

oikos Case Writing Competition 2013 Social Entrepreneurship Track

3rd Place

Ziqitza Health Care Limited: Responding to Corruption

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Introduction

After a monthly staff meeting, a young employee approached Sweta Mangal, CEO of Ziqitza Health Care Limited (ZHL). Sanjay Rafati¹ had been hired as a financial officer the previous month, in November 2011. In view of the company's strict ethical code, he was nervous about expressing his point of view, which was why he wanted to see Ms. Mangal in private:

"The situation in one of the states where ZHL operates is getting critical. Unless the government pays what it owes us immediately, we will not be able to make payroll. We won't be able to service our new ambulances, which will open us up to more accusations of negligence. Lives may be lost. This will devastate our morale and ruin our reputation. That bureaucrat will never stop."

Although Rafati had refrained from stating it directly, she understood that he wanted her to bribe a recalcitrant official.

This particular state had been a thorn in her side for two years. While the timeliness of payment varied from state to state, a delay of this length from a state government was extremely rare. The predecessor of "that bureaucrat" had asked her to fly there, only to cancel the meeting after she had arrived — a scenario that had played out no fewer than seven times. "He wanted us to bribe him," she explained, "and we refused. He also didn't like the fact that I, a woman, lost my temper and told him off."

Under the terms of the public-private partnership finally established with this state under a new official in July 2010, ZHL planned to have a total of 464 ambulances, essentially doubling its ambulance fleet. This represented a major investment. Now, the new state official was using the financial commitment ZHL had already made to the state to up the pressure for a bribe, as she explained:

"Whenever we submitted invoices, they would send us a series of queries. We would answer them and then they would raise a new set of queries. This followed a couple of times and the concerned person used to ask for a bribe in a roundabout manner, but we ignored the same. Then finally in Fall 2010, he asked directly: 'If you arrange to pay me 5% of the invoice value, things will work out.' When we raised the issue with his superiors, they asked us to put the claim in writing. We did, but nothing changed, rather things worsened."

The cycle, she feared, was never-ending.

The financial calculation, she knew, was compelling: for a bribe of 5% of the total due to ZHL, the entire payment would be made on time. Hundreds of thousands of rupees were in

¹ Certain names have been changed for the purposes of this case. Unless otherwise noted, source material comes from interviews with ZHL employees or representatives.

play. While legal adjudication of such issues was theoretically becoming available through a civil court, it could take years to reach a decision; even the way of functioning of the new court was yet to be established. ZHL needed the money now. It couldn't run a business where one of its largest customers was not paying its bills. The only alternative was a loan at 15% interest – triple the cost of the bribe. But how sustainable would this be in the long term?

Ms. Mangal spoke quietly, looking into Rafati's anxious eyes: "You know that we cannot – ever – offer a bribe. That would violate our most fundamental commitment to ethics and transparency." Yes, she acknowledged, most Indian companies would have paid the bribe, but ZHL was changing Indian society, and it was part of a movement that was gaining momentum. "This is who we are," she insisted. "Be patient and contact the bank."

With that, she returned to her office, now worried that Rafati might resign.

Background

With a population of over 1.2 billion, India was the world's largest democracy, with a 2011 (est.) GDP of \$1.676 trillion.³ It ranked 95th on the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index in 2011, behind Albania, Rwanda and Columbia (see Exhibit 1). According to Transparency International, \$US19 billion in illicit payments were transferred outside the country each year. To receive basic services such as a telephone, a water supply or a driver's licence, 54% of households expected to pay a bribe in any 12-month period.⁴ India's bloated and inefficient bureaucracy routinely solicited bribes and extorted payments from businesses just to maintain their everyday operations. On average, it took over 1,000 days for a contract to become recognized as legally binding. Many petty bureaucrats regarded these payoffs as a supplement to their meager incomes, which barely kept pace with the cost of living. Over 25% of all Indian politicians, it was reported, were under investigation for corrupt practices. Corruption was so much a part of the economic and social fabric that many doubted it would ever be rooted out – it was just part of the cost of doing business which no one questioned or challenged.⁵

Nonetheless, a movement of Indian citizens had begun to chip away at the problem. Not only were grassroots protests gaining international recognition — including a series of hunger strikes by anti-corruption activist Anna Hazare — but citizens and companies were increasingly using legal channels to further their demands. In polls, 75% of respondents indicated that they would support anti-corruption activities. A notable initiative, "Integrity Pacts", required signatories to refrain from bribery or collusion in their dealings with public bodies. It was one of many underway. Another resource was the website ipaidabribe.com,

 $^{^{2}}$ 1,000 INR = \$22.54 = 16.21€ (October 2010).

