

# State PCS Success Program (SPS)

UPPSC (Mains) - 2022

GS Paper #4 - Solution



## **Instruction to Students**

Answers provided in this booklet exceed the word limit so as to also act as source of good notes on the topic.

Candidates must focus on the keywords mentioned in the answers and build answers around them. Elaborate answers are given with the purpose that candidates understand the topic better.

We have also adopted a grey box approach to provide context wherever necessary, which is not to be considered a part of the answer.

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### Q.1) Discuss the impact of religion on morality of a person.

Morals are individual notions of right and wrong, that determine the conduct and behavior of an individual. **Religion** is considered the **oldest and ultimate source of morality** and impacts the morality of a person in multiple manner, such as:

1. Religion **impact upon people's beliefs** about what is right and wrong, by **laying down moral precepts**. **For example**: All religion teaches charity: **dana in Hinduism, zakat in Islam etc.**
2. Religion starts **shaping the morality** of a person **from early formative years**. For example, worshipping and rituals at home, bed time stories based on Ramayana etc., celebration of festivals etc.
3. Religion determines **customs, traditions and ethical standards of conduct in the society**.
4. **Fear of divine wrath** act as a sanction against bad actions and **anticipation of divine blessing** for good action, shaping morality of the people. **For example**, Concept of karma etc.
5. Religion forms the **belief system** of a person and as such **nudges a person to be moral from within**. For example, strong **belief of Jains in non-violence**.

Even though religion plays an important role in **impacting morality, it's not the absolute actor as**:

1. An **atheist** person **can be moral** even without following religion. For example, **Bhagat Singh was an atheist, yet moral**.
2. People belonging to **same religion can have different moral structure**.
3. **Radical interpretation** of religion can lead to **immoral** behaviour like intolerance, communalism, terrorism etc.
4. **Intermingling of people in inter-religious settings**, can lead to creation of a **composite culture**, independent of **any single religion**. For example, inter-religious marriages.
5. Morality, **functions within the framework of law/customs** of the society. For example, eating beef in USA is normal/moral, while, In Indian society, it is both **immoral and illegal** in many culture/states.

**Religion influences moral standards and inculcates** compassion, kindness, justice, mercy, benevolence etc. **moral values in individuals**. However, religion is not the sole actor, but, **culture, region, state and law** etc., also have **significant influence** in shaping the **morality of an individual**. (331 words)

### Q.2) Discuss the role of ethics in corporate governance.

Corporate governance refers to the **set of processes, customs, policies** and institutions that determine **how decisions are taken** in corporates, **how businesses are operated** and regulated. Corporate Governance ensures that a company is governed in the **best interest of all stakeholders**. It determines the **relationship** that exist between board, corporate, manages, shareholders, employees, auditor, consumers, government and society at large.

Ethics is an integral part of corporate governance **because**:

1. **Trust and confidence sustain the market** and ethical corporate practices provide the basis for such trust. Lack of **corporate integrity compromises such trust. For example**: The Cambridge Analytica scandal resulted in loss of trust in Facebook and Facebook's shares fell more than 24% and lost \$134 billion in market value in a week.

2. **Unethical** corporate governance **tarnishes the positive contribution of responsible corporates** to overall development of society.
3. The self-interested **blind pursuit of profit**, with no concern for other stakeholders, will ultimately **lead to business failure** and, at times, to **counterproductive regulation**. Thus, it is the duty of business leaders to always assert **ethical leadership** so as to protect the **foundations of sustainable prosperity**. **For example**: Tata group gave institutions like TIFR, TISS etc. has made it one of the oldest and most successful brands in India.
4. If capitalism is to be respected, and to ensure its sustainability, it must be both responsible and moral. Business therefore needs a **moral compass** in addition to its **practical reliance on measures of profit and loss**. This has led to development of idea of **compassionate capitalism**. **For example**: Mahindra and Mahindra Ltd (M&M) made low-cost ventilator for India.
5. **When corporates act ethically**, they are also **rewarded monetarily**. **For example**- through **corporate social responsibility**, corporates can build a positive image for themselves and consequently the brand value of their product, the likelihood of consumption of their product by people and the profitability also increases.
6. While **laws and free market forces** are necessary, they are **insufficient guide** for responsible business conduct (like **tax avoidance** through account sheet adjustments). This makes corporate ethics an important guide for responsible conduct of businesses.
7. Large corporates are publicly visible and when they fail, they fail "spectacularly". The **ripple effect of their failure** is not limited to their own sector but **felt economy wide**. They not only harm themselves and their shareholders but the entire economy is negatively affected. **Example**- The failure of IL&FS has resulted in credit crunch for entire economy because of reduced confidence of lenders.

Even, Gandhi ji called **commerce without morality a deadly sin** highlighting the importance of morality and ethics in management of corporation for sustainable profit and public welfare. **(441 words)**

### **Q.3) Corruption undermines peoples trust in political and economic institutions, undermines rule of law and depletes national wealth. Examine the statement.**

Corruption is defined as **abuse of entrusted power** by the power holder for private gain. Corruption is a violation of laws as well as other universally accepted moral values. It is economically wasteful and inequitable. It denies citizens their basic rights and reduces their trust in public institutions.

Corruption has been a **persistent problem** in the Indian system for the following reasons:

1. **Paternal State**: After independence, certain **policies** were chosen which unintendedly **put the citizen at the mercy of the State**. Over regulation, severe restrictions on economic activity, excessive state control, near-monopoly of the government in many sectors and an economy of scarcity all created **conditions conducive to unbridled corruption**.
2. **Colonial legacy**: There is a **colonial legacy of unchallenged authority** and propensity to **exercise power arbitrarily**. In a society which worships power, it is easy for public officials to deviate from ethical conduct.
3. **Absence of strong public opinion**: There is an absence of strong public opinion against corruption. **People do not report** to the government against corrupt officials. Instead they **offer bribes** to get their illegitimate claims accepted.

4. **Asymmetry of power:** There is enormous **asymmetry of power** in our society. The asymmetry of power **reduces societal pressure** to conform to ethical behaviour and makes it easy to indulge in corruption.
5. **Rising cost of living:** It has brought down the real income of various sections of the community, particularly the salaried classes. Corruption appears as an easy way to bridge this gap.
6. **Collusion: Article 311** of the Indian Constitution makes it difficult to deal effectively with corrupt public servants. **Reluctance of higher officials** to take disciplinary action against corrupt officials due to their collusion with them has further aggravated the situation.

