INDIAN BUREAUCRACY AND SOME IMMEDIATE ISSUES : A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SHAHEEN PARWEEN

Centre for the Study of Social Systems
School Of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
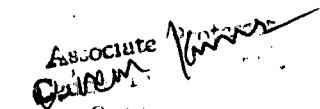**New Delhi 110067**
India
2012

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"INDIAN BUREAUCRACY AND SOME IMMEDIATE ISSUES:A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS"** submitted by **SHAHEEN PARWEEN** to the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**. This is an original work and has not been submitted, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of any University.

SHAHEEN PARWEEN

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Chairperson
CSSS/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067
PROFESSOR SURINDER S. JODHKA

(Chairperson)

Associate

DR. VIVEK KUMAR

(Supervisor)

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my Beloved Parents

and

my Dear Husband....

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Vivek Kumar, whose encouragement and expert advice have gone a long way in shaping this dissertation. He not only enabled me to evolve and shape my ideas regarding the subject of my research but also taught me the basic rudiments of research. I sincerely acknowledge his patience with which he read through the details of my immature work and corrected several times. He took keen interest in my work and spared all the time that I needed for discussions, debates and instruction, from his busy schedule. I also take this opportunity to thank him for caring attitude, trust and tolerance that had made working under his supervision a pleasure.

I am thankful to God who gave me opportunity to pursue higher studies at the centre of excellence in the country. I am also indebted to my beloved parents for helping me, for teaching me, for showing me how to be strong, for giving me the courage and giving me the strength to always strive for better. I would like to give my special thank to my husband who always motivated and supported me and bore with me the ordeal of higher education.

My acknowledgement will be incomplete if I do not extend my thanks to my brother Imran, my friends Shruti, Janhavi, Krati, and Afsana.I am also grateful to the staff of library SSS II (JNU), Nehru Memorial library, Central library (JNU) for their services they have rendered in searching relevant books, journals as well as research material for me.

The form in which dissertation has been presented and the ideas expressed are mine. The entire responsibility of any shortcoming in work is mine and I alone is blamed for that.

(Shaheen Parween)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of The Problem

Bureaucracy is a system of administration wherein there is a specialization of functions, objective qualifications for office, action according to the adherence to fixed rules, and a hierarchy of authority and delegated power. Bureaucracy has become a universal phenomenon. It is a pre requisite of modernization of every society (Weber 1946:239). As an organization is expected to play a pivotal role, in the process of development. It is expected to be effective instruments to achieve objectives of development. With emphasis on rules and regulations, division of labour, hierarchy, role specialists, rationality, impersonally and neutrality, bureaucracy is expected to ensure smooth process of development. In fact, bureaucracy plays a key role in stability standard of integrity and professional competence. Bureaucracy supports industrialized developed nations to achieve their objectives (Friederick 1963:469).

Most developing countries are engaged in the process of nation building and bringing about rapid socio-economic development, i.e., providing social services such as health, education, infrastructure like roads, electricity, productive activities in agriculture, industry etc. The complex of such formidable activities connected with the development enterprise is essentially government's responsibility. Here, bureaucracy becomes the key agency of development. Bureaucracy can immensely contribute to development by serving as an adviser, as an inventor, and a decision-maker. It can vitalize administration by building up a social environment emphasizing responsibility by creating incentives, by encouraging healthy competition and self-development, by organizing institutional management under competent and

1

progressive leadership and by delegating authority to lower levels for maximizing development (Kiely 1998:91).

The role of bureaucracy in development is more crucial for large country like India, where there have been perplexing diversities in geography, language, race and culture which have existed through ages and pervaded every aspect of life. A country like India require a system of some standard and guidelines, whereby interest of the nation on the whole is taken care of. Independence of the country brought about many new responsibilities pertaining to economic development and social welfare on the shoulders of its Civil Services. The Civil Service was supposed to come closer to masses and feel the agony of the millions of under fed, under-read and under-clothed citizens and then design strategies, formulate and execute policies, take right and timely decisions, initiate action and remedial measures for improving the lot of masses and upliftment of the country as a whole.