³ https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html

⁴ http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2011/india_speaking_up_for_integrity.

⁵ Ashutosh Misra, http://blog.transparency.org/2012/02/13/indias-state-companies-open-up/.

⁶ Ishaan Thoaroor, "Anna Hazare's Hunger Fasts Rock India," Time, 7 December 2011.

⁷ Mishra, op. cit.

which offered information on bribes and corruption as well as a reporting mechanism to publicly document the circumstances in which a bribe was solicited or paid.⁸

ZHL

Founded in 2002 with a single ambulance, ZHL was created to respond to a pressing social need: the lack of a consistently high-quality ambulance service in India. Emergency forms of transport were available from an unwieldy combination of private companies, government bodies, non-governmental organizations and charitable groups. As a result, the death toll in India from acute illnesses, accidents and natural disasters was unusually high.

ZHL's founders — Ravi Krishna, Naresh Jain, Manish Sancheti, Sweta Mangal and Shaffi Mather — had left highly-paid private sector jobs in the US and India in order to become social entrepreneurs in health provision (see Exhibit 2). ZHL's founders were committed to creating a new kind of organization for India, and indeed for the developing world. According to the ZHL website:⁹

"The name Ziqitza was derived from the Sanskrit word 'chikitsa', meaning medical treatment, and 'zigyasa', meaning quest for knowledge. Even our brand philosophy is based on the thought of Mahatma Gandhi that "Saving a life is one of the most rewarding experiences a person can undergo in his/her lifetime."

They chose to focus on ambulance services largely because of a personal experience in founder Shaffi Mather's family: his mother had woken in the middle of the night, choking, and he had not known what to do or who to call for help. She had survived, but he was shaken. A week later, fellow-founder Ravi Krishna was able to obtain emergency care for his mother within minutes of her collapsing at home where he lived in the USA. The difference, they realized, was the 911 Emergency Medical Services (EMS) there.

They first came up with a model for the company based on Krishna's experience with 911. Services would include basic and advanced life support, administered by paramedics, and transportation to hospital for both non-emergency and accident/disaster victims. Needs were acute and growing, not least given India's unusually high rates of road accidents (16 per 1,000 vehicles, compared to a world average of 0.75 per 1,000), diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and disasters both natural and man-made. Of accidents of fatal consequence, 20% occurred at the site of the accident due to injuries, 30% of fatalities were due to transportation delays, and 50% died in hospital due to infection or systems failure. ¹⁰

Unlike other service providers, ZHL's business model would combine profit making with social goals. On the one hand, it would offer a "private pay" ambulance service based on a

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⁸ http://ipaidabribe.com/.

⁹ http://zhl.org.in/aboutus.html

¹⁰ ZHL Ppt. presentation.

sliding scale, depending on ability to pay and the type of hospital (private/government) to which patients went. Approximately 20% of patients would receive subsidized rates. On the other hand, in public-private partnerships with state governments, a generally free-of-charge service would be made available to anyone in need. The goal was to begin with services in Mumbai and gradually expand to all of India. In accordance with the founders' vision, the company would be accessible to all regardless of income, made financially sustainable by its work, and provide a model of a world-class ambulance service for the developing world. An additional source of revenue would be advertising on the ambulances themselves.11 (See Exhibits 3, 4 and 5).

In a departure from standard practice in India, ZHL's founders pledged to categorically refuse to engage in bribery and other corrupt practices, opting instead for complete transparency. Corruption, in their view, had a symbiotic relationship with poverty, perpetuating exploitive practices and undermining fundamental societal values. Not only would this position form an integral part of the ZHL brand, it should underpin the everyday decisions of all its employees. Knowing this would be extremely challenging, the founders took the unprecedented step of setting up an in-house legal team, an expensive but essential initiative.

Growing Pains and Gains

From the start, ZHL encountered the traditional difficulties related to corruption. When the founders wanted to acquire an easy-to-remember four-digit phone number for an emergency service (1299), a bureaucrat demanded a bribe. Their categorical refusal surprised him but they could not get him to budge. Eventually, they chose the less memorable 1298 for their dial-in pay service. It was to become the identifying brand name of the company. In addition, the 108 dial-in service would serve for public-private partnerships in which ZHL cooperated in an official capacity with the state authorities (as in Rafati's "problematic" state). Technical expertise and training was provided by the London Ambulance Service, a strategic partner and the largest metropolitan emergency ambulance service in the world to provide an Emergency Medical Service that was free to patients at the time they received it.