However, ethical action in administration can be promoted by:

1. **Codification** of desired ethical standards in form of **code of ethics**.
2. **Maintaining conditions of service attractive** in terms of salary, bonuses etc. to enable public servants to meet their basic requirements without indulging in corruption.
3. The root cause of the proliferation of corruption is the complicated procedures of government offices. These **procedures** need to be **evaluated and simplified**.
4. Creation of a **healthy public opinion** against the effects of corruption. The elimination of corruption requires a widespread and steadfast opposition to it, coupled with the **courage** to act against it.
5. Promotion to **accountability tools** like RTI, Citizen's charter, social audit etc. and **strengthening anti corruptions laws**.

Ethical conduct on part of **senior officials** is very important because not only do they enjoy a **high level of discretion** but also, they act as **leaders** who can **inspire** their subordinates to act in an ethical manner. (443 words)

#### Q.4) Discuss the following in context of civil services:

- a) **Objectivity.**
- b) **Non-partisanship**

a) **Objectivity** is the quality of **basing one's decision and action on observable facts**, figures, evidence and **data after their rigorous analysis**. In the context of civil services, it will have **following meaning**:

1. The quality of exercising **value free judgements**, based on merit and **empirically verifiable** facts.
2. According to **Nolan committee**, objectivity must **be exercised in carrying out, public business, awarding contracts**, recommending individuals for awards and benefits, making public appointments etc.
3. It is an important administrative principle, that **helps in reducing the discretionary power** of the civil servant.
4. Principles of objectivity, **check, ulterior secondary motives**, in discharge of public duty by a civil servant.
5. **Objectivity** provides, sound outcomes, thus, ensuring effective and **efficient public policies**. For example, **Dashboard based monitoring of Poshan scheme** by NITI Ayog.
6. **Objectivity** is an enabler for civil servants as:
  - a. It helps in resolving various **ethical dilemmas**.
  - b. Ensures, **effective utilization** of public resources.
  - c. Helps in cultivating **integrity, honesty, justice, truthfulness** etc.
  - d. Ensures that civil-servants **remain non-partisan** in the conduct of their duties.

b) **Non-Partisanship** is the quality of being **politically neutral**. In the context of civil services, **non-partisanship entails** the following:

1. That the civil servant **serves the government of the day faithfully**, irrespective of his/her own political views, preferences or beliefs.
2. That the civil servant **gives his/her advice to the political leadership**, without **any personal political considerations**.
3. That the civil servant will **implement the decisions taken by the party in power**, irrespective of his/her **own opinion** in the matter.
4. It entails **acting solely on merit**, while dealing with the public, without any **racial, cast, religious or any other such bias**.
5. It ensures that the **civil servant refrains** from opinions, actions and conducts that demonstrate a **bias toward any person or group**.
6. It aids the civil servant in **acting in an objective manner**, and developing traits of **integrity and impartiality**.

**Both**, objectivity and non-partisanship, are **foundational values for a civil servant**. These values in addition to impartiality, integrity, honesty and truthfulness, **reinforce each other** and ensures **effective public service/governance**. (348 words)

**Q.5) An RTI application asking for information related to decisions made during execution of a project has been received in an office. Imagine you are the Public Information Officer (PIO) in this office. While compiling information you realize that this information is related to decisions taken by you and your colleagues two years back and decisions was faulty. Disclosure of information can lead to disciplinary action against decision makers. On the other hand, partial disclosure or denial of information can save you from any action. What will you do in these situations? Discuss in detail.**

The given case presents a conflict between personal well-being and ethical conduct.

The ethical dilemma in the case are as follows:

1. Personal wellbeing versus **Kantian duty**.
2. Personal wellbeing versus **principles of good governance**, such as transparency
3. Personal wellbeing versus **ethical governance**, such as prohibition for all forms of corruption
4. Personal wellbeing versus **principles of public life** such as selflessness and openness to scrutiny.

**Various course of actions:**

1. Deny information:

Merits	Demerits
1. It might <b>save me from disciplinary action</b> , at least in the short-term.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. It can lead to <b>escalation of the issue through appeal</b>, wherein my misconduct would be highlighted.</li> <li>2. It would be violating principles of <b>good and ethical governance</b>.</li> <li>3. It would be <b>self-serving</b> and violative of <b>Kant's duty principle</b>.</li> <li>4. It displays <b>lack of integrity</b>.</li> </ol>



## 2. Partially Disclose information:

Merits	Demerits
1. It can help me <b>evade</b> <b>disciplinary action</b> . 2. It can serve the interest of <b>transparency</b> .	1. Motivated by self-interest, this action would violate <b>Kant's duty principle</b> . 2. It would violate <b>Nolan's principles of public life</b> viz. openness to scrutiny, self-lessness, integrity etc. 3. It would be an attempt at evading <b>administrative accountability</b> .

## 3. Full Disclosure:

Merits	Demerits
1. It would be line with principles of <b>good governance</b> viz, transparency, participatory governance, accountability etc. 2. It would make me <b>open to scrutiny</b> , an essential <b>principle of public life</b> as per Nolan Committee. 3. It would underline <b>integrity</b> in my conduct (lack of corruption) and <b>probity</b> (lack of corruptibility)	1. It can lead to <b>personal harm</b> , such as damage to <b>reputation for self and family</b> , harsh disciplinary action etc. 2. <b>Display of integrity</b> and probity in full disclosure and complete transparency <b>may go unnoticed</b> .

**Recommended course of action:**

1. Take superior(s) or the reporting manager into confidence. Convince her about **my bonafide goodwill** in the decision.
2. Provide **disclosure of information relevant for the query**. If more information is sought, provide fuller disclosure of facts.
3. **Do not deny information** sought, on consideration of fear for disciplinary action.
4. Subject myself to disciplinary enquiry and action. Under principles of **natural justice**, I have **right to be heard** which gives me opportunity to present my case.
5. If I am guilty, I should **be punished as per established procedure**.

Integrity in public life and as a personal virtue is hard to practice. But I would **choose the path of virtuous life** over material comfort and a false sense of reputation. (408 words)

### Q.6) How can a civil servant apply emotional intelligence in balancing the personal and public life stresses?

Emotional intelligence refers to the capability of a person to **manage and control his or her emotions** and possess the ability to **control the emotions of others** as well.

