy ethics and (7) globalization. Articles published as conceptual essays or commentaries are not included.¹ (see Figure 1.)

STUDY METHOD

As noted above, articles published in two peer-reviewed journals owned by the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), *Public Administration Review* and *Public Integrity*, are the primary sources for this review.² Both journals seek to publish research that bridges theory and practice, thus targeting both the academic and practitioner communities. *Public Administration Review*, with a 75-year history, is widely regarded as the journal of record



FIGURE 1 *Public Integrity/Public Administration Review* research themes, 2005–2014.

for research on public administration issues broadly construed. *Public Integrity* was launched as an annual publication in 1996, and transformed into a quarterly in 1999.

Public Integrity has become the journal of choice for many American and foreign scholars.³ Indeed, non-American contributors for the 10-year period under study are drawn from 16 different countries—The Netherlands (20), England (7), Canada (6), Australia (6), Denmark (3), Germany (2), Finland (2), South Korea (2), and one each from China, Israel, Romania, Hungary, Estonia, Singapore, Sweden, and Belgium. While this diversity is not necessarily representative of ethics contributors across the globe, it can certainly be concluded that research published in *Public Integrity* over the past decade is not limited to the American experience.⁴

A similar conclusion can be asserted for *Public Administration Review*. Raadschelders and Lee's (2011) review of articles in *Public Administration Review* found that foreign academics authored or co-authored 131 articles in *Public Administration Review* among the 904 total published in the period 2000–2009. “Foreign contributions mostly came from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, China, Hong Kong, and South Korea” (Raadschelders & Lee, 2011, p. 22). And, as suggested previously, *Public Administration Review* topics range from management ($n = 112$) to ethics ($n = 22$) to terrorism ($n = 5$) and more. Ethics articles ranked tenth in the number of publications sorted by topic, with 22 counted among the 601 in the total set.

Definition of Research

While a definition of research might seem obvious, it is not so. Some contend that if the scientific method is not used, the study does not constitute research. Others argue for a broader definition, one that encompasses conceptual papers, field reports, or literature-based papers that advance knowledge in the field. *Public Integrity*'s founding editor, Bowman (personal communication, January 8, 2014), believes there is no single best definition. He defines research as including any scholarly effort to advance the literature regardless of method. A commentary, in contrast, is an opinion or advocacy piece. Gilman (personal communication, January 9, 2014a) favors a broad definition as well to include “any published work that adds to the knowledge of the field.” The slippery slope with the broad definition is the matter of determining whether knowledge has been added to the field. Of course, the peer review process is, in principle, the filter for determining new knowledge.

For present purposes, a research article is defined as one that involves the systematic, empirical investigation of a problem or issue (implies a research question). The matter of judging whether or not new knowledge has been added to the field is not included. This definition encompasses a variety of research methods—case studies, surveys, and experimental or quasi-experimental methods—but excludes commentaries, essays, and concept papers that are advocacy in nature.

After a careful inspection of research articles, featured papers, cases, and field reports in the journal *Public Integrity*, 123 pieces published in 2005–2014 were judged research and are the subject of the review and assessment that follows. Nineteen *Public Administration Review* articles on ethics published in the period 2005–2014 were similarly judged research, a number consistent with the one ($n = 22$) reported by Raadschelders and Lee's (2011) for the period 2000–2009. A handful of articles focused on ethics education or methodology were excluded because they did not fit a given theme (see de Graaf & van Exel, 2008–2009; Jacobs, 2014; Von Maravić, 2008–2009).

FINDINGS

Table 1 shows seven research themes, broadly defined, published in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review* during the 10-year period 2005–2014. The themes are neither mutually exclusive nor categorical in nature; some articles may be relevant to more than one theme (see Hassan, Wright, & Yukl, 2014).

So what might the theme data in Table 1 and its companion Figure 1 suggest? First, there is no consistent progression of research effort within a given theme over time. Second, the totals over time indicate that two themes, the ethical environment and policy ethics, received the greatest attention, with ethics management ranking third. The theme ethical decision-making and moral development received the least research attention, a somewhat surprising finding given the attention focused on this theme in previous reviews.

Figure 2 also illustrates interest in the several themes, with particular attention given to the ethical environment. Additionally, there appears to be a similar thematic pattern in both *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review*, although ethics research published in the latter touched upon every theme except globalization.

Further, while all the pieces meet the criteria to be labeled research, they do so in a variety of ways. For example, 47 explicitly state the research question(s) and 18 specify an hypothesis (see Behnke, 2007–2008; Caillier, 2012–2013; Gómez-Vilchis, 2012; Grobman, 2007; Jung, Strate, & Leidlein, 2007; Lavena, 2013; Peters & Filipova, 2009; Strate et al., 2009–2010; Van Montfort, Beck, & Twijnstra, 2013; Wong, 2007; Yeager, Hildreth, Miller, & Rabin, 2007).

TABLE 1
Research Articles by Theme and Year, 2005–2014

	<i>Ethical Decision-making & moral development</i>		<i>Ethics Laws & regulatory agencies</i>		<i>Organizational Performance</i>		<i>Globalization</i>		<i>Ethics Management</i>		<i>Policy Ethics</i>		<i>Ethical Environment</i>	
	PI	PAR	PI	PAR	PI	PAR	PI	PAR	PI	PAR	PI	PAR	PI	PAR
2005		2			4	1	4		2		6		2	
2006					1		4		2		1		6	
2007	1		1		3	1	2		2		6		4	1
2008					3		5		4	1	2		8	2
2009	5	1	5	1					3		2	1	8	
2010		1			2		1		6		4		5	1
2011					1				1		7		2	
2012	3		3						2	2	5		2	
2013	4		4		1		1		5		4		9	2
2014	1		1	2	1	1	1		0		2	1	8	1
Totals	14	4	14	3	16	3	18	0	27	3	39	2	54	7

PI = *Public Integrity*. PAR = *Public Administration Review*. Blank cells = 0. Count does not equal total articles, because some articles have more than one theme.

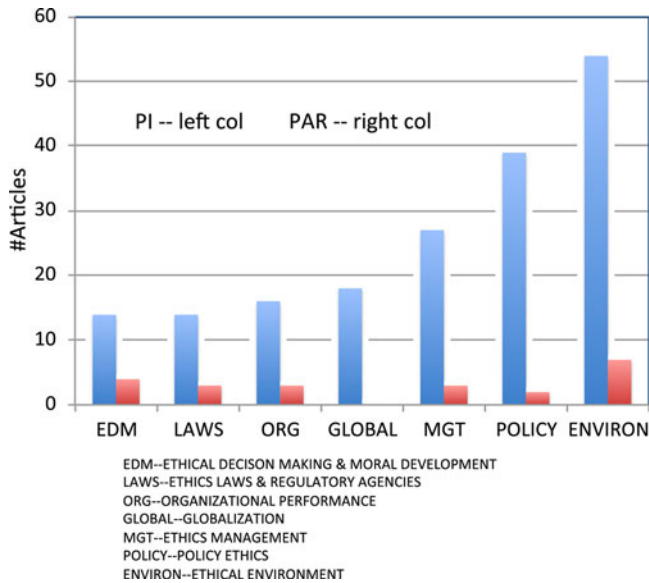


FIGURE 2 *Public Integrity/Public Administration Review* themes, 2005–2014.

Study Methods

Qualitative and quantitative methods are used singly and in tandem in the ethics research studied here. A qualitative case study involving a single unit of analysis, such as a country, state, or city, may also include a survey with statistical analysis (see Gómez-Vilchis, 2012—Mexico; Kaptein, Huberts, Avelino, & Lasthuizen, 2005—United States; Moldovan & van de Walle, 2013—City of Târgu-Mure, Romania).

Qualitative studies including cases grew both in number and complexity, comprising 56 of the 109 studies. The cases range from a study of a single individual(s) (see Wheeland, 2013—township manager Gregory G. Smith; Dryburgh, 2009—two prison guards at the California State Prison, Corcoran; Lyon, 2006–2007—United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld); to a single state, county, or organization—(see Menzel, 2009—Pinellas County, Florida; Sulzner, 2009—the Canadian Office of the Public Sector Integrity Officer Koven 2007—Kentucky). Ethics scholars have clearly responded to the 1999 call for contextually rich case studies with energy and enthusiasm.

The question of whether or not the field has moved far enough in methodological rigor remains a matter of debate. Menzel and Carson's (1999) review called for greater methodological rigor and pointed to the absence of trend or longitudinal analysis. A more recent review by Von Maravić (2008–2009, p. 9) asserts that “the methodology of administrative ethics research is dominated by descriptive hypotheses, small- and medium-n analysis, single-country/single-shot research designs and document analysis as data collection instruments.” Von Maravić (2008–2009, p. 26) calls for greater methodological rigor and pluralism, perhaps drawing on research designs and approaches used in other disciplines (e.g., business ethics, sociology, economics, anthropology, political science).

ETHICAL DECISION-MAKING AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT

The 2005 review reported that research in the field focused primarily on the individual decision-maker; only a handful of studies over the past 10 years continued this focus. Gibson (2009) studied the moral reasoning of ethics advisors and counselors in the U.S. government. What level of moral reasoning, she asked, do Designated Agency Ethics Officials (DAEO) exhibit? DAEOs are charged with teaching and counseling thousands of federal employees annually about how to resolve dilemmas they may experience. Should we not have a greater understanding of the moral development of DAEOs, considering the influence they may have on others in their capacity as instructors? (Gibson, 2009, p.106). Her study utilized the Stewart-Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) instrument to measure the moral reasoning of ethics officials. Her key finding was that the majority of the 100 DEAOs who completed the survey reason at the Kohlbergian Stage 4 (law and order) level. The principal factor contributing to this level of reasoning, she contends, is the organizational culture. The study did not track the influence that DAEOs may have on those they instruct—surely an important matter.