Once the company was up and running, the emergency services concept proved popular in Mumbai. From 2005 to 2007, ZHL added 22 ambulances to its fleet, answering the needs of over 43,000 patients under the Dial 1298 for Ambulance model. The revenue model worked well, attracting international investors for the first time. However, corruption issues persisted with the government, as Sweta Mangal explained:

"They accuse us of providing bad services, and then ask for payment to 'mitigate' the problem...We refuse to take this route... Word of our reputation travels by mouth. We serve as an example that a company can operate corruption-free."

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² http://www.acumenfund.org/knowledge-center.html?document=245.

Even more important, she and the other leaders at the company held regular meetings to explain what they were doing and why to ZHL employees. "We continually work to create an ethical corporate culture. Employees believe in our values. Job candidates even seek us out because of them," she said. While ZHL paid relatively competitive salaries, she emphasized, that was not the only reason that their employees wanted to work there.

Thanks to its reputation for competence as well as incorruptibility, ZHL gained the attention of the Acumen Fund, an investment group which was attempting to steer a middle way between dependency-creating charities and market solutions that often ignored "bottom of the pyramid" business models. It sought to enable social entrepreneurs to challenge traditional development paradigms. As a "patient" or "philanthropic" capital investment group, Acumen's hallmarks included:

- long-term horizons
- tolerance for risk
- · an end goal of maximizing social rather than exclusively financial returns
- the provision of management support to enable innovative business models to thrive
- flexibility regarding partnerships bet ween governments and corporations in the service of low-income customers.¹³

After careful due diligence and discussion with the founders, the Acumen Fund agreed to make an initial investment of SUS1.5 million in 2007. This set the stage for ZHL's explosive expansion, not only of its ambulance fleet in Mumbai, but for it to begin operations in other states (see Exhibit 6). As part of the funding deal, Acumen also provided cutting-edge support in the form of advice. It regularly sent executives to work with ZHL on location in Mumbai.

Major Player, Minor Players

ZHL's fleet of ambulances expanded rapidly from a few dozen to over 860 by the end of 2011. Meanwhile, headaches with people expecting bribes — both high officials and petty bureaucrats — multiplied concomitantly with its new responsibilities and obligations, as Ms Mangal recalled:

"Always looking for a payout, they found all sorts of new ways to harass us. They demanded 'a, b, and c' right away, even though they were slow to process our demands on their end, and when we delivered, they said now they needed 'd, e, and f'. It's always different and always the same. But we would never choose to go down the road of bribes or opacity."

¹³ http://www.acumenfund.org/about-us/what-is-patient-capital.html.

For example, after the Mumbai terror attacks, officials re-interpreted the law that regulated working hours and then threatened legal action against ZHL, requesting a bribe to drop the case. This led to a long and costly legal dispute.

In 2008, ZHL's founders worked relentlessly to open up state ambulance contracts to open tender and to bring transparency to the public-private partnership tenders for EMS in India. It also helped to catapult Mather and the other founders beyond the national spotlight, where they had been tirelessly advocating an end to corruption for nearly a decade, and onto the international stage, such as with a TED (Technology Entertainment Design) talk by Shaffi Mather in December 2009. Their awards included (also see Exhibit 7):

- Jury's Choice, Spirit of Humanity Award, by AmeriCares, 2012
- Continuity & Recovery Initiative Award in Public Interest, from BCI and KPMG, 2011
- Jaagrath Award to Dial '1298' for Ambulance, Kerala, 2011
- Excellence in Social Entrepreneurship Award from Zee TV, to Sweta Mangal, CEO, 2011
- Tata TiE Stree Shakti Award to Sweta Mangal, CEO, 2009
- 'Special Recognition' and 'Continuity & Recovery Initiative of the Year in Public Interest', from BCI and Deloitte, 2008
- Godfrey Philips Bravery Award for a Social Act of Courage, from the President of India Pratibha Patil, 2007
- Times Foundation Recognition Award for Life Saving Service, 2007

The Decision

In spite of the worried look on Sanjay Rafati's face, Sweta Mangal was resolute in her decision to refuse to bribe the official to release the payment owed to ZHL. Her response would, she believed, send the right message to her employees – it would not just maintain but reinforce ZHL's corporate culture.