After independence of India, the constitution laid emphasis on national reconstruction and development, a shift from traditional task of only maintenance of law and order and revenue collection. The objectives of the Government were now to launch a massive attach on five major evils of the society which was Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness, and to secure all its citizens social, economic and political justice (Kapur et.al 2006 :34-37).

However, the Indian bureaucracy, with emphasis on maintenance of law and order and generation of revenue has failed to fulfill developmental functions. Soon after Independence a deterioration in the quality of administration was felt by masses. However worry some aspect was that most of the founders of Indian democracy have left us. According to a report by Hong Kong-based Political & Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd, a prestigious consulting firm based in Singapore, Indian bureaucracy is the worst in Asia with a 9.21 rating out of 10. India fared worst than Vietnam (rated at 8.54), Indonesia (8.37), Philippines (7.57) and China (7.11). The report said India's inefficient bureaucracy was largely responsible for most of the

2

biggest complaints that business executive has about the country (Indian Express: 11 July 2012). However this report needs to be probalamized because it did not highlight what is the basis for their evolution. In this report, prepared on the basis of lackluster performance of Indian bureaucracy in the sphere of development or something else.

India has an onerous and fickle tax, environmental and other regulations that make business in India frustrating and expensive. Dealing with court system in India is an unattractive option for anybody, and getting justice here is like asking for moon. The bureaucrats here are rarely held accountable for wrong decisions and it is extremely difficult to challenge them when there are disagreements. Indian bureaucracy is criticized as an authoritarian organization which emphasized on monopolization of power. It has also been criticized for its elitist background. It has been assumed that members of bureaucracy who are urbane in outlook cannot sympathize with problems of rural people. Indian bureaucracy has also been criticized for its lack of commitment to developmental needs and programs. While development calls for progressiveness and dynamism on the part of bureaucracy, bureaucracy always took shelter under conservative neutrality. Once known as "Steel frame" of the "Whole structure", the administrative service appears to unable to meet the challenges of the day (Mishra 1970: 370). Because of decline in the standard of bureaucracy in India the process of implementation of programmes and schemes of development has been hit. Corruption led to swindling of the money allocated for development scheme. Lethargy and red-tapism led to inordinate delays. Lack of initiative and commitment to the people on the part of the bureaucracy caused failure of policies and programmes. In this study we would examine the performance of bureaucracy in context of specific schemes like MGNREGA and incidents of huge crisis which India faced. We would see how bureaucracy performed, acted, reacted, learnt and contributed to the objective for which it was formed.

SCOPE OF STUDY

This study is an humble attempt to understand and analyze some emerging issues in sphere of Indian bureaucracy. We will try to understand the functioning of Indian bureaucracy in implementing the programmes for uplifting the poor, downtrodden and marginalized groups. For doing this we will evaluate the programmes related to these. We will also observe the role of Indian bureaucracy in normal times and in period of crisis. In doing so it will be highlighted in Indian bureaucracy is elitist and authoritarian and emphasis to match the real impediments in letting them to implement the developmental policies specially for poor.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Understanding Bureaucracy

Before we take up the study we would like to give some clarification, about certain key concepts, which will be used in the present study provide us more clarity and in depth understanding of processes involved here. It is a fact that some sort of structure of bureaucracy existed long before this words and theories of bureaucracy were devised. The Chinese Song dynasty (960–1279), for example, constructed a centralized bureaucracy staffed with civilian scholar-officials. This system of rule led to a much greater concentration of power in the hands of the emperor and his palace bureaucracy than was achieved in previous dynasties (Albrow 1970: 16).Max Weber (1946) has been one of the most influential users of the term bureaucracy in social sciences. He is known for his study of bureaucratization of society and hence, many aspects of modern public administration goes back to him. A classic, hierarchically organized civil service of the continental type is called Weberian civil service. Max Weber in his theory of bureaucracy, explained bureaucracy as an ideal type rational-legal organization. He defined bureaucracy as "A hierarchical organization designed rationally to coordinate work of many individual in pursuit of

large scale administrative task and organizational goal."According to Weber, the attributes of modern bureaucracy include its impersonality, concentration of the means of administration, a leveling effect on social and economic differences and implementation of a system of authority that is practically indestructible. Is bureaucracy of India is same as that of Weber's model or is it different? Further one can say that, according to Weber, bureaucracy is a particular type of administrative structure developed through rational-legal authority. Bureaucratic structures evolved from traditional structures with the following changes:

The regular activities required for the purpose of organization are distributed in a fixed way as official duties.