A different approach to exploring ethical decision-making is reflected in Zinner's (2014) ideographic study of the historical figure Florence Nightingale (1820–1910). Born into wealth and social standing in British society, she led a life dedicated to improving the lives of the poor and uneducated, and, along the way, became an innovator who improved health services at many European hospitals. Zinner contends that Florence Nightingale was “a moral exemplar in her community and in her profession” (Zinner, 2014, p. 420). She was driven by a passionate belief that she could make a difference in the lives of others, and “spoke of her profession [nursing] in near-religious terms” (Zinner, 2014, p. 414). Religious inspiration was a central motivating factor.

Gibson and Zinner's studies, and others that will surely follow, serve as a potent reminder that the moral self resides within the individual, yet a much greater emphasis over the past decade has been placed on the context or circumstances in which ethical decision-making occurs (see de Graaf, 2010; Miller et al., 2005; Newbold, 2005; O'Leary, 2009). Context was the central focus of Boin and Nieuwenburg's (2013) study of ethical and moral decision-making in crisis situations. First-responders must act with speed and discretion to do what is necessary to save lives and minimize damage, undoubtedly tempered by ethical or moral judgments. For example, the nurse at the scene of mass casualties who has to triage victims, or the firefighter who has saved a child from a burning house and must decide whether to reenter the burning building to search for more children. Boin and Nieuwenburg (2013) draw on the New Orleans Memorial Medical Center tragedy in which hospital officials had to decide whether to remove or retain patients, many who were frail or near death. After the hospital was finally evacuated, 45 patients were found in a makeshift morgue. This nightmarish situation placed hospital staff in the dual role of medical professional and first-responder confronted by the horrifying dilemma of hastening the demise of dying patients or abandoning them to inhumane conditions.

This example raises the question: How do first-responders make a moral judgment to resolve a painful dilemma? Boin and Nieuwenburg (2013, pp. 379–380) conclude that while it is impossible to provide first-responders with step-by-step guidance on how to approach and resolve moral dilemmas in advance of a crisis, organizations and institutions can, if they take seriously the task of identifying the potential for intricate dilemmas, prepare employees for the challenge of making a morally defensible decision in a crisis situation.

A second example of new directions in ethical decision-making research is suggested by Sekerka and Zolin (2007) in their study of rule-bending. Among other things, rules prescribe right behavior and proscribe wrong behavior. How often is the admonishment heard—To stay out of trouble, just follow the rules? Rules can and are broken, but is there a middle ground? Can rule-bending justify a lack of compliance and also be consistent with values held by the individual or embraced by one's organization? This is the fascinating domain investigated by Sekerka and Zolin. The research questions are: (1) When and why do employees bend rules? (2) Do they use prudential judgment in their decision-making process? and (3) Do people who bend the rules see rule-bending as a threat to the organization? Their exploratory study examined the responses of 10 randomly selected Department of Defense acquisition managers who were enrolled in a graduate course at a government educational institution. Respondents were asked a series of open-ended questions concerning rule-bending in the workplace. "The responses were studied to see whether the respondents applied prudential judgment in their decision-making process and whether they viewed their rule-bending as a threat to their organization" (Sekerka & Zolin, 2007, p. 231). One key finding was that prudential judgment is essential to making ethical decisions. Prudential judgment, Sekerka and Zolin note, is based on virtue ethics and has two key features: (1) practical deliberation, and (2) consideration of others (p. 232). "Employees who use prudential judgment," they assert, "are more likely to recognize the threat to their organization posed by rule-bending" (p. 239). In addition, "employees who view rule-bending as a threat to their organization are more likely to use prudential judgment" (p. 239).

Another example of contextual influences on ethical decision-making is a study of whistleblowing by Heumann, Friedes, Cassak, Wright, and Joshi (2013–2014). Their research explored the "goals, motivations, and contexts that define whistleblowing" (p. 25). Drawing on both quantitative (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board data) and qualitative data (interviews), they develop a typology differentiating five types of whistleblowers that, in their judgment, "defines whistleblowing more precisely than earlier studies ... [and] allows for a more complex portrayal of the world of whistleblowing" (p. 45).

ETHICS LAWS AND REGULATORY AGENCIES

Research on ethics laws and regulatory agencies continues to occupy the time and attention of investigators, with 22 articles appearing in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review* for this study period. Of course, neither *Public Integrity* nor *Public Administration Review* is a law journal. Thus, the articles in their pages approach law primarily from a public policy perspective. They typically coalesce around corruption, reform, laws, and codes of ethics, with one new subtopic in the mix: integrity systems.

Corruption and Reform Studies

There is near universal agreement that corruption undermines public trust and confidence in government, placing a stain on the body politic that is difficult to remove. The good news is that ethics scholars are conducting comparative studies that may lead to new knowledge and understanding about what can be done to abate, if not stop, corruption. Consider the Ryan, Alatorre, and Schreckhise (2006) comparative case study of the states of Jalisco, Mexico,

and Arkansas. Their study compares the trigger events and policy evolution that brought about the Arkansas Ethics Commission and the Transparency Law of Jalisco. Both states experienced rising popular disgust with persistent corruption and “the failure of policymakers to address ethical concerns with anything more than half-hearted and ineffective measures” (Ryan et al., 2006, p. 360), setting the context for reform. The study stopped short of producing evidence that the reforms brought about a reduction in corruption, but the authors are optimistic that a foundation has been built for creating a credible deterrent.

Another comparative American state study by Liu and Mikesell (2014) examined how corruption impacted U.S. state spending. Based on an econometric model, they found that “states with higher levels of corruption are likely to favor capital, construction, highways, total salaries and wages, borrowing, correction, and police protection, at the expense of social sectors such as total education, elementary and secondary education, health, and hospitals” (pp. 352–353).

Code Studies

There is no shortage of interest in studying ethics codes within and among different populations—professional associations, nonprofits, and governments. What specifically do code studies focus on, and what are we learning? Grobman’s (2007) study of nonprofit, tax-exempt membership associations examined 150 association ethics codes in order to understand whether the code contents differed because of the nature of the principal constituencies. The primary research question was: “Do the codes of ethics of U.S.-based national and international membership associations ... differ from each other based upon whether their memberships consist of principally nonprofit, for-profit, or government organization or those employed by these sectors?” (p. 249). Following a statistical analysis in which 34 hypotheses were tested, Grobman found that “the role of a professional or trade association clearly affects the content of its code” (p. 257). Among the findings, for example, “no government code had a direct reference to sexual misconduct,” whereas nonprofit codes often do have such a reference (p. 257).

Palidaukaite (2005–2006) compared the ethics codes of 10 Central and East European countries that are in transition to democracies. The research questions included: What is the purpose of ethics codes, and how clearly is the purpose stated in documents? What are the central values or principles in the codes? How are conflicts of interest addressed? Do the codes have sanctions? How are they implemented? Palidaukaite’s extensive study of enabling laws and documents found that (1) conduct codes rather than ethics codes were adopted in some countries, such as Bulgaria; (2) the majority of the codes have clearly formulated objectives; (3) a few codes (Romania and Slovakia) attempt to strike a balance between inspiration, guidance, and regulation; (4) there is wide variation in the topics covered in the codes; and (5) codes are administered either through an impartial council or board (Slovakia, Romania, Lithuania) or “individuals can be left on their own to interpret and apply the code of ethics” (Poland, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia) (p. 45). These countries, she concludes, remain in transition to more mature democracies and have not altogether cast aside the guiding values of the former Soviet-type regime: loyalty, serving the state and party interest, and obedience. Yet the values embodied in the codes as a whole are suggestive that change is occurring consistent with common practices in Western countries that stress professionalism, rule of law, and public interest values.

Code studies that compare and contrast similarities and differences across countries, organizations, and public service professions rightly have their place in public administration ethics scholarship. The thorny question, however, is: Do ethics codes make a difference? Do they matter? Efforts to answer these questions do not easily lend themselves to empirical study, as measurement is difficult and causality is complex. Consider, for example, the challenge to demonstrate that an intervention, such as the adoption of a code, produces less incidence of unethical behavior. Could not the same result occur because of efforts to recruit employees with higher ethical standards, or a determined effort by management to foster a stronger ethical culture, or just by chance?

Then there is the question of what constitutes ethical competence, a topic that has received scant attention. One exception is the effort by Meine and Dunn (2013). They examine the content of ethics codes across public service professions and speculate about how codes may contribute to ethical competence. Their study covered both aspirational and operational codes adopted by professional associations whose members are typically public administration practitioners. The International Association of Chiefs of Police and the American Society for Public Administration have adopted aspirational codes (e.g., “do good, be good” codes), while the International City/County Management Association, the American Planning Association, and the National Association of Social Workers have adopted operational codes (i.e., codes that directly regulate behavior, often with sanctions for violations). After examining these codes and others, Meine and Dunn conclude that the verdict is still out regarding whether or not codes, regardless of their aspirational or operational qualities, contribute to achieving ethical competence, defined by May, Gandara, Edwards, Subhani, and Huyck (2010) as:

1. Having subject matter knowledge of codes and standards;
2. Strengthening reasoning skills and the ability to identify difficult ethics situations;
3. Strengthening problem-solving skills in situations when ethics standards and codes and various interests must be considered;
4. Strengthening the ability to advocate for principled decisions;
5. Building self-awareness and consensus-building skills; and
6. Strengthening ethics-focused attitudes and commitment.