There are **five key elements** of emotional intelligence:

1. **Self-awareness,**
2. **Self-regulation,**
3. **Motivation,**
4. **Empathy and**
5. **Social skills.**

**Emotional intelligence** plays an important role in **balancing the personal and public life** of a civil servant as follows:

1. **Link personal and public life for good**: A public servant with a good **Emotional Quotient** would create a link, if necessary, between personal and public life through empathy. **For example**, A public servant having a son or a daughter would be more sensitive about issues like child labour and malnutrition among others.
2. **Help in Regulating emotions**: It would check the venting of anger or frustration accumulated at work on any element of one's personal life, whether it's a person or any other aspect as one's emotions are managed.
3. **Compartmentalizing problems**: Solve the problems arising in each of the personal and professional spheres without one affecting the other.
4. **Not overdoing things**: An emotionally intelligent public servant would strike a balance between his public duties and personal life without overdoing one at the cost of others. This happens due to mental discipline induced by the element of **self-regulation** in emotional intelligence.
5. **Switching roles**: An emotionally intelligent civil servant, due to **self-awareness**, knows what role he/she has to play at a given time and that helps to **avoid overlapping of behaviours**.
6. **Checking ego-driven behaviour**: Though he/she might be a public authority in the office, an emotionally intelligent civil servant would check his/her behaviour at home.
7. **Calm mental state**: A calm mental state is an essential outcome of being emotionally intelligent and this makes a public servant **respond and not react to** the situations either in personal or public life and dealing with them separately without making one a defence against the problems arising in the other.
8. **Making people understand**: Due to good **social skills**, a public servant with good emotional intelligence would be more successful in explaining her work situation to the elements of her personal life which would, in turn, help in **avoiding negative feedback** from her personal life to her public life.

Emotional Intelligence is **key to high performing and most efficient civil servants** as they have struck a balance between their professional and personal spheres by considering them two essentially co-existing elements of their lives. (411 Words)

### Q.7) What do you mean by political attitude? How is political attitude of an individual formed?

Political attitude refers to the **outlook of an individual or group** with respect to **political persons, events, institutions** and issues in public domain. **For example**, People having **positive attitude towards a particular political party** are more likely to **read** about the activities, achievements and leaders party, attend **election rallies** and **vote** for them.

Just like any other political attitudes are also **learned and develop over years** under influence of following **six factors**:

1. **Family**, not only **shapes political attitude** with respect to parties and policies but also determine **how likely a person is willing to join political activity** like voting and politics itself. **For example**: **dynasty politics** where younger generation tends to join the political party because of family.



2. **Educational institutions** provide individuals the **knowledge of the political world** and the **expected role of younger generation** in political process of the nation. **Colleges act as cradle of politics** where students have their first experience with **student politics**.
3. **Socio-cultural norms** which involves individual's religion, region, caste and other such ethnic identities. **For example**: in India it is generally said that **people don't cast their vote rather they vote their caste**.
4. **Gender** binaries also play an important role. Generally **male support of conservative ideology**, military programmes, and punitive policies etc., while, for women issues like **gender wage gap, equality at work place, gender related violence, etc** are more relevant.
5. **Economic condition** of people also determines their political attitude. **For example: Rich** and privileged section generally support free market economy and **capitalism** democratic system whereas the **"have nots"** of economic structure such as **landless labourers, share croppers and factory labourers** have positive attitude towards **socialist and left leaning political parties**.
6. **Social media and mainstream media** have greater effect on attitude of people towards political objects. The debates, **sensationalization** of political leaders and events and also the **fake news** phenomena lead to **formation as well as change in political attitude** of people. **For example**: The Cambridge Analytica case.

An **active political attitude** which promotes **political participation and political awareness** is necessary for a vibrant democracy. It should be remembered that the **punishment** for not having an active political attitude is to **suffer under rule of bad people**. (367 words)

### Q.8) Differentiate between the following

- i) Emotions and Feelings
- ii) Integrity and probity

#### i) Emotions and Feelings

Emotions	Feelings
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Emotions</b> are defined as <b>psychological states</b> which have three distinct components - <b>subjective experience, physiological response and behavioural response</b>. Emotions are most basic, <b>quickest</b> but <b>temporary</b> and comes <b>automatically</b> in response to a stimulus.</li> <li>2. Emotions manifest <b>either consciously or subconsciously</b>. <b>For example</b>: a person can be subconsciously be in love with his/her best-friend but he/she is unable to understand this. In this case emotions are present but feelings are absent.</li> <li>3. <b>All emotions are feelings</b></li> <li>4. <b>Emotions</b> have <b>outward expression</b></li> <li>5. Emotions and reasons are <b>mutually exclusive</b>.</li> <li>6. Emotions are <b>abstract</b> and not physical except in their <b>hormonal basis</b>.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Feeling</b> are <b>emotions that are processed by thinking</b>. <b>Feeling</b> requires <b>cognitive awareness</b>. They require someone to be <b>aware of emotions</b> and have a <b>thought process connected to that</b>. They are <b>longer lasting</b> and occur when emotions are assigned meaning.</li> <li>2. Feelings are conscious experiences but <b>not all conscious experiences are feelings or emotions</b> like seeing or listening is not feeling</li> <li>3. Feelings are <b>experienced consciously</b></li> <li>4. <b>Not all feelings are emotions. For example</b>: feeling of knowing something, hunger etc.</li> <li>5. <b>Not all feelings are expressed</b> to others. In that sense, <b>feelings</b> are more <b>internal experiences</b> than emotions.</li> </ol>

	6. Feelings can be based on <b>reasoning</b> or <b>intuition</b> . 7. Feelings <b>can be physical</b> such as of hot or cold surface, weather, or poor health.
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## ii) Integrity and probity

<b>Integrity</b>	<b>Probity</b>
1. Integrity is the quality of being honest and showing <b>unwavering commitment to a set of moral principles</b> . 2. Integrity implies that a person has <b>acted with honesty in past and in the present</b> . His character is “whole” and not tainted by corrupt practices. 3. Integrity <b>precedes</b> probity. 4. Integrity is more concerned about <b>consistency in following the moral code</b> and principles of the person. 5. <b>Example:</b> Integrity means <b>uncorrupted</b> .	1. Probity is the quality of being morally and <b>ethically above reproach</b> . Probity implies not just absence of dishonest behaviour or corruption but also an added element of ethical trust. 2. Probity implies that a person will <b>continue to act with integrity in future</b> as well. 3. Probity <b>adds</b> an element of <b>trust</b> in integrity. 4. Probity is more concerned about the <b>strength of those moral principles</b> and their linkage with behaviour. 5. <b>Example:</b> Probity means <b>incorruptible</b> .