The organization of the offices follows the principles of hierarchy that is each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one.

Operations are governed by a consistent system, abstract rules from and consist of application of these rules to particular cases.

Employment in the bureaucratic organization is based in technical qualifications and it protected against arbitrary dismissal. It constitutes a career. There is a system of promotions according to seniority and attachment or both.

Experience shows that the purely bureaucratic form of administrative organization is from purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency. The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism can be compared other organizations in the same manner as a machine to work by hand (Weber 1946:232).

On the basis of the completion of legal authority system which operates within bureaucracies, according to Weber, the following may be said to be in the fundamental categories rational legal authorities:

Official functions are bound by rules and organized on continuous basis.

There is a 'specific sphere of competence' based on systematic division of labour. Necessary authority is given to incumbent to carry out the functions.

The organization of the offices follows principle of hierarchy.

The rules according to which work is conducted may be either technical or rational. Technical training thus becomes necessary.

There is complete separation of property belonging to the organization and personal property of the official.

The official holder cannot appropriate his office.

Administrative acts, decisions and rules are formulated and recorded in writing.

Legal authority systems can take many forms, but they are purest in bureaucratic administrative staff (Weber 1946:239).

Max Weber said that bureaucracy resolves some of the shortcomings of the traditional system. The above mentioned characters are Weber's ideal-type construct, a simplified model that focuses on the most important features. He viewed bureaucracy as a system of power where leaders exercise control over others which was based on discipline. Weber stressed that the rational-legal form was the most stable of systems for both superiors and subordinates because it is more reliable and clear, yet allows the subordinate more independence and discretion. Subordinates ideally can challenge the decisions of their leaders by referring to the stated rules i.e.

charisma becomes less important. As a result, bureaucratic systems can handle more complex operations than traditional systems.

Understanding Ideal Type of Bureaucracy

The purest type of exercise of legal authority is that which employs administrative staff. Excepting the supreme chief the organization who occupies his position is by virtue of appropriation, of election or through succession, the administrative staff in the purest form is appointed and functions according to following criteria:

The officials are personally free and observe impersonal official duties.

They are organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.

Each office has a clearly defined sphere in competence in legal sense.

The office is filled by free contractual relationship.

Officials are not elected but appointed on the basis of technical qualifications.

Competence is tested by competitive examination or guaranteed by diplomas.

Officials get salaries graded according to rank, not according to work.

The office is treated as primary occupation of incumbent.

There is system of promotion according to seniority or merit or both. It constitutes a career.

The official does not own the means of administration.

He is subject to specific and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office (Weber 1946: 330).

Observing the changes that were taking place during the industrial revolution, Max Weber saw Capitalism as 'rational' way to organize activities, rational in the sense that all decisions could base on the calculation of their likely return to the enterprise. Weber's Ideal bureaucracy was therefore devoted to the principle of efficiency where maximum output can be gained through minimum input. For Weber, the ideal bureaucracy was characterized by impersonality, efficiency and rationality. The key feature of the organization was that the authority of officials was subject to published rules and codes of practice, all rules, decisions and actions were recorded in writing.

The structure of the organization is a continuous hierarchy where each level is subject to control by the level above it. Each position in the hierarchy exists in its own right and job holders have no rights to a particular position. Responsibilities within each level are clearly delineated and each level has its own sphere of competence. An appointment to an office, and the levels of authority that go with it, are based solely on the grounds of technical competence. Max Weber believed that, due to their efficiency and stability, bureaucracies would become the most prevalent form of organization in society. However, he was also concerned that bureaucracies shared so many common structures it could mean that all organizations would become very much alike, which in turn could lead to the development of a new class of worker, the professional bureaucrat.