“In the final analysis,” Meine and Dune (2013) contend, “the intuitive notion that codes play an important role in achieving ethical competence must be tempered by the realization that they are but one part of the overall effort. ... both aspirational and operational codes can play a meaningful role in the development of ethical competence” (p. 164). Their study brings welcome attention to the matter of ethical competence but stops short of reaching a more definitive conclusion about codes and competence. That being said, understanding the conditions and circumstances that encourage public administrators to strive for ethical competence is a glaring omission in public administration ethics research.

Laws and Regulatory Bodies

Laws to encourage ethical behavior and discourage unethical behavior often yield ethics commissions and regulatory boards. All too often, however, the emphasis is placed solely on “discouraging” unethical behavior through a laundry list of rules, regulations, and penalties. This compliance approach fosters “low road” behavior and can lead to creative rule dodging; the intent is meritorious even if the results are not always so.

A diverse set of ethics laws and regulatory bodies have been studied over the past decade. Among the studies that take aim at ethics laws is Roberts's (2012) exploration of the *Skilling v. United States* (2010) ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that limits the use of the honest-service doctrine of the federal mail fraud statute to prosecute state and local officials on public corruption charges. Saunders and Thibault (2010) examine the Canadian Public Servants Disclosure Protection Act's amendments in 2007 that "protect" federal whistleblowers. Wong (2007) turns his attention to British common law in a cross-national analysis to determine whether jury trials and professional judgeship affect the level of corruption. He concludes, "It is the common law institutions, not the common law itself, that predict perceived corruption" (p. 133). Further, his study of two judicial institutions—jury trials and professional judgeship—found that jury trials reduce corruption by decentralizing judicial power, whereas professional judgeships have the opposite effect because political leaders have the power to appoint (corrupt) judges (p. 148).

Studies of regulatory bodies range from local agencies to national institutions and reach across international borders (see Bradbury, 2007; Cowell, Downe, & Morgan, 2014; Pelizzo & Ang, 2008; Ryan et al., 2006; Segal, 2010). Bradbury's study examined U.S. state government ethics enforcement with data drawn from the Pennsylvania State Ethics Commission. He looked at the issuance of advisory opinions, the investigation of alleged violations, and the formal orders containing findings of fact and conclusions of law; he concluded that cost-effectiveness analysis of state ethics regulation is amiss. The Pelizzo and Ang (2008) study surveyed a different kind of regulatory body—the Indonesian parliament. Their survey compared Indonesian MPs' responses to those of British MPs (see Mancuso, 1993, 1995), and concluded, "Indonesian MPs have lower levels of tolerance for corruption and other forms of misconduct than their British counterparts" and that more heterogeneous standards preclude support of the "adoption and effective enforcement of a code of legislative conduct in Indonesia" (Mancuso, 1993, p. 268). Segal's (2010) research examined 10 U.S. inspector general offices; he found that they enjoy some protection from political influence but not as much as one might surmise.

Integrity Systems

A handful of ethics scholars have opened a new line of inquiry by focusing on the "big" picture—the ethics infrastructure or system—with linkages to reform, prompted in part by the breakup of the Soviet bloc in the late 1980s and 1990s. The democratization movement, as it is sometimes labeled, found fertile ground in emerging countries around the globe in the decades that followed. Early efforts to describe and account for integrity reform and desired change found expression in the metaphor of the "Greek Temple" pillars (institutions, laws, values) that had to function effectively to ensure a satisfactory quality of life for citizens (Pope, 2000). This metaphor spawned interest in the national integrity country studies sponsored by Transparency International. Since 2001, more than 70 National Integrity System (NIS) studies have been conducted (Lewis, Shacklock, Connors, & Sampford, 2013, p. 244). Lewis et al. (2013) describe the methodology and assessment of the National Integrity System of Georgia, building upon their experience conducting a NIS study in their home country, Australia.

The Dutch scholars Huberts and Six (2012) designed a framework to assess the local integrity systems of seven cities: Hong Kong, Sydney, New York, London, Antwerp, Hamburg, and Amsterdam. Their framework posited nine elements grouped in three clusters: setting the stage,

how the system works, and performance. Hoekstra's and Kaptein's (2012–2013) study of Dutch local governments asked: What does it take to institutionalize integrity in local government? They concluded that while local government integrity plans in the Netherlands have been obligatory for some years, and there is considerable diversity in their implementation, three key elements emerge: (1) ambition, including mission and vision; (2) organization, including strategy and means; and (3) efforts, including monitoring, reporting, and evaluating.

ORGANIZATIONAL PERFORMANCE

Are high-performing organizations infused with strong ethical cultures? Does an organization's ethical culture matter? Does ethical leadership make a difference in workplace behavior? These important questions have drawn the attention of ethics scholars, but what do we know now that we did not know a decade ago? The 2005 review closed this discussion by noting, "The studies reported here are promising, but much more needs to be done" (Menzel, 2005, p. 156). Indeed, much more has been done over the past 10 years, as the following studies attest.

Three studies in particular explore the connection between an organization's ethical culture and its performance. Pfiffner (2005) examined evidence of the abuse and torture of prisoners by U.S. military personnel at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq in 2003 and concluded that torture and abuse are not the product of a few bad apples but rather of a bad barrel. His examination found that official actions, including memoranda, policy changes, and command changes, "set the conditions for the abuse and torture of detainees" (p. 314); the ethical culture was so weak that it encouraged lower-echelon soldiers to perform in a morally objectionable manner. Verhezen (2008) explored organizational culture from an integrity perspective, as both an end and a means to an end. The pursuit of integrity, he concludes, contributes to improved organizational reputation, which, in turn, contributes to higher organizational performance. The "positive image of integrity as good reputation may have an empowering influence" but runs the risk of simply becoming a buzz word to justify utilitarian if "fashionable ethical discourse that does not really foster a higher standard of organizational ethics" (p. 143).

Two other studies point more directly to the linkage between a strong ethical culture and organizational performance. Yeager et al. (2007) studied the effects of supervisory emphasis on ethical guidance versus political responsiveness in a sample of public finance employees. The authors surveyed 460 government finance officers to measure the emphasis placed by supervisors to encourage employees to act ethically and to determine whether they factored political responsiveness into employee evaluations. The results suggest that supervisors set the tone for the organization (p. 277), and that "a supervisor's effort to encourage employees to act ethically overwhelms any simultaneous emphasis on political responsiveness." The bottom line: "only ethical guidance yields consistently positive work outcomes" (p. 278).

Strickland and Vaughan (2008) draw on Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory of human psychological development to build a model that explains how nonprofit organizations develop an ethical culture. They assert that key ethical ideals and procedures must be internalized in the organization's everyday operations. An organization that lacks a strong ethical culture can "damage their [*sic*] own interests as well as donor interests and may indirectly harm all others in the third sector" (p. 235). Although they did not test their model, they make numerous references to cases and situations in which nonprofits experienced ethical failures.

The study with perhaps the most compelling results is the Hassan et al. (2014) investigation of the impact of ethical leadership on workplace behavior. They surveyed 161 managers in a large U.S. state government agency and reviewed reports and personnel records. They hypothesized that ethical leadership (1) increases the willingness of public sector employees to report ethical problems to management, (2) strengthens the organizational commitment of employees, and (3) reduces the frequency of absenteeism (pp. 335–336). Their study defined ethical leadership as “being a role model for others, treating people fairly, and actively managing ethics in the organization” (p. 334). All their hypotheses were supported by statistical findings and await confirmation in other study populations.

The studies reported here are promising, although a good deal more needs to be done to understand the critical links between ethics and organizational performance.

NEW ETHICS MANAGEMENT

Ethics laws, rules, and regulations, and, more recently, ethics codes, constitute the “old” ethics management—a passive-aggressive approach with the accent on “dos” and “don’ts.” Compliance is another name for this approach, typically driven by an ethics failure triggered by an egregious act or scandal. In the American experience, this approach has led some observers to suggest that the pursuit of absolute integrity can produce just the opposite—rule dodging, manipulation, corruption, rationalization of unethical acts (see Anechiarico & Jacobs, 1996).

Public administration ethics researchers have propelled new ethics management to the forefront of the literature. The emerging consensus is that ethical behavior can be achieved by example and positive inducements (e.g., recognition, training, education) applied at the level of the individual and the organization—good apples and good barrels can be built and sustained through leadership, integrity-driven ethics, training, and an emphasis on public values.

Leadership

The search for ethical leadership and leaders—who they are and how they become so—continues with intensity. One line of promising “new” research in this field focuses on cultural differences in leadership style and effectiveness. Mingzheng and Xinhui’s (2014) comparative literature study identifies two indigenous streams in Chinese public leadership research: (1) paternalistic—a blend of authoritarianism, benevolence, and morality rooted in the country’s culture, and (2) differential leadership—subordinates are treated differently by leaders “depending on whether or not the subordinate belongs to a favored group” (p. 168). Three factors influence how a leader interacts with followers: *guanxi* (relationship derived from a commonality, such as birthplace or regional language), loyalty, and competence. Ethical/moral leadership is considered a subtype of paternalistic leadership reflected by the Confucian values of harmony, respect, and virtue. “Moral behavior,” assert Mingzheng and Xinhui (p. 169), “has always been regarded as an important factor in the selection and appointment of public leaders ... the outcome of China’s long tradition of rule not by law but by people ... [and is] reinforced by the lack of effective legal remedies in modern Chinese society.”

Culture-based (see also Bai & Morris, 2014; Yang & van der Wal, 2014) and contextual studies of leadership are welcome additions to the literature, yet overlooked is the question

of what leaders do and can do to cultivate a strong ethical culture that is central to the art and practice of effective ethics management. It might be asserted that many in leadership positions in public agencies and nonprofits have limited, perhaps little, awareness of their responsibility to build and sustain organizations of integrity. This deficiency, caused in part by ethics laws and ordinances already in place, has not gone unrecognized by professional associations.