(376 words)

### Q.9) Why are integrity and dedication to public service are considered as foundational values for a civil servant?

Foundational values are the **core values** that acts as **guiding principles in dictating behavior, choices and actions**. Foundational values promote a **Code of Conduct** among the public servants to ensure **transparency and accountability** in order to achieve **‘Good Governance’**.

With the expansion of the role of government, public functionaries exercise **considerable influence over the lives of people**. Thus, public functionaries are the **trustees of the people**. Therefore, these foundational values ensure that the **authority entrusted** to the officials is **exercised in the best interest of the people**. **Integrity** is the practice of being honest and showing a consistent and uncompromising adherence to strong moral and ethical principles and values. **Integrity** is considered a foundational value for a civil servant for the following reasons:

- Ethics of integrity tries to impart to civil servants the necessary **skills to analyze moral problems** on their own.
- Ethics of integrity leads to **development of moral character** with self-responsibility and moral autonomy.
- Integrity ensures **earning and sustaining public trust** by serving the public interest, always acting in a professional way and not misusing their official position.
- Ethics of integrity makes one act with **honesty and transparency**, making reasoned decisions without bias by following fair objective processes.
- Ethics of integrity leads to **impartial decision-making**, not influenced by personal or private interests and in the interest of larger public

**Dedication** is the quality of being **able to give time, attention and energy** for a cause. **Dedication to public service** is considered a foundational value for a civil servant for the following reasons:

1. Dedication to public duty is **important for quality service delivery**, to alleviate poverty, and to ensure welfare of weaker sections.
2. **The harsh work conditions** such as hot summer or heavy pouring demands the dedication from a civil servant to continue on ground.
3. Political **neutrality and anonymity** in the work requires dedication to it, without which civil servant may show inclination or favor to political parties.
4. **Effort reward ratio**: Often the output of efforts put by civil servants is low due to **ignorance or lack of participation of people**.
5. **Public handling: Patience, grit and dedication** to carry out the tasks is imperative in the hostile situations where emotional outrage of public is at its peak.

A corrupt and a non-dedicated public servant is a **non-performing asset** to the governance system. These Values can convert him/her into a valuable resource which can contribute to the constitutional goal of welfare of the general public. (415 words)

#### Q.10) Explain various functions performed by attitude for an attitude holder.

Attitudes are **predispositions to act** in a particular manner towards an attitude object. Attitudes performs **various functions for the individual as well as the society**. **Seven major functions** performed by attitude are:

1. **Value- Expression Function** of attitude enables us **express our core values** in the world which in turn **give us our identity** and presents to the world what we stand for. **For example**: Mahatma Gandhi's **attitude towards violence** inspired him to **promote the methods of satyagraha (truth)**. Similarly, **Mother Teresa's attitude** for destitute, represented to the world **her value of serving the humanity**.
2. **Ego- Defensive Function** help us to **protect our self-esteem and self-image** in the world or justify actions which **make us feel guilty** and are not desirable in the world. **For example**- "Chalta hai" (**casual attitude**) attitude of government functionaries for lack of diligence and non-delivery of services.
3. **Utilitarian Function** of attitude is related **preserving/promoting self-interest**, satisfy self needs, get rewards and avoid punishment i.e., **maximize pleasure and minimize pain**. **For example**: positive attitude toward **punctuality** because of **rewards** associated with it.
4. **Object-Appraisal Function** is often considered the **most basic function of attitudes**. Attitudes helps in evaluation of an object and thus, simplify reasoning and behaviour **by providing guide** for how to interact with (i.e., approach or avoid) an attitude object.
5. **Social-adjustive function influences people** to **choose/appreciate** attitude objects (e.g., car, places like restaurants) that are popular among people whom they admire. Thus, enabling a person **adjust better in the society**. For example, a **teenager** wearing a **particular set of clothing**, to **gain acceptance** in a peer group.
6. **Knowledge Function** of attitude helps us in **understanding the world better and** making it more predictable so that we have **consistency in our beliefs**. **For example- Positive attitude** towards

women, transgender and other weaker sections help us understand the power dynamics in society.

7. **Emotions-Experience function** Emotions themselves fulfil basic psychological needs, and, thus, people go for emotional experiences, through the possession and expression of strong positive or negative attitudes, for example: People have positive attitude towards pets, to fulfil their emotional need for affection and loyalty.

Thus, various functions of attitude guide our behaviour, help us adjust better in the society as well as fulfil our material and psychological needs in a better manner. (382 words)

### Q.11) What do you understand by ethical governance? Explain clearly elements of ethical governance.

Ethical governance refers to a system of governance which has administrative measures, procedures and policies fulfilling the criteria required for ethically good handling of public affairs. The core concern of ethical governance is of upholding public interest. Ethical governance is a normative expression. Ethical governance is ensured when:

- Greatest happiness of the greatest number of people is achieved.
- When the poorest person standing at the end of the proverbial queue stands to benefit.

Ethical governance can also be studied from the points of view of the minimalist concept and the maximalist conception of ethical governance.

#### Minimalist Ethical governance:

- It refers to the minimum requirements for ethically acceptable governance.
- It states absolute prohibitions which the public authorities and civil servants are forbidden to violate in all circumstances. For example, all forms of corruption (bribery, nepotism etc.), extortion and coercion, deception, theft, and discrimination

#### Maximalist Ethical Governance:

- The maximalist concept expands the understanding of what ethically good governance could involve.
- It gives positive commands such as 'Be fair and impartial', 'Ensure the well-being of citizen-customer' etc.
- The maximalist concept specifies positive characteristics of a good authority or civil servant, such as diligence, kindness, patience, and humaneness. It is only a short step

Major elements of ethical governance include the following:

- Rule of law:** It helps reduce arbitrariness in policies and their implementation, social exclusion and discrimination etc. Rule of law is directly linked with equity through elements like equality before law and equal protection of law.
- Participatory governance:** It makes governance ethical by giving people ownership over development. For example, through the PESA Act, is helpful in sourcing the best expertise and know-how on a subject such as in consultative roles, or through expert committees. For example, the committee on non-personal data framework headed by Kris Gopalakrishnan, co-founder and vice-chairman of Infosys.
- Democratic functioning:** It includes institutional checks and balances, consensus building, etc.