Weber regarded bureaucracy as the most efficient instrument of large scale administration which has been developed and modern social order in many different sphere has become overwhelmingly dependent upon it. The bureaucratic organization is technically most developed instrument for yielding power and authority. Under normal condition a fully developed bureaucracy reduces the area of direction for political master ,who often finds himself in the position of political masters ,who often find himself in position of the 'dilettante' facing the experts or trained official who stands within the management of the administration (Weber 1963:63).

Although Max Weber gave ideal type of bureaucratic characteristics he makes an attempt to present a universal model of bureaucracy. His emphasis on formal aspects needs careful needs a careful examination.

SOME CRITICAL OBSERVATION

Numbers of social scientist have analyzed the ideal type of bureaucracy as given by Weber. Blau (1956) argues that Weberian analysis bureaucracy the positive attainment and functions are emphasized and the internal stresses and strains of such structure are almost or wholly neglected. Weberian analysis is a functional one, ignoring the facts that the course of its functioning of new elements arise in the internal structure of bureaucracy and its adaptive forms, the influence of subsequent operations (Blau 1956:2).Weber failed to point out these internal characteristics that inhibit rational goal achievement (Jacob 1966:38).Weber overemphasized on the formal aspect of bureaucracy. Formal view alone fails to take into account the influence of informal organization. The informal organization that cannot exists without former (Bernard 1948:143). Weber's approach also implies that any deviation from ideal type or formal structure is detrimental to administrative efficiency (Blau 1956:50).There is considerable evidence that suggest that informal relations of unofficial practices often contribute to efficient organization .

Blau in his book "Bureaucracy in Modern Society" has given the functional analysis of bureaucracy by showing the inter-relationship between the various characteristics of a bureaucratic structure. According to him, "A Social Structure is explained by showing how each of its elements contributes to its persistence end effective operations." Blau talks about the two methodological implications of Weber's theory, first where the conceptual scheme of the relevant concepts and of phenomena are studied and second it includes a set of generalizations and hypotheses which indicates the relationships between the attributes of bureaucracy to serve as guides to scientific enquiry. Blau discusses informal organization in federal law enforcing agency and how it leads to

cohesiveness and efficiency. Such informal activities are not simple stray deviation but form of consistent pattern which became new element of organization (Blau 1956:56).

Merton discusses bureaucracy highlighting the dysfunctional aspects. According to him Weber only defined what the bureaucratic structure could attain and neglected the internal stresses and strains of structure. He then proposes that dysfunction is relevant in the study of dynamics and change in a bureaucratic structure. Robert J. Merton elaborates Weber's idea of impersonality which according to him is the basic characteristic of bureaucratic structure. Merton states that, "The structure is one which approaches the elimination of relationships and non-rational considerations hostility, anxiety, effectual involvement. This means that the degree of impersonality as a characteristic may vary from bureaucracy to bureaucracy and public bureaucracy is required to developed this characteristic to the highest degree"(Merton 1956:250).

Merton opines that the limitations of the bureaucratic organization are designed to attain the traditional goals of administration as well as new ones that may be socially assigned to public bureaucracy. Merton in response to this says that instead of attainment of original goals, there be observed phenomenon placement of goals. A bureaucratic structure exerts a constant pressure upon the official to adhere strictly to rules. These are the methods and prescribed patterns of action. , The result that this very emphasis leads to transference of the sentiments. Merton further observes that adherence to formalized procedures may be exaggerated to the point where primary concern with conformity to the rules interferes with the achievement of the purposes of the organization, in which we have the familiar phenomenon of the technicism or red tape of the official.

Referring to other structural process, Merton observes that the organization devices the promotion by seniority, they get salary other service conditions but he

opines that adherence to regulations induces timidity, conservatism and technicism. Pride of craft and the informal organization which develops within a bureaucracy also make the officials resistant to change in established routines, and lead them to defend their entrenched interests rather than to assist their clientele and elected higher officials.