The International City/County Management Association (ICMA) has been in the forefront of promoting ethics management. Eskridge, French, and McThomas's (2012) study of ethical code violations by ICMA members makes it clear that ICMA encourages city managers to live and work more by aspirational, virtue-based tenets than by deontological or act-based tenets. City managers who view their ethics and the ethics of those around them mostly in terms of rules or consequences are likely to fall far short of managing ethically or fostering a strong ethical culture.

A study by Kaptein et al. (2005) draws attention to the importance of managerial awareness of ethics management. Their survey of 344 U.S. public employees found that while the first step in managing ethics may be "to establish a code of conduct, or a document ... that articulates the organizational values, principles, and standards," additional steps include providing employee training, setting up a hotline, improving communication about potential ethical problems, and encouraging speaking out about ethically bothersome situations (p. 301).

The preceding summaries suggest that ethics management is very important and makes a positive difference in workplace behavior and organizational productivity (also see Hassan et al., 2014).

Integrity-Driven Ethics

Much of what passes for ethics management in practice is compliance-driven. Why? It is much easier to write laws, regulations, and rules than it is to motivate employees and colleagues to do the "right" thing because it is the "right" thing to do. Stevulak and Brown (2011, p. 108) put it plainly: "It is much easier to develop, promulgate, and apply a new law than to build the character of a public service." Nonetheless, there has been a growing call for ethics management from an integrity-driven perspective, and there is evidence practitioners are heeding the call. Do these developments come as an either/or option? No—a compelling case can be made for a balance or blend of tools and approaches that embrace both compliance and integrity models.

Maesschalck (2004–2005) offers an alternative to the deterministic thinking that presumes a compliance-integrity continuum. He draws on the grid-group theory of anthropology (Douglas, 1978) to expand the compliance-integrity continuum. Grid-group theory, when applied to ethics management, results in a four-fold typology: (1) contrived randomness (compliance qualities), (2) competition (discourages practices such as nepotism), (3) oversight and review (codes and enforcement), and (4) mutuality (integrity qualities and an emphasis on values) (Maesschalck, 2004–2005, p. 27). He argues that the grid-group approach has important advantages for both academics and practitioners: (1) it goes beyond the compliance-integrity dichotomy and therefore encourages a creative search for alternatives, and (2) the typology "is especially helpful for assessing the consistency of ethics management instruments with other management instruments, the organizational culture, and the environment" (Maesschalck, 2004–2005, p. 36).

The staying power of the compliance-integrity continuum is evidenced by a research study on efforts to stem corruption in eight countries of the former Soviet Union. As Stevulak and Brown

(2011) observe, it is no surprise that Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, and Ukraine would resort to compliance-based measures, given the authoritarian history of the Soviet Union. Yet their study found that “compliance-based approaches, on their own, were not up to the task of developing ethical public service or good governance” (p. 99). Consequently, Stevulak and Brown call for an integrity-based approach in building a strong ethical culture in transitional societies. A similar assessment is offered by Haruna’s (2008) study of the compliance-integrity continuum and approach taken in Ghana. The experience there, with its emphasis on obedience, neutral competence, and performance, has not stemmed the downward slide of integrity. Like Maesschalck, Haruna contends that the continuum is too limited. He concludes his study with an endorsement of community-based ethics that can “expand the boundaries of the compliance-integrity model and anchors it in the broader society” (Haruna, 2008, p. 125).

Training

Just as ethics codes have found their place in ethics management, so too training has arrived in full force. Yet questions about the content, style, frequency, and effectiveness of training remain intensely debated. The minimalist approach aims at preventing unethical behavior due to ignorance; employees who understand ethics rules and laws are thought less likely to engage in unethical behavior. A more robust approach provides employees with the decision tools to sort through challenging ethical dilemmas and motivates them to aspire to higher ethical standards.

Still, demonstrating that ethics training makes a difference is challenging. Wyatt-Nichol and Franks (2009–2010) surveyed chiefs of police in 100 U.S. cities with populations ranging from 100,000 to 500,000 to identify the “frequency and administrating of ethics training, content and instructional strategies, and perceptions of the value of training” (p. 44). The 34 police chiefs strongly endorsed the value of training, indicating that it reinforces written policies, promotes discussion of ethical issues, and helps officers recognize ethical issues as they arise. The chiefs also believe that ethics instruction reduces infractions among officers and encourages officers to be more willing to report unethical behavior.

A study of Dutch training programs involving several hundred municipal civil servants offers a more sobering outcome. Van Montfort et al. (2013) used an experimental research design and postal surveys to determine the effectiveness of ethics training in two municipalities. Both programs aimed to stimulate the participants’ moral awareness, contribute to their level of moral reasoning, and provide methods to burnish the moral quality of their behavior (p. 120). Did ethics training result in short- or long-term effectiveness? Effectiveness was defined as increasing the level of moral awareness, improving moral reasoning, and elevating the moral quality of the participants’ behavior (p. 124). They concluded that the training programs did not have long-term effectiveness but did have some short-term effectiveness.

Workshops are also offered for ethics training. One survey of the 100 largest U.S. local governments found that slightly more than a third said that they regularly conducted ethics workshops (Feldheim & Wang, 2003–2004). Their effectiveness, contend Kaptein et al. (2005, p. 301), “remains elusive for some organizations, and others prefer not to know the answer at all.”

These studies point clearly to the need for more research on the value of ethics training as an ethics management tool.

Public Values

Ethics has been and is a values-driven enterprise. Normative theories such as virtue theory, consequentialism, and deontological principles are fused with values, and a close look at the articles in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review* over the past decade suggests a strong resurgence of interest in values.

Two items stand out in this regard: studying values as (1) a common core, and (2) a multinational if not multicultural phenomenon. Van der Wal, Pevkur, and Vrangbaek's (2008) empirical study of value congruence among old and new European Union member states compares the public sector values of the Netherlands, Denmark, and Estonia, a new member. More specifically, they sought to (1) identify the similarities and dissimilarities of public sector values in these three countries, and (2) determine how consistent those values are with the values of other European Union member states. Through surveys of public sector managers in the Netherlands ($n = 231$), Denmark ($n = 290$), and Estonia ($n = 297$), they identified similarities and differences but overall a "considerable amount of congruence" (p. 329). The differences were primarily due to the influence of New Public Management with its emphasis on business values (e.g., Denmark). However, with regard to consistency with European Union values at large, the investigators conclude there is more consistency than inconsistency.

Values were also the centerpiece of a study by van der Wal and de Graaf (2006–2007) of how business and government managers in the Netherlands perceive each other's value orientations. The study surveyed more than 200 top-level government officials and 151 business executives to map value orientations. The main question was: "Which organizational values are deemed most important for the public sector by private sector managers, and which organizational values are deemed most important for the private sector by public sector managers?" (p. 46) This question was followed by: "How do government and business managers themselves actually perceive one another's morality?" (p. 49) The answer to the last question is consistent with the conventional view in the public administration literature that civil servants view private sector managers as less honest and prone to corruption. "Private sector managers view the public sector as less effective, accountable, and guided by expertise ... and more in favor of transparency than government managers perceive it" (p. 56; also see Salminen & Mäntysalo, 2013).

These studies suggest that managers need to keep a watchful eye on a public workforce whose members may presume they are ethically superior to those they serve. Sound ethics management requires recognizing that private and public sector actors often do not share common core values.

A study of organizational values also served as the central focus of Berman and West's (2012) investigation of senior managers in U.S. special district governments, organizations largely invisible to citizens and often overlooked by public administration scholars. A mail survey of 217 agency directors was conducted in 485 large special districts. "Public values," Berman and West assert, "give government organizations their distinctive public purposes, such as commitment to accountability, openness, inclusiveness (stakeholder participation), equity, and the pursuit of community and public benefits" (p. 44). Values such as these are associated with ethical considerations, decision-making styles, and achieving outcomes. Their results documented that special district managers have a strong commitment to public values, despite the commonly held view that "special districts are overly responsive to and influenced by business and other private interests" (p. 50).

Several investigators have explored the religious and spiritual values held by those in public service occupations. Houston, Freeman, and Feldman (2008) analyzed responses to questions asked in the 1998 General Social Survey (1,322 respondents), and found, among other things, that individuals employed in public service occupations, especially occupations typically found in government, are more religious than people in other occupations. Although the data did not enable them to assess the impact that religiosity may have on the delivery of public services, they contend that it is a positive impact, especially in building public trust in government.⁵

THE ETHICAL ENVIRONMENT

There are a myriad of tensions, pressures, and influences in the socioeconomic-political environments of public administrators. Therefore, it is not surprising that ethics scholars have a strong interest in exploring how one's environment shapes one's ethical worldview and creates practical limits on right and wrong behavior. Nor is it altogether surprising that so many articles published in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review* over the past decade ($n = 61$) focus in part or entirely on the ethical environment (see Table 1). The range of topics includes ethics as contributing to good governance, public trust, responsible citizenship, democracy, community, transparency, and whistleblowing. Menzel's 2005 review concluded,

There can be little argument ... about the need to more fully understand what community leaders can and should do to foster ethical and trustworthy government. And, by the same measure, what government leaders need to do to build trustworthy relationships with members of their communities. (p. 162)

Trust, Community, Citizenship

Public trust and confidence in government in the United States and in some countries abroad are at an all-time low. The reasons are many, with perhaps the foremost being the perception, if not the reality, that those who hold public office have lost their way ethically and morally, and second-most, the commodification of citizenship. The establishment and growth of gated communities and the privately managed community enables residents to buy a form of commoditized citizenship. Van der Steen, van Twist, and Karré (2011) present an intriguing assessment of 129 privately run communities in the Netherlands. "In private communities," they note, "citizens subject themselves to their own rules and decide who they want to live with (and who to keep outside the community)" (p. 324). This view of citizenship treats citizens as consumers of security, norms, and values with a common interest that may not coincide with the view of the citizen as a contributor to the commonweal. Disengagement from the community and public life offers little in the way of trustworthiness toward government or governance. "Privately managed communities," assert the authors, "are criticized based on the idea that groups of citizens retreating from society and establishing their own rules is in itself unethical" (p. 327).