For example, by means such as **inviting comments on policies** from stakeholders, holding **public seminars** and meetings etc.

4. **Equitable and inclusive:** For example, inclusive legislation like **the Forest Rights Act**, which recognizes **traditional rights of forest dwellers** over management and **use of forest resources**.
5. **Efficiency and effectiveness:** It is the corner stone of ethical governance. It results in public service. It serves the interests of the stakeholders e.g. improvement in the lot of the poor through affordable health and education of good quality.
6. **Transparency:** A culture of transparency **reduces information asymmetry** and protects against **arbitrariness** in decision making. For example, through the **Right to Information**, publication of **committee reports, CAG reports** etc.
7. **Openness to scrutiny:** It is the operational aspect of transparency. For example, instruments like **social audit**, wherein the intended **beneficiaries or civil society bodies evaluate** the impact of a scheme. Openness to scrutiny brings **accountability**.

Ethical governance has a strong **emphasis on inclusiveness**. **Threats to ethical governance** arise when **vested interests** try to corner benefits to **select groups** or individuals by **compromising principles of good governance**. Ethical governance is necessary to provide **holistic governance** by reinforcing all the **principles of good governance** so that it **benefits the last person** standing at the margins of society. (532 words)

### Q.12) Which of the seven principles of public life is most important according to you and why? Discuss.

The UK's **Nolan Committee on Standards in Public Life** came up with elaborate ethical standards for the holders of public office. It outlined the **following seven principles** of public life:

1. **Selflessness:** It means public officials should **perform their duties and take decisions solely in terms of public interest**.
2. **Integrity:** Holders of public office **should refrain from any financial or other obligation to outside individuals or organizations**.
3. **Objectivity:** Public officials must **make their choices on merit** while taking **public decisions**.
4. **Accountability:** It means that public officials are **accountable for their decisions and actions to the public**.
5. **Openness:** It ensures that holders of public office are as **open as possible about all the decisions and actions they take**.
6. **Honesty:** It is the duty of the public officials to **declare any private interests** relating to their public duties.
7. **Leadership:** Public Officials must **follow the principles of leadership** as well as promote and support it through setting examples.

While all the public values are sine qua non for a public servant, **Integrity** is the most important of those public values. Integrity refers to **honesty and trustworthiness** in the discharge of official duties. It is an important **basis of ethical behavior and ethical competency**.

**Integrity** assumes paramount **importance** because:

1. It is only the culture of integrity that will **uproot the deeply entrenched and pervasive corruption**.
2. Integrity is integral **for living a contented and fulfilling life**.



3. Integrity helps a person to uphold **high personal and professional standards** in all circumstances.
4. **Integrity is value-driven** instead of rule-driven and thus helps civil servants to face challenges and dilemmas.
5. Integrity becomes the core because it is **impossible to provide for a system of laws and rules** that can comprehensively cover and regulate the exercise of discretion in public officials.
6. Integrity **requires a self-discipline** and will power capable of resisting the temptation. Example: Mr. U. Sagayam's (Tamil Nadu Cadre IAS Officer) effort to eliminate corruption reportedly led to his transfer for 25 times in the first 27 years of his career.

Thus, to ensure good governance, a person should always honor his/her integrity and bluntly refuse to be compromised. (367 Words)

### Q.13) What is the significance of philosophy of Purusharthas in present context?

**Purusharthas form a key concept in Indian philosophy.** It refers to four ultimate goals of human lives, which are, **Artha** (economic wellbeing), **Kama** (sensual pleasures), **Dharam** (righteousness/morality) and **Moksha** (liberation from reincarnation). Philosophy of Purushartha is significant in **leading a balanced life**, in present context as:

1. **Dharma:** Dharma includes **duties, rights, laws, conduct, virtues** and the right way of living. In **present context** it is an important virtue as:
  - a. It exhorts behaviour that **restore social order and virtuous conduct**. For example, following dharma will enable the people in power to work for the **welfare of society**, in a **truthful way** without **resorting to corrupt practices**.
  - b. Dharma, inspires one to work in detached way (nishkam karma). In present context, it will enable righteous actions. For example, **political executive**, taking **righteous actions** without the **considerations of vote bank politics**.
  - c. **In present context**, dharma is vital to restore the principles of justice. For example, following dharma **may make justice accessible** for the **vulnerable in the society**.
2. **Artha:** **It signifies "means of life"**, i.e., activities and resources that enables one to **incorporate financial and economic prosperity**. In present context it is an **important virtue as**:
  - a. **It is** an important virtue in **today's fast pace world**, to make a **balance** between **spiritual and material wellbeing**.
  - b. **In present context of consumerism**, artha, is an important value, to enable one to **earn their living** in a **righteous and virtuous** way.
  - c. **Economic stability**, is important for an individual, to **conduct his/her duties**, in a right way. It also, enables one to **extend help to the society**, in form of charity/donations.
3. **Kama:** **It** encompasses **desires, wishes, passions, emotions** and pleasures of the senses. In present context it is relevant as:
  - a. **This aspect is** important to **enjoy the fruits of our labours** (arth) in a righteous way, without violating the **code of morality (dharma)**.
  - b. **Kama exhorts** one to **fulfil one's desires**, without **harming/hurting others** in the process.

- c. **Kama**, is also, a motivating factor, for an individual to **work hard in a righteous way**, to gain resources **in order to seek their objects of desires**.
4. **Moksha**: It entails **emancipation and liberation** from the cycle of mortality by cultivating virtuous values. Its **significance in present context** can be seen as:
- It is important** aspect in reaching towards **self-knowledge, self-realization** and liberation from attachments.
  - It aspires one**, to **overcome their desires**, thus follow the path of **nishkam karma**. In the process it alleviates an individual **from mental/emotional sorrows**.
  - It inculcates, righteous conduct**, in an individual. He/she becomes **honest, truthful and virtuous** in his/her dealing of the world.

**Purushartha**, is highly **significant in the present context**, as it **empowers** an individual to not only live **harmoniously in a society**, but also, helps in achieving an **inner balance** between our **values and our desires**. (475 words)

#### Q.14) What is Aristotle's Golden Mean? How is it different from Buddha's Madhyam Marg?

The **golden mean** of Aristotle is a **virtue that lies between the two extremes**. For example, courage is a virtue lying between cowardice (vice of deficiency) and rashness (vice of excess). Buddha's **Madhyam Marg** is a way to describe the **eight-fold paths** propagated by the Buddha. It symbolizes the way of life **between the extremes of religious asceticism and worldly self-indulgence**.