Merton refers to impersonal relationship in the bureaucratic structure as one of the source of conflict and tension between the bureaucrats and the public. Another is the intrusion of primary group attitudes when secondary group attitudes are institutionally demanded, just as the bureaucrat client conflict often derives from interaction on impersonal terms when personal treatment is individually demanded. Merton called this phenomenon "goal displacement." He observed that this occurred when formalistic goals become more important than the main substantive goal of an organization. Merton concluded that bureaucratic characteristics can have both beneficial and harmful effects on organization (Merton 1956:258).

Amitai Etzoini criticizes Weber by pointing out that not only formal legal rational authority but charisma that is crucial for functioning of bureaucracy. He argues that,

> Genuine charismatic leaders emerge within established head position, they render organization with the legitimacy which means that any organization may have bad period following death or absence of the original charismatic founder, but the organization do not die. They get rejuvenated with charismatic founder with the emergence of another founder with charismatic qualities.

Weber's sharp distinction among three mode authority and social structure in according to Etzioni exaggerated. Indeed there are many mixed type. For instance, there were semi traditional, semi bureaucratic organization in ancient

Egypt, imperial China and medieval Byzantium in which hierarchical structure and adherence to rules and regulation combined with fairly, diffuse, totalistic status structure such as those characterizes of modern totalitarian regime.

An organization might deviate from bureaucrats. In peace time armies are highly bureaucrat. During war rules and regulations are waived. Person leadership counts more formal power position oral communications replaces written one. But as soon after wars, armies return to their bureaucratic structure.

The appearance of leaders with charismatic qualities is not limited to top organizational position. Lower ranking priest and professors in universities occasionally exhibit a great deal of personal charisma (Etzoini 1961:47).

Fred Riggs explained the administration process from the Prismatic Theory. According to him, the structure of society is like prism. Riggs opines that the white light represented the fused structures of a traditional society and the rainbow represented the diffracted (or refracted) structures of an industrialized society. Inside the prism was the society in transition. He further quotes, "Let us call it the 'prismatic model' because of the prism which refracts fused light".

According to Riggs, the prismatic society was not a passing inconvenience. It constituted a separate model in its own right, a third type with its own rules and culture. "The prismatic situation was neither traditional nor modern, but it contained novel elements generated by the juxtaposition of old and new social structures." Riggs rejected what he called the "escalator model" of modernization, which assumed that the prismatic characteristics would quickly disappear.

To understand public administration in a prismatic society, Riggs insisted, one had to understand the particular features of that situation. Further, he states that, a

bureau in a transitional society would not operate in the same manner as a bureau in a modern state. Leaders of the transitional society might use that term to describe the facade they had adopted, but labels alone do not define a structure. To him, a bureau in a transitional society was not a bureaucracy. It was a 'sala', a Spanish word that means not only a formal office where business is conducted, but also a chamber in one's home where traditional functions are performed. The operation of the sala can only be understood in the context of an office in which both official and personal obligations are fulfilled, a notion quite contrary to one of the defining principles of Max Weber's bureaucratic theory (Riggs 1964 :9-15).

Apart from above works analysis, William Whyte, Selzick, Mills have also suggested dysfunctional consequences of bureaucratic organization. Barnard and Selznick focused on both non-rational and rational aspects of a bureaucratic structure. It is because of this we combine the two aspects that Selznick's analysis which are as follows (a) emergence of an informal structure within a formal bureaucratic structure; (b) formal roles of participants,(c) two types of leadership-e-routine and critical (d) interaction between personalities of the participants and the structure. Selznick observed that, "There are non-rational dimensions of organizational behavior. The latter remain at once indispensible to the continued existence of the system of coordination and at the same time the source of friction, dilemma, doubt and ruin" (Selznick, 2002:188).

Hence, certain type of organization especially highly centralized organization is called bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is indispensible to any society, be traditional, totalitarian or democratic one. Max Weber regarded that bureaucratization is necessary consequence of rationality that characterize modern societies, be they capitalist or socialist. Weber was primarily preoccupied with presenting a rational model and so he did not probe more deeply and exhaustively into the non-rational aspects of bureaucracy.