That public trust and confidence in government have diminished because public officials have lost their way ethically and morally is a more controversial matter, as it is freighted with political ideology, moral ambiguity, and social divisiveness. Still, there is evidence that lends

credence to this proposition. Consider Menzel's (2009) case study of ethical illiteracy in local governance. The case involved educated, politically astute elected and appointed county officials in a professionally managed local government who found themselves invoking the oft-used Fifth Amendment when there was no other direction to turn—"I didn't do anything unethical, illegal, or immoral." The story turned on the efforts of a property appraiser to sell his private property to the county, resulting in the resignations of the county attorney and administrator, the property appraiser forgoing running for a fifth term of office, and a grand jury presentment concluding that "the breath of scandal surrounding this affair ... will have a lasting impact on how the citizens of Pinellas County view its officials and government" (p. 376). A distraught citizen had chimed in that this "sort of back-door deal causes residents to distrust the commission ... a wink and a nod won't do" (p. 375). Did Pinellas County officials lose their way ethically? So it would seem. Was public trust diminished? Most likely.

The downward slide in public trust and upswing in citizen cynicism regarding public affairs are troubling matters. Moreover, as Ventriss (2012, p. 283) notes, the resurrection of democratic citizenship and public ethics will not be accomplished by "managerial approaches, technical competency, and adherence to procedural rules." Rather, he asserts, the "values of trust, respect, openness, obligation, and adherence to the highest ethical standards in public service" need to be taken seriously (p. 295). Debating and building such an approach, he acknowledges, will not be easy and is fraught with many difficulties. Yet, "at this propitious moment when public trust in government is at a long-time low, such a debate is urgently overdue" (p. 295).

Houston and Harding's (2013–2014) study of public trust in government administrators offers a positive note toward resolving the trust-building challenge. "How much trust do citizens have in government administrators, and what explains the variation in their attitudes?" (p. 53). Drawing on General Social Survey data, they found that "the trustworthiness of administrators is more positive than what might be generally thought" (p. 53). The link between public trust in civil servants to do their job competently and the trust placed in government more generally, they conclude, must be built on a vision of public service grounded in democratic values. Houston and Harding do not believe that efforts to enhance the competency of government administration are alone sufficient to overcome citizen distrust.

Still, there is little question that, as Wang and Van Wart's (2007) national survey of large U.S. cities found, "public trust increases when public officials demonstrate integrity, honesty, and moral leadership and when ethics are institutionalized in government through the process of participation" (p. 276).

Transparency, Disclosure, and Good Governance

Research on these topics is not plentiful but is robust and growing (see Justice & McNutt, 2013–2014). Ball (2009) brings attention to the multiple definitions of transparency from a postmodern perspective, using three metaphors to encompass its meaning as: "(1) a public value embraced by society to counter corruption; (2) synonymous with open decision-making by governments and non-profits; and (3) a complex tool of good governance in programs, policies, organization, and nations" (p. 293). Stated differently, transparency is connected with accountability in the first metaphor, with concerns for secrecy and privacy in the second, and with efficiency and effectiveness in the third.

Ellington (2013) takes on the challenge of assessing the transparency commitment of the Obama administration. Presidential candidate Barack Obama promised that if elected, his

administration would be the most transparent and accountable in history. Ellington's focus is on how the Obama administration treats decisions to classify, declassify, or overclassify documents as secret. He then examines the effort by the Obama administration to prosecute accused leakers, a common practice in Washington. The data assembled by Ellington point to a mixed record. "The Obama administration," he writes, "has taken some steps toward greater transparency ... [but] the aggressive pursuit of leak suspects in criminal court went beyond anything seriously contemplated by even the very opaque Bush administration" (p. 144). Is the Obama administration becoming the most transparent administration in history? Not likely, Ellington concludes.

Transparency, disclosure, and high ethical standards are surely the ingredients of good governance. Yet, to be sure, governance that improves the living standards of ordinary people, provides public services that are affordable and cost-effective, and promotes justice and fairness is also good governance. Are there common principles of good governance, Van Doeveren (2011) asks in "Rethinking Good Governance." His study reviewed the meaning attached to good governance by the World Bank, the European Union, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations, and several leading scholars. While ideas about good governance often conflict, he claims there are five principles around which there is some convergence: (1) accountability, (2) efficiency and effectiveness, (3) openness and transparency, (4) participation, and (5) rule of law. Principles beyond this common core include the absence of corruption, equity and inclusiveness, human rights, and devolution. Van Doeveren notes that only the scholars identified human rights and devolution as components of good governance.

A study of good governance by Jørgensen and Sørensen (2012–2013) examined 14 national codes of good governance—Italy, Spain, Denmark (codes in 2005 and 2007), Norway, Estonia, Poland, Romania, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Korea, South Africa, and Turkey. Jørgensen and Sørensen also compared the country codes with the Model Code of Conduct for Public Officials published by the Council of Europe (2000) and the International Code of Conduct for Public Officials published by the United Nations (1996). While there are national variations among the codes, Jørgensen and Sørensen found that "they match with the international model codes from the UN and the European Council and the conceptions of good governance launched by the OECD, IMF, World Bank, UN, and EU" (p. 87). Did this study identify a set of global public values? Jørgensen and Sørensen believe the answer is yes. Further confirmation is offered by Lewis and Gilman (2005), who contend that "the core values of honesty, transparency, and professionalism" are shared by professionals across the globe and are "associated with their role and training rather than with cultural particulars" (p. 331).

POLICY ETHICS

Research on policy ethics ranks second in the number of articles appearing in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review* over the past decade (see Table 1). The 1999 review did not discuss policy ethics in any depth for the simple reason that there was little in the literature. The review did note in closing that there was a rapidly growing body of research literature on this subject. It asserted further that "the terrain here is most intriguing but largely unmapped" (Menzel & Carson, 1999, p. 163). But neither time nor the literature stands still. Much change is evident in publications in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review*, as the policy topics listed in Table 2 illustrate.

TABLE 2
Policy Topics in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review* Articles, 2005–2014

Organ procurement	Religious displays	International justice	Secrecy
No Child Left Behind	War	Tobacco control	Social equity
Debt driven revenue	Ecology & environmentalism	Hurricane Katrina	Romanian health care
Evolutionary psychology	Property rights	Torture	Terrorism
Voting & elections	Globalism	Eminent domain	Procurement
Security	Oil pipeline	Taking Clause	Domestic threats
Welfare reform	Influenza vaccine	Democratic governance	Commercial gaming
			Government spending

Given the diversity in policy topics, what can be said about the substance of the research from an ethics perspective? First, the methodologies are as diverse as the topics, ranging from historical documents to case studies to surveys to hypothesis testing. Second, the normative foci include utilitarianism, moralism, public interest, and virtue/character building. Perhaps a better way to answer the question raised above is to take a closer look at a handful of studies (see also French & Raymond, 2009; Givel & Glantz, 2004–2005; Lally & Schultz, 2006; Lawton & Macaulay, 2014; Patrick, 2013).

Reike's (2006) study of moral and administrative failure in the shocking case of torture at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq begins with an assessment of the failure of the Department of Defense to provide adequate training in detention or prison operations. The soldiers who abused prisoners were under the command of leaders who were indifferent to the needs and concerns of their subordinates and thus acted largely without leadership oversight (p. 141). Further administrative complications added confusion to the situation, as the relationship between the 800th Military Police Brigade commander, Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, and the commander of the 205th Military Intelligence Brigade, Colonel Thomas Pappas, was unclear. When the military police were placed under the command of the military intelligence unit, this put the ranking officer (Karpinski) under the authority of a lower-ranked officer (Pappas). These failures and others "resulted in an untrained, undisciplined, and undermanned unit" (p. 143). While the soldiers who abused prisoners were not without fault, the Justice Department's narrow definition of torture justified the use of coercive interrogation policies and contributed to the conditions that "led to the torture and abuse of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison" (p. 144).

Pfiffner's (2005) analysis of torture and public policy at the Guantanamo Bay naval base, and Abu Ghraib points to several key legal memoranda that set the conditions for torture: (1) the suspension of the Geneva Conventions on the treatment of prisoners-of-war, and (2) the 50-page, single-spaced document written in 2002 by Assistant Attorney General Jay Bybee dealing with the question of what would constitute torture under U.S. law. While there is no public evidence that President George W. Bush or Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld ordered or condoned the torture of prisoners, Pfiffner notes, civilian and military leaders took seriously the legal memorandum justifying "actionable intelligence" that "set the tone that allowed abuse to occur" (p. 323).

Another study of policy ethics conducted by Riccucci (2007) touches on a quite different issue—U.S. welfare reform set in motion 1996 with the enactment of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). This law brought drastic changes to welfare policy in the United States, "leading to the complete dismantling of the safety net for poor and needy persons and families" (p. 155). Riccucci asked whether social workers

were meeting their ethical obligation to “enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of all people,” as called for by the National Association of Social Workers (p. 155). She collected data through direct observation of encounters between street-level workers and applicants in county-level welfare agencies in four states, Georgia, Michigan, New York, and Texas, in addition to “200 paper-and-pencil surveys administered to all workers who had face-to-face contact or interaction with welfare applicants or clients” (p. 159). Her findings indicate that while welfare workers spend a great deal of time processing applications for aid, as called for by a “host of new and very arduous requirements,” they are also serving the needs and interests of those seeking welfare benefits (p. 170). In other words, welfare workers are finding ways to balance their responsibility to abide by the law and their professional responsibility to address the needs and interests of the clients. They are not, she concludes, “hiding behind the law to avoid helping their clients receive welfare benefits” (p. 171).