Aristotle's concept of golden mean can be seen in following examples:

- Courage** is virtue when available in moderation. Its excess is characterized as recklessness, while chronic lack of courage is termed as cowardice.
- Patience** is the golden mean between extremes of apathy and aggression.
- Perseverance** lies in the middle of obsessiveness and laziness.

#### Comparison between Golden mean of Aristotle and Madhyam Marg of Buddha:

##### Differences:

Aristotle's Golden mean	Buddha's Madhyam Marg
1. It represents the <b>western conception</b> of virtues.	1. It is an <b>Indian conception</b> of the right way to live.
2. It is an <b>ethical</b> principle.	2. Madhyam Marg is an <b>ethical and religious</b> doctrine
3. The principle of golden mean is not concerned with giving up worldly attachments.	3. Madhyam Marg does not aim at eliminating all feelings but to achieve the right balance and <b>give up false worldly attachments</b> .
4. <b>The ultimate aim</b> of the principle of the Golden mean is to live a <b>virtuous life</b> as a responsible member of society.	4. <b>The ultimate aim</b> of Madhyam Marg is to attain <b>nirvana</b> or <b>liberation</b> .
5. It was <b>applied in politics</b> . For example, <b>Aristotle's critique of the Spartan Polity</b> on ground of its disproportionate elements. E.g., training for the extreme measure of war but not peace.	5. Buddha's ideas of Madhyam Marg <b>are non-political</b> .

Similarities between **Golden mean of Aristotle and Madhyam Marg of Buddha:**

1. Both of these concepts seek to **avoid extremes** in life.
2. Both these concepts lead to a **similar conclusion** regarding the question, **'How to live a good life'**.
3. The **philosophy of Aristotle** and his concepts like golden mean also had **religious undertones** in its time, similar to the **religious appeal of Buddha's Madhyam Marg**.
4. There are **parallels to Golden mean and Madhyam Marg** doctrines in philosophies expressed in Hindu epics like **Mahabharat's Shanti Parva**, or the ideas of **Thiruvalluvar**.
5. Aristotle's concept of golden mean and Buddha's conception of Madhyam Marg have common relevance in contemporary times. For example: **avoiding extremes in our decision-making** in day-to-day life, shunning **violence based on exclusivism** of any kind, maybe religion, caste, gender, economic status etc.

The doctrines of golden mean and madhyam marg are reflected in Mahatma Gandhi's **Sarva dharmasambhava**, according to which, there must be **mutual tolerance and harmony among all the religions**. As no one would take an extreme stand of imposing his religion on anyone else, the differences could be addressed and resolved. It can be concluded that Golden Mean and Madhyam Marg are **important** paths for **not just leading a balanced life** but also for the establishment of a **just and tolerant society**. (500 words)

**Q.15) Raj Kapoor is working as chief engineer for an express-way project. The project is expected to boost the economy of the region. One day Raj Kapoor receives a call from a state cabinet minister asking him to realign the road in such a way that it comes closer to a real estate development project owned by minister's son-in-law.**

**Minister hints that if Raj Kapoor complies with his request, he will soon get a promotion as well as other gifts from the minister. However, realignment of road would mean high financial cost, acquisition of substantial fertile agricultural land, displacement of farmers and cutting down of thousands of trees.**

**Faced with this situation, what should Raj Kapoor do? Critically examine various conflicts of interest and explain what are Raj Kapoor's responsibilities as a public servant.**

The above case is a situation faced by many government servants when **public and personal interest comes in conflict** with each other. Raj Kapoor is faced with a **choice** of either being a part of **corrupt** practice himself or face the consequences of being **honest**. Such **instances of corruption** in government programmes are common across the country due to the following reasons:

1. **Lack of transparency** due to a lack of proactive disclosure of information.
2. **Lack of teeth of the institutions** meant to tackle corruption. Example-Lokpal. **Poor prosecution** of government officials.
3. **Displacement of values**: Honesty and Integrity has been replaced by the power of money value.
4. **Crony capitalism** compounded by **political-bureaucratic nexus**.

a. The **various conflicts of interests** that could be pointed out in this case are:

<b>Personal life vs Professional life</b>	Raj Kapoor has the option to earn money and get a promotion. However, as a government servant, he needs to abide by his <b>professional ethics</b> and follow the due <b>code of conduct</b> .
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<b>Objectivity vs Partiality</b>	It is quite possible that the road may indeed go near the real estate project. However, he should be objective and professional in his job and not be partial towards minister's order.
<b>Equality vs Privilege</b>	The constitution ensures the Right to Equality by asserting, " <b>All are equal before law</b> ". If my decision favours the minister, it would be a case where privileges outshine the doctrine of <b>the Rule of Law</b> , thereby also disrespecting the <b>constitutional morality</b> .

b. Raj Kapoor should take the following **course of action**:

Raj Kapoor should complete the expressway **with complete fairness** and in the larger public interest.

1. This might hamper his relationship with the Minister, but he will **not** suffer from the **crisis of Conscience**.
2. His personal interest might get affected for some time, but it will benefit the local population especially the farmers of the area.
3. It is important to **control misuse of public funds**; country's overall development is the top priority. It can only be ensured when proper benefits are reached towards the poor and marginal.

Such cases of corruption, where for one's gain, rights of the poor are violated, is **unacceptable** in a **democracy** which seeks to achieve **equality and justice** for all. Suggested course of action ensures that **professional integrity** is maintained and **public interest** is served. (388 words)

**Q.16) Greed is a harmful negative emotion, it is injurious to both, person and society. How can it be controlled? Discuss.**

Greed is the **selfish desire** to **possess** something (money, food, material, power, fame etc.) **in excess of what is needed or deserved** often at the cost of others. **Erich Fromm** describes greed as "**a bottomless pit which exhausts the person in an endless effort to satisfy the need without ever reaching satisfaction**"

Greed is **harmful for a person** as:

1. Greedy makes a person **self-centric** and **isolated** from social affairs. This isolation creates the **feeling of apathy and indifference**.
2. A greedy individual focus only on the **materialistic dimensions** of an act leading to **overlook** the **moral and spiritual dimensions** which can lead to **crimes** like **theft, embezzlement, scams and corruption**.
3. Greed is **insatiable** thus leads to the **unrealistic goal setting** and when these goals are **not achieved**, it leads to the negative emotion like **anger, frustration and jealousy**.
4. Greedy individual tries to **maximize his gains** by **hook or by crook** which forces him to do immoral activities. This leads to the **feeling of guilt** in him.
5. Greedy makes an individual blind in ambition and selfishness and such an individual ends up having very **few good friends or relationships**.