A RESUME OF HISTORY AND PRESENT STATUS OF PROBLEM

A plethora of studies Crozier (1964), Singh (1994), Mathur (2009), Jhabvala(2010) exists on bureaucracy. A number of studies centered around corruption and political influence on bureaucracy. Cozier (1964) re-examined Weber's concept of the efficient ideal bureaucracy. Whereas for Weber, bureaucracy was the ultimate expression of a trend toward the efficient, rational organization, Crozier examined bureaucracy as a form of organization that is slow, ponderous and has complicated procedure and maladapted response. He states that a bureaucratic organization is an organization that cannot correct its behaviour by learning from its errors and is rigid to adjust to the transformation of the society.

According to Singh (1994) the social structure of Indian bureaucracy can be divided into three evolutionary types. According to him, there was structural transformation of Indian bureaucratic elite from colonial rule to independence. The role of bureaucracy in pre-independence was particularistic in character which gradually changed to universalistic roles. Singh opines that bureaucratic elite were not committed to national growth rather than they were concerned in maintaining a stable constitutional macro-structure of society. Thus the bureaucrats provided a functional unity to the society. However he says that the bureaucrats may suffer from internal cultural tension which arises from the role conflict in inter structural participation .The bureaucrats families, caste, kin oriented particularism might clash with ideologies of universalism of his bureaucratic role. Singh further says that bureaucrats are committed to the egalitarian and ameliorative policies of government and is mature in dealing with the public. Despite of tension bureaucracy in India has given stability to administration and is active agent of modernization.

Similarly bureaucracy should be organized on the basis of different principles in the hierarchically arranged society like India which is divided on the basis of caste, religion, class etc., says Kumar (2007). According to him, it is all the more important that the institutions of governance are organized on universalistic principles so that

14

each strata gets its fair share in decision-making and policy formulation. But that has not been the case in Indian society. Since the inception of modern institutions of governance viz. legislature, bureaucracy, judiciary etc., the so-called upper castes have dominated them. For instance, writes that most of the Hindus in the service of the Government were upper caste men, especially Brahmins and Kayasthas, who dominated the field.

Mathur (2009) introduces concept of governance and kind of transformation of state that is taking place in India. According to him IAS of Indian administration has a dominant role in all decision making. It holds the critical position of the government and plays major role in decision making. Further he argues that although Indian bureaucracy has Weberian characteristics, it is not self sufficient to pursue the developmental interest. It has turned out to be weak instrument of state. They oblige the politician for better career advancement and their close linkage with caste or communal group, business houses shows their self interest. According to Mathur the general perception of the civil servants are that it is only the group who works for public interest. Similarly, Jhabvala (2010) criticizes the widespread use of targeting in Indian social policy through the use of the below poverty line card system .This study include or exclude groups from access to subsidies goods and sometimes to public works. Jhabvala argues that targeting is inefficient and inequitable and holds bureaucracy to be responsible for it. According to Jhabvala the government has dismantled state controls and interventions for the private sector, delivery of services, especially to the poor which is controlled by the same bureaucratic system and considers the principle of universalism as an alternative to solve the problem.

Arora (2007) draws the attention towards the deviance from the ideal type of Weberian model of bureaucracy which is considered to be the ideal type. This deviance, the writer says is more pronounced and is reflected in the developing societies. In these societies, bureaucrats function in an autocratic and arrogant manner, generally ignoring the expectations as well as aspirations of its people. According to him, bureaucracy enjoys over-arching roles and powers in India and the

expansion of the activities of the government in the wake of social-economic development, has lead to the consolidation of powers in the hands of the bureaucrats. This development along with a couple of other factors which has augmented this autocratic nature of bureaucracy leads to widespread remonstration among the masses, from which they want to get rid off. Kohli (1987), analyses the role of Government in eradicating rural poverty. He tries to focus on the ruling political parties as an important factors influencing the the success or failure of redistributive and welfare politics in democratic political setting.