A fourth sample of policy ethics is Kurtz’s (2010–2011) case study of the 2006 BP oil spill in Prudhoe Bay on Alaska’s North Slope, the largest pipeline incident in a decades-long operating system. How could this spill have happened, Kurtz asks. Why was there such weak regulatory oversight? What happened to the industry’s commitment to environmental protection? These questions motivated Kurtz to examine the relationship between organizational culture, integrity, and a weak regulatory regime (p. 25). A key factor in this incident was the failure of BP’s leadership to embrace the culture of integrity it purported to uphold. Rather, BP’s modus operandi was reputation management—a focus on symbolic stories, icons and image building (p. 33). Kurtz’s study provides evidence of the “instrumental role leadership plays in the development or deterioration of organizational integrity” (p. 36). Bluntly put, BP’s emphasis on excessive cost-cutting, risk-taking, ignoring of safety concerns, and supposed intimidation describes an “organizational culture significantly deviating from integrity” (p. 34).

GLOBALIZATION

Friedman’s (2005) book *The World Is Flat* triggered a wide-ranging discussion about how the age of instantaneous communication and high-tech-driven information has flattened political borders and contributed to the breakdown of economic barriers across the globe. Globalization, however, is much more than an economic phenomenon; it is also a cultural phenomenon. When the two are fused, as Friedman believes they increasingly are, globalization is transformed into “glocalization,” or the absorption of foreign ideas and practices by a local culture (p. 325).

Globalization and its stepchild—glocalization—may well be the motivating influence that has resulted in an upsurge of ethics research that explores:

- accountability in diverse cultures (Michael, 2005);
- shifting images of politics and administration viewed through the Eastern philosophical lens of yin-yang (Yang & Holzer, 2005);
- integrity systems in the Netherlands (Six, van der Veen, & Kruithof, 2012);
- the absorption or rejection of Western compliance-integrity models in Ghana (Haruna, 2008);
- ethics norms and infrastructures in Germany and the United States (Behnke, 2007–2008);
- regulatory ethics failure in Canada and Israel (Schwartz, 2007–2008);

- public sector value congruence in the Netherlands, Denmark, and Estonia (van der Wal et al., 2008);
- differing perspectives on democracy and corruption in Bulgaria (Emerson, 2005–2006);
- trust and corporate social responsibility in Portugal (Rego, Sarrico, & Moreira, 2005–2006);
- ethics reform and standards in Indonesia (Pelizzo & Ang, 2008);
- global standards built on honesty, transparency, and professionalism (Lewis & Gilman, 2005); and
- integrity policy formation processes in the Netherlands (Hoekstra & Kaptein, 2014).

MOVING FORWARD

As noted above, the current review and assessment focuses on research defined broadly as observable, including both qualitative and quantitative data and analytics. Given this definition, the answer to the question *What is the primary focus of research on ethics in public administration?* is straightforward. Namely, there is not one primary focus but multiple foci: (1) ethical decision-making and moral development, (2) ethics laws and regulatory agencies, (3) organizational performance, (4) ethics management, (5) the ethical environment, and two new foci: (6) policy ethics, and (7) globalization. Insofar as more attention has been given to one or the other of these, studies of the ethical environment and policy ethics have moved to the fore. The explanation for these trends may well be the result of a greater appreciation for the complexity and interconnectedness of ethics in public governance.

A second question asked at the outset of this review was: *How well does empirical research inform ethics theory? How well does ethics theory inform empirical research?* The answers to these questions have changed little from the previous reviews. The evidence is mixed. Still, as recounted in the preceding pages, theory is not the stepchild to practice, but neither is it the driver of research in this field. It is worth restating in this article what was put plainly in the 2005 review: “More theory-observation bridge-building remains to be done by future investigators” (Menzel, 2005, p. 162).

A third question pursued in this review was: *Are the research findings cumulative? Is progress being made toward building a body of knowledge?* This is a difficult question to answer, given the proliferation of study topics and issues. What we may be witnessing is not the accumulation of knowledge as a linear process but more of a building block approach that resembles an attempt to put together the pieces of a puzzle with no boundary. As noted, many studies are not confined to a single focus or theme. The study of ethics, as reviewed here, does not lend itself to the conclusion that a scientific paradigm is evolving. But does it matter? Not necessarily—there is no compelling reason to believe that ethics research in public administration should resemble research paradigms that have evolved in the natural-physical and some behavioral sciences.

The fourth set of questions asked was: *Are there neglected or overlooked areas of study? Related, are there new avenues of research?* The answer to both questions is a resounding yes. One sketchily researched area is the ethical implications associated with the incredible growth and development in information and communications technology (ICT). Only one article in *Public Integrity* and *Public Administration Review* over the past 10 years focused

on ethical conflicts and solutions involving government acquisition of information. Zinkhan, De Lorme, Peters, and Watson (2007) examined the gathering of information via the U.S. census and the Internet. Data mining, or the mapping of patterns in vast storehouses of information collected by social media giants, is freighted with ethical issues of access, privacy, and confidentiality. Consider Jordan's (2014) study of the ethics for the future of "big data" governance. She asks, What are "the appropriate ethical principles for government use of large-scale data-gathering exercises?" (p. 376) The conversation she started has a considerable distance to go before we can be confident that the appropriate principles and evidence-based findings are in place.

Another research gap is the paucity of ethics studies that investigate the astonishing growth of networking and public-private partnering in the public sector in the United States and abroad. There are a few exceptions. One is the work of Ghere (2011), who draws upon a case study to raise questions about accountability when a business-dominant network exhibits ethically questionable behaviors at the expense of the community. He borrows Cigler's (2001, p. 77) question that asks, "When government is the 'weak sector' within a collaboration, what are the effects on accountability traditionally defined as linkages and responsiveness to citizens?" Another exception is Hudon (2011), who has taken a close look at public-private partnerships in Quebec and the potential for unethical procurement practices.

Two other research gaps mentioned earlier merit repeating: (1) the effectiveness of ethics training, and (2) practical and theoretical knowledge on becoming ethically competent. These gaps will surely be addressed by future investigators.

Among the interesting new avenues of research is the attention increasingly given to building and testing integrity systems, and sorting through the promise of good governance. Conceptualizing and measuring both integrity infrastructures and "good" governance are works-in-progress. Future findings in these areas are likely to yield valuable insight into twenty-first-century public governance (Rothstein, 2011).

Another new development is the application of innovative tools and techniques for conducting ethics research. De Graaf and van Exel (2008–2009), for example, call for the use of Q methodology by academics and practitioners in the field of administrative ethics. They note that Q methodology is widely employed in other administrative sciences and involves "the systematic study of subjectivity: a person's viewpoint, opinion, beliefs, attitudes, and the like" (Brown, 1993). As they explain, "Q methodology gives the investigator the opportunity to examine and build theory without pre-developed categories" (de Graaf & van Exel, 2008–2009, p. 67).

One final but important area of missing research is the effort by international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to offer data-based studies that serve as an operational guide for developing countries wishing to build effective barriers to corruption and erect firm foundations for ethical governance.⁶ This kind of research is evidenced in publications by the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, Council of Europe, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, along with NGOs Transparency International, Global Integrity, and U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. As suggested by Gilman (personal communication, March 3, 2014b), this body of work consists of a massive amount of research that is having a significant impact in the development community. Future investigators are encouraged to review and assess this research.

The present review and assessment points to a healthy, robust enterprise that has taken hold in the United States and Europe, with contributions from other world regions. Yet the end is not in sight. The decades ahead will surely witness more contributions rich in diversity and promise. The journey continues.

NOTES

1. Examples of commentaries are Feeney and Kingsley (2008), Gawthrop (2005), Pasquerella and Killilea (2005), and Stanton (2009–2010). Examples of conceptual essays are Dobel (2006), Donaldson (2006), McCurdy (2006), and Witt (2011).
2. Previous reviews published in *Public Integrity* by the author included more journals and a shorter time span (five years). Consequently, it should be emphasized that the results of the present *Public Integrity/Public Administration Review* combined review are not necessarily generalizable to all ethics/public administration research in American and/or international journals. That being said, the author did survey other relevant American journals to identify articles with “ethics” in their title. These journals, with the number of “ethics” articles in parentheses, were *Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory* (2), *State & Local Government Review* (0), *Administration & Society* (11), *American Political Science Review* (2), *Public Administration Quarterly* (1), and *American Review of Public Administration* (2).
3. ASPA is the owner of *Public Integrity* and describes it as “the touchstone journal on ethics and leadership for public service.” *Public Integrity* is affiliated with ASPA’s Ethics Section and co-sponsored by the International City/County Management Association, the Council of State Governments, and the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws.
4. While *Public Integrity* publishes articles clearly designated as “research,” it also publishes commentary, case studies, symposia, exemplar profiles, field reports, and an occasional “point/counter-point.” The journal lists 115 research articles, 45 commentaries, seven cases, four exemplar profiles, three field reports, one point/counter-point, and 21 concept papers (primarily in symposia) for the 2005–2014 period. Among the total of 37 issues of *Public Integrity*, 11 are symposia that contain a mix of research articles, concept papers, and commentary.
5. A related but different approach taken to examine religion and spirituality in the public workplace is Stephen M. King’s (2007) study of court cases and normative models that integrate religion and spirituality.
6. I am indebted to Stuart Gilman for bringing this to my attention.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A special note of thanks to James S. Bowman, Stuart C. Gilman, and William L. Richter for constructive comments on an earlier version of this article. The author is grateful to the four anonymous reviewers for their insightful and helpful comments.