For his part, Rafati was concerned that the payment delay would undermine the position he had just taken up in the ZHL office in this problematic state, as well as the nascent culture of the new office. ZHL had, he acknowledged, come very far, very fast. Perhaps it was time to compromise for the sake of receiving payment. He also knew that people had died in India fighting corruption, such as Satyendra Dubey, a project director at the National Highways Authority of India who was murdered in 2003 after exposing corruption in a highway construction project, and Shanmugam Manjunath, murdered in 2005 for sealing a petrol station selling adulterated fuel. Besides, he reasoned, paying the bribe made economic sense: he stood to save a full 10% on the loan option, which could be used to keep people

¹⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satyendra_Dubey; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanmughan_Manjunath

employed, to finance maintenance on the new fleet – saving money in the long run – and to retain the employees that he was hiring and training at great cost. The state official seemingly could delay payment indefinitely. Surely paying was necessary for survival if not more profitable? In the end, how much difference would such a small compromise make? Hadn't India just *fallen* on Transparency International's corruption index, from 87^{th} to 95^{th} – 20 places behind China which ranked 75^{th} .

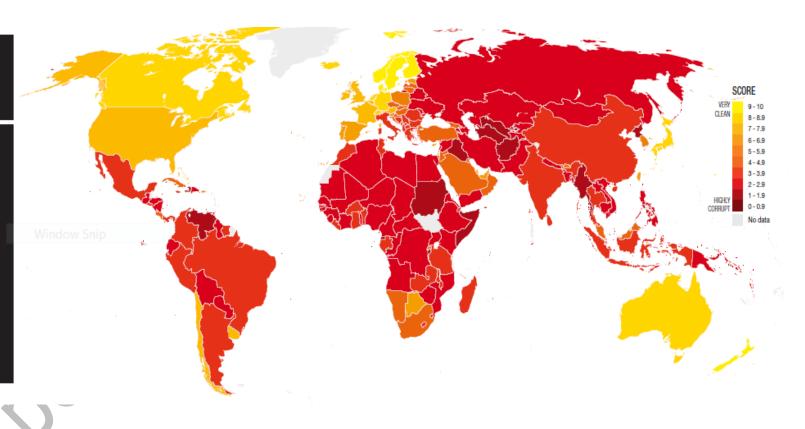


Exhibit 1: Graphical Representation of Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index



CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX 2011

THE PERCEIVED LEVELS OF PUBLIC-SECTOR CORRUPTION IN 183 COUNTRIES/TERRITORIES AROUND THE WORLD



Graphical Representation of Transparency International Corruption

RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE				RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	S
1	Nhwitelard	95	25	France	7.0	46	Naturitius	
2	Dernauk	94	25	Saint Lucia	70	49	Evznda	
2	Firtard	94	25	Utclev	7.0	50	CostaRica	
4	Sweln	93	28	United ArabEmirates	68	50	Lithuaria	
5	Snappe	92	29	Estoria	64	50	Onam	_
6	Nivey	90	30	Cypius	63	50	Saychelles	_
7	Nitulada	89	31	Spain	62	54	Hutev	_
8	Antalia	88	32	Botsvena	61	54	K wit	
8	Salzalard	88	32	Potugal	61	56	Joictan	
10	Careda	87	32	Tatven	61	57	Czech Febuldi c	
11	Lixenheug	85	35	Sloveria	59	57	Nanibia	_
12	Himking	84	36	Israel	58	57	Saudi Atabia	_
13	keland	83	36	Saint Vincent and	58	60	N4taysia	_
14	Ganainv	80		the:Genatines		61	Ciba	
14	Japan	80	38	Brutan	57	61	Latvia	
16	Adria	78	39	Natita	56	61	Turkey	
16	Batada	78	39	Puerto Fitao	56	64	Gaorgia	_
16	United Miraptorn	78	41	CapeVarde	55	64	South-Africa	
19	Bildjum	75	41	Foliand	55	66	Cicetia	
19	liderd	75	4 B	Korea (South)	54	66	Montenego	
21	Elatremans	73	44	Biun d	52	66	Stovetria	
22	Chile	72	44	⊡ominica	52	69	Gera	
22	Calar	72	46	Behain	51	69	Italy	
24	United States	71	46	Macau	51	69	EYR Manechria	

-			
	69	Santoa	39
	73	Bazil	38
	73	Turisia	38
	75	China	36
	75	Romania	36
	77	Cantilia	35
_	77	Lesotro	35
	77	Varuatu	35
	80	Colombia	34
_	80	El Salvacto	34
	80	Geese	34
	80	Morrosso	34
	80	Pa ru	34
	80	Thailand	34
	86	Bulgaria	33
_	86	Janaica	33
	86	Parana	33
_	86	Satia	33
	86	Silaka	33
	91	Bosnia and Hazegovina	32
_	91	Libeia	32
_	91	Trimidad and Tobago	32
_	91	Zantiia	32
	95	Albania	31
_			