Though many studies have been done on bureaucracy but the role of bureaucracy in the implementation of MNREGA has not been studied yet. This is partly because MNREGA is a new scheme and no study has been done taking the role of bureaucracy on the implementation of scheme. Along with this, the study on the performance of bureaucracy in emergency situations like riots or terrorist attack has not been done. Thus, in this study we would study the role and performance of bureaucracy in the implementation of scheme and in the time of incident of crisis.

INDIAN BUREAUCRACY

The modern rational form of bureaucratic institution did not exist in traditional India. Weber had said that traditional India has not developed socio cultural foundation for the growth of rational legal authority and bureaucratic social structure. But it would be wrong to say that there were no administrative institutions in India. In order to grasp the role of bureaucratic organization, it is necessary to consider to consider how they have evolved in India .The growth of administrative institution has to be understood in terms of feudal, colonial, and modern social structure.

British laid the foundation of Indian Civil Services. This hierarchical service finds its origins in 'the rights to collect land revenue' which the adopted from the

16

Mughal Empire. During the time of Mughal times, the feudal nobility was a military aristocracy which incidentally owned land, rather than a landed aristocracy which occasionally had to defend Royal lands and property by military means. There was a heterogeneous class consisting mainly of two types of higher landed officials. There was the category of official nobility comprising superior government servants who were recruited from the upper layers of the social hierarchy. These officials were paid by the grant of jagirs or the assignment of land revenue which carried with it both power and patronage. They held big mansabs (offices), received robes of honour from the King, and performed political functions, mansabdars, the amirs also formed part of the general mansabari establishment (Mansabdar means military type grading of all imperial officials of the Mughal empire. The mansabdars governed the empire and commanded its armies in the emperor's name. Amir, meaning "chieftain" or "commander", there role was to maintainance of army). The officers employed in the administration of the districts were recruited from among these mansabdars. The provincial governors and departmental heads were classed as amirs who formed the official nobility. This system was bureaucratic. There was also a parallel feudalistic organisation but the possessor of land remained subservient to the king. It was based on personal relationship. The vassals were given jagirs and assignments primarily because of blood and kinship. Some feudatories would raise their own army, collect taxes and customary dues, pay tributes, and rally round the standard of their overlord or king with their military contingents when called upon to do so. But the assignee had no right of coining money. He maintained his own troops but he had no right of waging private war. He could only increase his influence by entering into matrimonial alliances with powerful neighbours or the royal family (Mason 1985:243).

In 1858's there was transfer of power from East India Company to the British Crown which laid the foundation of the Indian Civil Services was formally implemented. The `Rule of Company Bahadur' was terminated and replaced by the `Rule of Crown', and hence bureaucratic hierarchical structure came into existence in India. The Bureaucracy that we have today was founded by the British during the

colonial days. Its structure and practices derived from that of Whitehall in the mid-nineteenth century, developed on the basis of a career service with tenure until retirement age, subject to satisfactory conduct. The British had set it up to exercise control over a large but potentially subversive group of native employees in the government. They had put in place a complex array of rules, regulations, and processes to maintain control over the decision making of the native employees. The organizational set-up was hierarchical to ensure a clear-cut chain of command based on a rigorous system of reporting. Since the native subordinates could not be trusted to take decisions, it was necessary to force the decision-making process upwards, this resulted in excessive centralization. The result, on the whole, was the creation of a rigid, hierarchical, centralized, process-driven bureaucracy (Mishra:1970). The civil service in India has a long history. During the British rule there was an organized administration. Civil service for the public works started during the middle of 19th century when the colonial state went for a permanent civil service based on merit. The modern education system which was introduced by the colonial state enabled the educated people to compete for various jobs of the state.