REFERENCES

- Anechiarico, F., & Jacobs, J. B. (1996). *The pursuit of absolute integrity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bai, X., & Morris, N. (2014). Leadership and virtue ethics: A Daoist approach. *Public Integrity*, 16(2), 173–186.
- Ball, C. (2009). What is transparency? *Public Integrity*, 11(4), 293–307.
- Behnke, N. (2007–2008). Public trust, path dependence, and powerful interests: A model for the emergence of ethics measures. *Public Integrity*, 10(1), 11–36. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922100102
- Berman, E. M., & West, J. P. (2012). Public values in special districts: A survey of managerial commitment. *Public Administration Review*, 72(1), 43–54. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2011.02477.x
- Boin, A., & Nieuwenburg, P. (2013). The moral costs of discretionary decision-making in crisis. *Public Integrity*, 15(4), 367–384. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150403

- Bradbury, M. D. (2007). Toward a cost-effectiveness assessment of state ethics commissions: An analysis of enforcement outputs. *Public Integrity*, 9(4), 333–347. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922090402
- Brown, S. (1993). A primer on Q methodology. *Operant Subjectivity*, 16(3/4), 91–138.
- Caillier, J. G. (2012–2013). Agency retaliation against whistle-blowers. *Public Integrity*, 15(1), 29–50. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150102
- Cigler, B. A. (2001). Multiorganizational, multisector, and multicomunity organizations: Setting the research agendas. In M. P. Mandrell (Ed.), *Getting result through collaboration: Networks and network structures for public policy and management* (pp. 71–85). Westport, CT: Quorum Books.
- Council of Europe. (2000). *Model code of conduct for public officials*. Retrieved from <http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/model-code-of-conduct-for-public-officials/>
- Cowell, R., Downe, J., & Morgan, K. (2014). Managing politics? Ethics regulation and conflicting conceptions of “good conduct.” *Public Administration Review*, 74(1), 29–38. doi:10.1111/puar.12135
- de Graaf, G. (2010). A report on reporting: Why peers report integrity and law violations in public organizations. *Public Administration Review*, 70(5), 767–779.
- de Graaf, G., & van Exel, J. (2008–2009). Using Q methodology in administrative ethics. *Public Integrity*, 11(1), 63–78. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922110104
- Dobel, J. P. (2006). Mortal leadership in Homer’s *Odyssey*. *Public Integrity*, 8(3), 215–231. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080303
- Donaldson, S. (2006). Outside, looking in: Female leadership in Wendy Wasserstein’s *An American Daughter*. *Public Integrity*, 8(3), 207–214. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080302
- Douglas, M. (1978). Cultural bias. In M. Douglas (Ed.), *In the active voice* (pp. 183–254). London: Routledge.
- Dryburgh, M. M. (2009). Personal and policy implications of whistle-blowing: The case of Corcoran State Prison. *Public Integrity*, 11(2), 155–170. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922110203
- Ellington, T. C. (2013). The most transparent administration in history? *Public Integrity*, 15(2), 133–148. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150202
- Emerson, S. M. (2005–2006). Corruption in Bulgaria. *Public Integrity*, 8(1), 65–76. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080105
- Eskridge, R. D., French, P. E., & McThomas, M. (2012). The International City/County Management Association Code of Ethics. *Public Integrity*, 14(2), 127–150. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922140202
- Feeny, M. K., & Kingsley, G. (2008). The rebirth of patronage: Have we come full circle? *Public Integrity*, 10(2), 165–176. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922100205
- Feldheim, M. A., & Wang, X. (2003–2004). Ethics and public trust: Results from a national survey. *Public Integrity*, 6(1), 63–75.
- French, P. E., & Raymond, E. S. (2009). Pandemic influenza planning: An extraordinary ethical dilemma for local government officials. *Public Administration Review*, 69(5), 823–830. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2009.02032.x
- Friedman, T. L. (2005). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Gawthrop, L. C. (2005). Public administration in a global mode: With sympathy and compassion. *Public Integrity*, 7(3), 241–259.
- Ghere, R. K. (2011). Network legitimacy and accountability in a developmental perspective. *Public Integrity*, 13(2), 163–180. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922130205
- Gibson, P. A. (2009). Examining the moral reasoning of the ethics adviser and counselor: The case of the federal designated agency ethics official. *Public Integrity*, 11(2), 105–120. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922110200
- Givel, M. S., & Glantz, S. A. (2004–2005). Political insiders without grass-roots advocacy in the administration of a Missouri tobacco-control youth-access program. *Public Integrity*, 7(1), 5–19.
- Gómez-Vilchis, R. R. (2012). Changes in perceptions of corruption and presidential approval in Mexico. *Public Integrity*, 14(4), 341–360. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922140402
- Grobman, G. M. (2007). An analysis of codes of ethics of nonprofit tax-exempt membership associations: Does principal constituency make a difference? *Public Integrity*, 9(3), 245–263. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922090304
- Haruna, P. F. (2008). Recovering integrity in Ghana’s governance: A transcultural study in public service ethics. *Public Integrity*, 10(2), 113–132. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922100202
- Hassan, S., Wright, B. E., & Yukl, G. (2014). Does ethical leadership matter in government? Effects on organizational commitment, absenteeism, and willingness to report ethical problems. *Public Administration Review*, 74(3), 333–343. doi:10.1111/puar.12216

- Heumann, M., Friedes, A., Cassak, L., Wright, W., & Joshi, E. (2013–2014). The world of whistleblowing: From the altruist to the avenger. *Public Integrity*, 16(1), 25–52. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160102
- Hoekstra, A., & Kaptein, M. (2012–2013). The institutionalization of integrity in local government. *Public Integrity*, 15(1), 5–27. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150101
- Hoekstra, A., & Kaptein, M. (2014). Understanding integrity policy formation processes: A case study in the Netherlands of the conditions for change. *Public Integrity*, 16(3), 243–263. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160302
- Houston, D. J., Freeman, P. K., & Feldman, D. L. (2008). How naked is the public square? Religion, public service, and implications for public administration. *Public Administration Review*, 68(4), 428–444. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2008.00880.x
- Houston, D. J., & Harding, L. H. (2013–2014). Public trust in government administrators: Explaining citizen perceptions of trustworthiness and competence. *Public Integrity*, 16(1), 53–76. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160103
- Huberts, L. W. J. C., & Six, F. E. (2012). Local integrity systems. *Public Integrity*, 14(2), 151–172. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922140203
- Hudon, P.-A. (2011). A critique of public-private partnerships in Quebec. *Public Integrity*, 13(3), 257–274. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922130306
- Jacobs, R. M. (2014). Incorporating the ASPA Code of Ethics across the M.P.A. curriculum: A three-step process for curriculum development. *Public Integrity*, 16(4), 339–356. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160402
- Jordan, S. R. (2014). Beneficence and the expert bureaucracy: Ethics for the future of big data governance. *Public Integrity*, 16(4), 375–394. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160404
- Jørgensen, T. B., & Sørensen, D. (2012–2013). Codes of good governance. *Public Integrity*, 15(1), 71–95.
- Jung, T. H., Strate, J. M., & Leidlein, J. (2007). What about a Ten Commandments plaque in city hall? City managers respond to a (possibly) unconstitutional council directive. *Public Integrity*, 9(4), 349–361. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922090403
- Justice, J. B., & McNutt, J. G. (2013–2014). Social capital, e-government and fiscal transparency in the states. *Public Integrity*, 16(1), 5–24. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160101
- Kaptein, M., Huberts, L., Avelino, S., & Lasthuizen, K. (2005). Demonstrating ethical leadership by measuring ethics. *Public Integrity*, 7(4), 299–311.
- King, S. M. (2007). Religion, spirituality, and the workplace: Challenges for public administration. *Public Administration Review*, 67(1), 103–114. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00700.x
- Kurtz, R. S. (2010–2011). Oil pipeline regulation, culture, and integrity. *Public Integrity*, 13(1), 25–40. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922130102
- Lally, R., & Schultz, D. (2006). Alternatives to encouraged donation for organ procurement: Moral principles and ethical practices. *Public Integrity*, 8(4), 329–348. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080402
- Lavena, C. F. (2013). What determines permissiveness toward corruption? *Public Integrity*, 15(4), 345–366. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150402
- Lawton, A., & Doig, A. (2005–2006). Researching ethics for public service organizations: The view from Europe. *Public Integrity*, 8(1), 11–33. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080102
- Lawton, A., & Macaulay, M. (2014). Localism in practice: Investigating citizen participation and good governance in local government standards of conduct. *Public Administration Review*, 74(1), 75–83. doi:10.1111/puar.12161
- Lewis, C. W., & Gilman, S. C. (2005). Normative and institutional currents and commonalities. *Public Integrity*, 7(4), 331–343.
- Lewis, M. J., Shacklock, A., Connors, C. M., & Sampford, C. (2013). Integrity reform in developing countries. *Public Integrity*, 15(3), 243–264. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150302
- Liu, C., & Mikesell, J. L. (2014). The impact of public officials' corruption on the size and allocation of U.S. state spending. *Public Administration Review*, 74(3), 346–359. doi:10.1111/puar.12212
- Lyon, A. J. (2007). Moral motives and policy acts: The case of dag Hammarskjöld at the United Nations. *Public Integrity*, 9(1), 79–95.
- Maesschalck, J. (2004–2005). Approaches to ethics management in the public sector: A proposed extension of the compliance-integrity continuum. *Public Integrity*, 7(1), 21–41. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2497549
- Malone, M. T. (2010–2011). Does Dirty Harry have the answer? *Public Integrity*, 13(1), 59–80. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922130104
- Mancuso, M. (1993). Ethical attitudes of British MPs. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 46(2), 179–191.
- Mancuso, M. (1995). *The ethical world of British MPs*. Quebec, CAN: McGill–Queen's University Press.