Greed as an emotion is **harmful for the society** as:

1. Greed perpetuates **excessive materialistic desires** in the society. It leads to **proliferation of corruption** and other such malpractices.



- Greed **erodes the ethical values** in the society. For example, earning through rightful ways, honesty, integrity etc.
- Greed in society **undermines the values of humanity and human dignity**. For example, excessive greed may cause a **school to charge high fees**, leading to educational marginalisation of poor.
- Excessive greed/ambition has **negative consequences on the environment/ecology**, negatively affecting the whole society. For example, **unscientific mining** of resources for **monetary gains**.
- Excessive greed creates **islands of prosperity in the oceans of poverty**. For example, greed causes the powerful to **corner all the resources**, leaving the weak **even without sustenance**.

Greed can be **controlled by adopting** following measures:

- Developing analytical thinking** can help an individual **analyze** the **results** of an act from the **multiple dimensions** and not only the material dimensions.
- Every individual should have strong **emotional intelligence** that influences him to deal with such emotions in an intelligent way.
- An individual should do **SWOT analysis** (strength, weakness, opportunities and threat). This will help in **setting realistic targets and simultaneously maximizing gains**.
- By **imbibing positive social changes** to give more importance to morality than materialism through presenting role models, sharing positive news etc.
- By educating, the youngsters in values of honesty and temperance in schools, thus inculcating right values in them early on.
- The **society need to collectively move away** from the values of **excessive materialism**, and instead focus on building **sound characters and morals** of its members.

Greed needs to be **checked** at the very **first instance** of its occurrence itself, and **as a society** we should give more **importance to ethics than materialism**. (492 words)

**Q.17) Some people say ends justify means while other say that means to achieve ends are more important. What is your opinion? Justify.**

Ends vs means is an old debate **regarding primacy** of **noble means** to achieve desired ends and resorting to any means to achieve **noble ends** while judging ethicality of an action. This creates **two diverging viewpoints** one arguing that the **means justify the ends** while the other argues that the **ends justify the means**.

**Gandhi** ji always advocated **noble means for noble ends**, for example: non-violence of independence, while **Subhash Chandra Bose favoured** even war and violence to achieve independence, thus giving **primacy to ends**.

**Means are more important** than ends because:

- Ethical means or actions are important to **maintain the social order and build rule-based society** because if the **focus is only on ends**, people may become brutal and violent to achieve those ends resulting in **anarchy in society. For example**: Arab Spring resulted in chaos and anarchy even when the goal was noble (self-determination and democracy) but the path chosen was wrong (violence).
- Ends** achieved through unethical means **cannot be sustained** for long. **For example**: wealth and prestige obtained through corruption is unsustainable.



3. **Ends lie in future** which is **beyond human control** and depend on may uncertain variable. Only thing man can do is to act in an ethically upright manner in present.
4. Means are important for **long-term development of the individual and society**. **For example**: after Chauri Chaura incident Gandhiji immediately called off the Non-cooperation because people deviated from his non-violence stance. This drastic step later helped in inculcation of the **value of non-violence in Indian psyche**.
5. Giving primacy to ends can put humanity on a **slippery slope**.

However, **ends are equally**, if not more, **important** as means because:

1. Ends become more important **when cost of inaction is more** that the cost of immoral action. **For example**: during vaccine trials, antigens are injected in healthy individuals to test their safety. The act itself in immoral but cost of inaction is even higher.
2. Ends become more important when the **positive outcome of the action clearly outweighs** the impact of **immoralact**. **For example**: Indian constitution also provides for restriction on fundamental rights in accordance with the procedure established by law in larger public interest. (surveillance which violates privacy but allowed in national interest).
3. **Some ends are so noble** that **even immoral acts can be justified** to achieve those ends. **For example**: Use of force, weapons and violence to protect the sovereignty and integrity of the nation.
4. Ends are more important in **practical world** especially in **international relations and security domain**. **Machiavelli in west and Chanakya in India** also accepted this view point. **For example**: maintaining a spy network or manipulation in diplomacy is common practice.

An event **cannot be seen in silos** or divided into ends and means. In India, **Lord Krishna** recommended **“nishkama karma”** giving primacy to means but in **killing of Dronacharya and Ashwatthama episode** unethical means were used to achieve noble ends. Hence, according to me, **both ends and means are equally important** and a morally competent person has to apply his wisdom to take decision that achieves the best balance. (514 words)

### Q.18) Write a note on importance of conscience as a source of ethical guidance.

Conscience is **an internal influence to guide** ethical behaviour. It is a **person's moral sense** of right and wrong. A conscience which is both **well-formed** (shaped by education and experience) **and well-informed** (aware of facts, evidence etc.) enables us to know ourselves and our world and act accordingly.

**Gandhi ji** believed that God resides in every person and speaks from within. Such **divine voice** is the voice of conscience which people must obey in times of dilemma. Gandhi ji remarked that 'there is a court above all courts, and that is the court of conscience'.

Conscience acts as a **source of ethical guidance** in following ways:

1. Conscience is the most immediate source of information which helps in **evaluating different options and guiding human actions**. It is the first thing that comes to mind when a person passes moral judgement on any action.
2. Since conscience is an intellectual decision, it allows man to **exercise reason** and transcend his animal instincts.
3. **Violation** of the voice of conscience causes **internal dissonance** which provides a drive for a person to avoid unethical actions.

4. Voice of **conscience is immutable** and accompanies a person throughout his life. Conscience not only helps in taking decisions but also staying with the decision in difficult circumstances **i.e., integrity**.
5. It is through conscience that a person **evaluates his own moral philosophy, character and motivations** for action. Thus, conscience constantly nudges a person to become best version of himself and **helps in moral development**.
6. Conscience helps a person **evaluate prevailing norms and laws** and challenge unfair laws and norms. Thus, conscience helps in keeping society morally upright.
7. Conscience helps in **integrating prescribed norms with moral consideration** which ensures that both letter and spirit of the law is followed.