Rank	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE
95	Inda	31
95	Klinibeti	31
95	Svædend	31
95	Torga	31
100	Agentina	30
100	Berin	30
100	Burkina Fæso	30
100	Diboti	30
100	Cation	30
100	Intoresia	30
100	Madagascar	30
100	Matavir	30
100	N/exico	30
100	Sao Tonesand Principe	30
100	Suinane	30
100	Tarzaria	30
112	Algeria	29
112	Egypt .	29
112	K6sovo	29
112	Molicibiva.	29
112	Sanegal	29
112	Vietnam	29
118	Botivia	28
118	N⁄ati	28

			rank	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCOR
120	Bangladesh	27	143	Belanus	24
120	Ecrap.	27	143	Candias	24
120	⊞niqoia	27	148	Mauitaria	24
120	Gustenata	27	143	Ngeta	24
120	Iran	27	143	Rasia	24
120	Kazakhatan	27	143	Tinor-Leste	24
120	Mongolia	27	143	Togo	24
120	Mzantiique	27	148	Uganda	24
120	Solomon Islands	27	152	Tajikistan	23
129	Amenia	26	152	Ukraine	23
129	Dominican Republic	26	154	Central African Fepublic	22
129	Horduas	26	154	Congo Republic	22
129	Prilippines	26	154	Cătedivoire	22
129	Syria	26	154	Guin ca Basa u	22
134	Caneroon	25	154	Kenya	22
134	Eritrea	25	154	Laos	22
134	Guyerra	25	154	N dpzd	22
134	Lebarron	25	154	Papua New Guinea	22
134	Naticives	25	154	Faraguay	22
134	Noaagua	25	154	Zintratovæ	22
134	Nger	25	164	Cantroda	21
134	Fekkistan	25	164	Guinea	21
134	Sierra Leone	25	164	Kyrgyzstan	21
14B	Azerbaijan	24	164	Yenen	21

168	Angota	20
168	Chad	20
193	Democratic Republic of the Cango	20
168	Libya	20
172	Burund	1.9
172	Equatorial Cluines	1.9
172	Venezuela	1.9
175	Habiti	1.8
175	Iraq	1.8
177	Sudan	1.6
177	Turknenistan	1.6
177	Uzbekistan	1.6
180	Aighenistan	1.5
18D	Myermar	1.5
182	Korea (Noth)	1.0
192	Smalia	10

Exhibit 2: The Founding Team



Left to Right: Naresh Jain, Ravi Krishna, Shaffi Mather, Sweta Mandal and Manish Sancheti.

Exhibit 3: ZHL Ambulance Services



1298 Cross Subsidy Model

50+ Dial 1298 Ambulances are present in Mumbai, Bihar, Punjab & Kerala



Ambulance Outsourcing

15+ Ambulances are operated and managed by us for reputed

hospitals and organizations



Public Private Partnership Service

800+ Dial 108 Ambulances in Bihar, Kerala, Rajasthan, & Punjab

Exhibit 4

ZHL 1298 Business Model





Dial 1298 Cross Subsidy Model depends on two revenue modes:

- \bullet User Fee: Wherein people who go to private hospitals pay the full charge and those who go to government hospitals get a subsidy of up to 50%
- Branding Revenue: To generate fixed income to service subsidized calls to 1298, allocate external advertising space to corporates on a yearly basis.

Exhibit 5

ZHL 108 Business Model

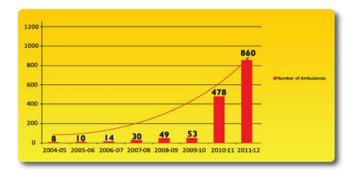




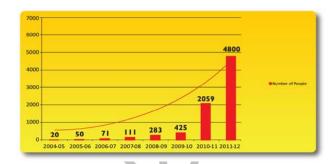
- Dial 108 in Emergency works on the principle of public-private partnership with various state governments.
- Currently, Dial 108 in Emergency operates in Bihar, Kerala, Rajasthan, & Punjab
- Dial 108 operates more than 800 ambulances across the four states

Exhibit 6: ZHL Performance Statistics

Currently 860 ambulances are operational, compared to 8 in 2005

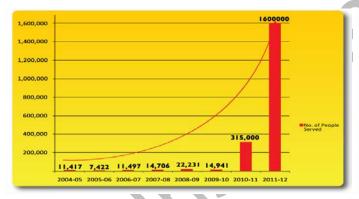


Our current manpower is 4,800 compared to 20 in 2005



Revenue has increased 420 times since 2005

1,600,000 patients served, up from 11,417 in 2005



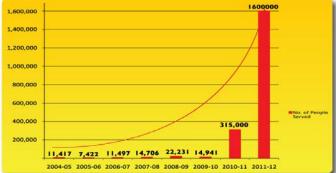


Exhibit 7: Awards and Recognitions