- May, J., Gandara, D., Edwards, H., Subhani, M., & Huyck, M. (2010, October 27–30). *Work in progress—Can one measure of ethical “competence” be useful in varied undergraduate, multidisciplinary settings?* Paper presented at 40th ASEE/IEEE Frontiers in Education Conference, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.fie-conference.org/fie2010/papers/1345.pdf>
- McCurdy, H. (2006). Vision and leadership: The view from science fiction. *Public Integrity*, 8(3), 257–270. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080306
- Meine, M. F., & Dunn, T. P. (2013). The search for ethical competency. *Public Integrity*, 15(2), 149–166. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150203
- Menzel, D. C. (2005). Research on ethics and integrity in governance: A review and assessment. *Public Integrity*, 7(2), 147–168.
- Menzel, D. C. (2009). I didn’t do anything unethical, illegal, or immoral. *Public Integrity*, 11(4), 371–384. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922110405
- Menzel, D. C., & Carson, K. J. (1999). A review and assessment of empirical research on public administration ethics: Implications for scholars and managers. *Public Integrity*, 1(3), 239–264.
- Michael, B. (2005). Questioning public sector accountability. *Public Integrity*, 7(2), 95–109.
- Miller, G. J., Yeager, S. J., Hildreth, W. B., & Rabin, J. (2005). How financial managers deal with ethical stress. *Public Administration Review*, 65(3), 301–312.
- Mingzheng, X., & Xinhui, W. (2014). Chinese leadership: Culture and Confucianism. *Public Integrity*, 16(2), 165–172. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160204
- Moldovan, A., & van de Walle, S. (2013). Gifts or bribes? *Public Integrity*, 15(4), 385–401.
- Newbold, S. P. (2005). Statesmanship and ethics: The case of Thomas Jefferson’s dirty hands. *Public Administration Review*, 65(6), 669–677. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2005.00496.x
- O’Leary, R. (2009). When a career public servant sues the agency he loves: Claude Ferguson, the Forest Service, and off-road vehicles in the Hoosier National Forest. *Public Administration Review*, 69(6), 1068–1076. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2009.02064.x
- Palidauskaite, J. (2005–2006). Codes of ethics in transitional democracies: A comparative perspective. *Public Integrity*, 8(1), 35–48. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080103
- Pasquerella, L., & Killilea, A. G. (2005). The ethics of lying in the public interest: Reflections on the “just lie.” *Public Integrity*, 7(3), 261–273.
- Patrick, B. (2013). Ethics and performance management. *Public Integrity*, 15(3), 221–241.
- Pelizzo, R., & Ang, B. (2008). An ethical map of Indonesian MPs. *Public Integrity*, 10(3), 253–272. doi:10.2753/pin0099-9922100304
- Peters, R., & Filipova, A. (2009). Optimizing cognitive-dissonance literacy in ethics education. *Public Integrity*, 11(3), 201–219. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922110301
- Pfiffner, J. P. (2005). Torture and public policy. *Public Integrity*, 7(4), 313–329.
- Pope, J. (2000). *Confronting corruption: The elements of a national integrity system, TI Source Book*. Berlin, Germany: Transparency International.
- Raadschelders, J. C. N., & Lee, K.-H. (2011). Trends in the study of public administration: Empirical and qualitative observations from Public Administration Review, 2000–2009. *Public Administration Review*, 71(1), 19–33. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2010.02303.x
- Rego, A., Sarrico, C. S., & Moreira, J. M. (2005–2006). Trust in Portuguese public authorities. *Public Integrity*, 8(1), 77–92. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080106
- Reike, S. J. (2006). Abu Ghraib. *Public Integrity*, 8(2), 135–147.
- Riccucci, N. M. (2007). The ethical responsibilities of street-level bureaucrats under welfare reform. *Public Integrity*, 9(2), 155–173. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922090203
- Roberts, R. (2012). The Supreme Court and federal prosecution of state and local government corruption. *Public Integrity*, 14(4), 399–412. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922140405
- Rothstein, B. (2011). *The quality of government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ryan, J. J., Alatorre, J. A., & Schreckhise, W. D. (2006). A comparative case study of state ethics reform in Jalisco and Arkansas. *Public Integrity*, 8(4), 349–366. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922080403
- Salminen, A., & Mäntysalo, V. (2013). Exploring the public service ethos. *Public Integrity*, 15(2), 167–186. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150204

- Saunders, K. L., & Thibault, J. (2010). The road to disclosure legislation in Canada. *Public Integrity*, 12(2), 143–160. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922120203
- Schwartz, R. (2007–2008). Regulatory ethics in theory and practice: Comparing two cases. *Public Integrity*, 10(1), 37–52. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922100103
- Segal, L. (2010). Independence from political influence—A shaky shield. *Public Integrity*, 12(4), 297–314. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922120401
- Sekerka, L. E., & Zolin, R. (2007). Rule-bending. *Public Integrity*, 9(3), 225–243.
- Six, F., van der Veen, M., & Kruithof, N. (2012). Conceptualizing integrity systems in governments and banks. *Public Integrity*, 14(4), 361–382. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922140403
- Stanton, T. (2009–2010). The importance of legitimacy in the government's response to the financial crisis. *Public Integrity*, 12(1), 77–86.
- Stevulak, C., & Brown, M. P. (2011). Activating public sector ethics in transitional societies. *Public Integrity*, 13(2), 97–112. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922130201
- Strate, J. M., Jung, T. H., & Leidlein, J. (2009). Sexual harassment! What's a local manager to do? *Public Integrity*, 12(1), 61–76.
- Strickland, R. A., & Vaughan, S. K. (2008). The hierarchy of ethical values in nonprofit organizations: A framework for an ethical, self-actualized organizational culture. *Public Integrity*, 10(3), 233–252. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922100303
- Sulzner, G. T. (2009). Creating a strong disclosure-of-wrongdoing regime: The role of the public service integrity officer of Canada. *Public Integrity*, 11(2), 171–188. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922110204
- United Nations. (1996). *International code of conduct for public officials*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/51/a51r059.htm>
- van der Steen, M., van Twist, M., & KarrÉ, P. M. (2011). When citizens take matters into their own hands. *Public Integrity*, 13(4), 319–331. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922130402
- van der Wal, Z., & de Graaf, G. (2006–2007). The bureaucrat, the businessperson, and their perceptions of each other's value orientation: Empirical notions on the other sector's most important organizational values. *Public Integrity*, 9(1), 45–62. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922090103
- van der Wal, Z., Pevkur, A., & Vrangbaek, K. (2008). Public sector value congruence among old and new EU member-states? Empirical evidence from the Netherlands, Denmark, and Estonia *Public Integrity*, 10(4), 317–334. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922100402
- Van Doeveren, V. (2011). Rethinking good governance. *Public Integrity*, 13(4), 301–318.
- Van Montfort, A., Beck, L., & Tuijnstra, A. (2013). Can integrity be taught in public organizations? *Public Integrity*, 15(2), 117–132. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150201
- Ventriss, C. (2012). Democratic citizenship and public ethics. *Public Integrity*, 14(3), 283–297. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922140305
- Verhezen, P. (2008). The (ir)relevance of integrity in organizations. *Public Integrity*, 10(2), 133–149. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922100203
- Von Maravić, P. (2008–2009). Studying methods, not ethics. *Public Integrity*, 11(1), 9–33.
- Wang, X. H., & Van Wart, M. (2007). When public participation in administration leads to trust: An empirical assessment of managers' perceptions. *Public Administration Review*, 67(2), 265–278. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2007.00712.x
- Wheeland, C. M. (2013). Gregory G. Smith: A township manager effectively managing ethical dilemmas. *Public Integrity*, 15(3), 265–282. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922150303
- Witt, M. T. (2011). Exit, voice, loyalty revisited. *Public Integrity*, 13(3), 239–252. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922130304
- Wong, S. H.-W. (2007). Juries, judges, and corruption: A cross-national analysis. *Public Integrity*, 9(2), 133–153. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922090202
- Wyatt-Nichol, H., & Franks, G. (2009–2010). Ethics training in law enforcement agencies. *Public Integrity*, 12(1), 39–50. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922120103
- Yang, K., & Holzer, M. (2005). Re-approaching the politics/administration dichotomy and its impact on administrative ethics. *Public Integrity*, 7(2), 111–127.
- Yang, L., & van der Wal, Z. (2014). Rule of morality vs. rule of law? An exploratory study of civil servant values in China and the Netherlands. *Public Integrity*, 16(2), 187–206. doi:10.2753/pin1099-9922160206

- Yeager, S. J., Hildreth, W. B., Miller, G. J., & Rabin, J. (2007). The relative effects of a supervisory emphasis on ethical behavior versus political responsiveness. *Public Integrity*, 9(3), 265–283. doi:[10.2753/pin1099-9922090305](https://doi.org/10.2753/pin1099-9922090305)
- Zinkhan, G. M., De Lorme, D. E., Peters, C. O., & Watson, R. T. (2007). Information sources and government research. *Public Integrity*, 9(4), 363–376.
- Zinner, S. E. (2014). Paragons of virtue: Is Florence Nightingale working in the next cubicle? *Public Integrity*, 16(4), 411–422. doi:[10.2753/pin1099-9922160406](https://doi.org/10.2753/pin1099-9922160406)

Copyright of Public Integrity is the property of Taylor & Francis Ltd and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.