Conscience **is different from law** in that it applies laws and rules to particular actions. Individuals who view laws and policies as legitimate through their conscience are **more likely to obey** because they are **not doing so out of a fear** of punishment, but **because of their voice of conscience**. (343 words)

### Q.19) People who have social influence should also have moral accountability towards their followers and society. Discuss.

Social influence is the **power** of an individual through which he/she can **change feelings, thoughts, behaviour and attitudes of others** in the society. Often social influence is indirect, without one to one interaction, this keeps social influences out of domain of legality for their actions. **For example:** celebrity advertisement. However, they **cannot escape moral accountability** for their actions.

Moral accountability entails being **subject to external regulation** and **being answerable for ensuring a minimum standard of behaviour** even in absence of law. People who have social influence **should also have moral accountability** towards their followers as well as to the wider society **because:**

1. Social influencers can **impact life** of their followers in both **positive and negative** ways. They can **shape the psyche and conduct** of not just their followers but also wider society. **For example:** Recent violence in north east Delhi over citizenship law; Some social influencers portray extreme thinness as beauty, which can cause unhealthy dieting and fasting in their followers leading to malnutrition and wasting.
2. Followers of social influencers **believe** that they **know more about life** and have **more experience** in dealing with different situations. So, their followers try to **imitate them**. When social influencers act **irresponsibly**, they **betray their followers**. **For example:** After reveal of “retweet for cash” fraud by many social media influencers, their followers felt lost, questioned their own believes and faced internal conflicts.
3. **Moral accountability** **increases their persuasive power** as people who are **seen above reproach** **enjoy confidence** of the people and they tend to follow them. **For example:** Mahatma Gandhi took moral accountability of Chauri-Chaura violence and suspended Non-cooperation movement. This only made him more powerful mass mobilizer.
4. Social influencers can **impact many important decisions** of an individual because they **enjoy trust** of the people. **For example:** MS Dhoni endorsed Amrapali group which defaulted later. People bought flats and houses with their entire life’s saving in Amrapali society because they trusted Dhoni.

5. They have immense **power to sway public opinion** and can even **influence** the **election** results impacting the future and fortunes of entire nation. **For example:** celebrities are known to have won elections even with limited political experiences.
6. Social influencers are **trend setters** and they **influence the general perception of the society**. They can lead the **evolution of society** in positive direction by imbibing values like tolerance, selflessness etc. in their followers. So, they not only have **responsibility to the present generation but also the future generations. For example:** Martin Luther King Jr. repeatedly called for **compassion and hope** despite facing racist insults. Nelson Mandela adopted the approach of **reconciliation to bring about justice**, despite being a victim of apartheid. This laid foundation of moral philosophy for the entire society.

**With great power comes great responsibility.** These people must realize that godlike status given to them must be leveraged as an opportunity to help society progress. Therefore, social influencer should deliver **messages** that are **positive, credible**, ensure the wellbeing of the society as a whole, **environmentally friendly**, upholds the rule of law/**constitutional** and **promotes harmony, love, peace and compassion.**  
(512 words)

**Q.20) Vaccination is the most effective instrument in controlling the spread of corona virus. Some people have refused to get vaccinated citing that it is their personal choice. To counter vaccine hesitancy, government has made it compulsory for its employees to get vaccinated or face departmental disciplinary action. Bring out various ethical issues involved in this case. Whether government should interfere with personal choices of people? Comment logically.**

**Vaccines are one of** the most effective public health interventions, during the present/ongoing covid19 pandemic. To check vaccine hesitancy, government has mandated it compulsory for its employees to undergo vaccination. Ethical issues involved with compulsory vaccinations are:

1. **Utilitarianism:** While compulsory vaccination does **restrict the individual choices** of the government employees, it is in **larger public interest**, as it will help create increased **resistance** against spreading of the virus.
2. **Categorical imperative:** Use of vaccines is **declared safe by the scientific community** and it is also, **vital for the safety and health** of the society. Thus, vaccination can safely be **converted into a universal rule** (categorical imperative).
3. **Ethical decision making:** Transparency and step wise decision making by legitimate public health authorities should be a fundamental element, before recommending mandatory vaccination.
4. **Necessity and proportionality:** The decision for **compulsory vaccination** for the government employees should be done in a proportional way, according to the necessity of the situation. It must also be preceded by assuring a sufficient supply of the vaccines.
5. **Public trust:** **While**, mandatory vaccination for **government employees is a prudent step, it will not bridge the trust gap** in public. The larger question of **vaccine hesitancy in the public could** be answered, by making **people aware about the health benefits** as well as **safety of the vaccines.**

**Though**, it is a sound argument that government **should ordinarily not interfere** with personal choices of the people, the present **context presents an overwhelmingly extraordinary** situation as:

1. The **individual's choice**, to **get vaccines or not**, will also have a **direct bearing** upon the **health and safety** of the society at large.

2. The decision to **stay un-vaccinated** is an **un-ethical decision**. It will not only risk the **individual's health**, but also lead to **enhanced pressure** on an already **over-burdened health infrastructure**.
3. As the **health workers, public officials and other frontline workers** are in constant exposure to the virus, **compulsory vaccination is important** to ensure not only their safety but **also that of their families**.
4. Compulsory vaccination, may also be a **financially prudent decision**, as it may reduce the **recurrence of virus/mutations** and thus prevent the **periodic shocks to the economy**.

However, **compulsory vaccination** will not be **without hurdles and challenges**. Such as:

1. **Compliance**: Compulsory vaccination, will present the administrative challenge of ensuring compliance with the decision.
2. **Public trust**: It will overlook the need to generate consensus over the use of vaccines. Thus, it will further erode the public trust in the vaccines/its effects.
3. **Supply**: Compulsory vaccination may also create a supply shortage of the vaccines.
4. **Proportionality**: Any decision to mandate the compulsory vaccination, should only done gradually and proportionally.
5. **Safety**: The consideration of safety should be kept in mind while prescribing any sort of compulsory vaccination. For example, effect of vaccines on children etc.

Thus, the **right way to go about the process of vaccination** is to do it **gradually and by raising awareness of the public in the matter**. However, **vaccination of the government employees** is a right step, to **ensure their safety** and for keeping the **covid19 governance structure** from crumbling. (521 words)

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