In 1947 came the Independence. With the attainment of Independence and adoption of socialist and egalitarian society as ultimate national goals, the demands on administration had undergone a qualitative change. The basic task of administration changed from routine regulatory function to that of development administration, promoting a rapid socio-economic change.There were several debates in the Constituent Assembly regarding the retention of the civil service. The Constitution has made specific provisions regarding the responsibilities of the civil servants. In a democratic system the political executive is the highest body assisted by the Civil Servants. Most of the posts are below the level of Ministers in the Secretariat and in the field organization are held by the civil servants. Their work consists of assisting the political executive in policy formulation, programme implementation and administration of the laws of the land. They contribute in policy making process actively as they are taken as the professionals who are competent to provide the inputs

in the policy making process. The final decisions are given by the minister followed by the Council of Ministers.

Thus, the social, economic and political transformation of developing countries like India is inconceivable without massive and direct participation of bureaucrats and the proper functioning of the bureaucracy. After independence the foremost concern was to improve the food production of India, alleviation of poverty, and reduction in inter-caste regional and rural urban disparity, improvement of the living of the people through minimum need programmes which included improvement in heath, sanitation, fertility control, provision of clean drinking water and housing, literacy. Hence the emphasis was moved to the developmental programmes to cater the needs of poor and the country as a whole. Since most of these programmes were people oriented programmes it was seen that bureaucracy worked with them communicating programmes to them, mobilizing the masses, building up grass root popular institutions. It was made explicit in five year plan that "in all direction the political action committee e of development will depend largely upon the quality of public administration, the efficiency with which it works and the cooperation that it evokes" (Singhi: 1974).

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study aims to focus on the following aspects:

To analyse the specific role of bureaucracy in the country.

To analyse the changing role of Indian bureaucracy.

To analyse the social composition of Indian bureaucracy.

To analyse the role of Indian bureaucracy in implementing developemental scheme especially for poor and excluded.

To find out the role of bureaucracy in the time of crisis?

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The relevant data for this study will be collected from the secondary sources. For this we would extract data from books, Journals, Magazines, Reports of Administrative Reform Commission, News Paper article, manuals, scholarly articles and studies.The data collected would be analysed in context of the theories of bureaucracy. However, importance of bureaucracy in this area is recognized and its role was explored in relation to the framework. Some documents and works brought into use were: publication from Ministry of Rural Development, reports of various commission on bureaucracy, newspaper clippings and article.

CHAPTER SCHEME

I INTRODUCTION

The problem of poor performance of bureaucracy in implementation of scheme and its performance during the incident of crisis is given. The reason of poor implementation of the scheme is stated. And because of which the topic of the dissertation was chosen. The scope of dissertation is outlined. The key concepts which will be used in further discussion is also defined. The whole range of theories has been taken into account. The theories involve holistic approach which emphasizes the role of bureaucracy and its meaning. The main concern of the review is to examine bureaucracy in context of its functions and dysfunctions in relation to its role in implementation of a scheme and performance in the times of incidents of crisis.

II BUREAUCRACY IN INDIA: A BRIEF HISTORICAL PROFILE

This chapter briefly describes the evolution of bureaucracy right from the ancient period to the time of independence. The development of the bureaucracy in four broad phases is outlined. The first phase started in ancient times and ended with the Mughal grant of the diwani in Bengal in 1765, when it first emerged as a territorial power. The second phase starting from 1765 to 1798 was a period of

Parliamentary intervention without any definitive political policy, a normative period where the personal contributions of Hastings and Cornwallis were more significant than the effect of statutory provisions. The third period started with the establishment of the competitive system of examinations under the Charter Act of 1853 where English Utilitarian's in India tried to supply an ideological justification for a centralized and strong executive administration, basing it additionally on the paternalistic tradition of Indian society. Lastly, we would describe the role of bureaucracy after the commencement of constitution of India.

III INDIAN BUREAUCRACY AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY: A CASE STUDY OF MNREGA

This chapter describes the role of bureaucracy in policy implementation where MNREGA as a scheme has been taken. The chapter discusses the significance and salient features of MNREGA. Next, the process of implementation of MNREGA at the Central and State level is described. The brief understanding of the role of bureaucracy in the implementation of scheme is stated. In the end, the chapter would assess how the policy has impacted and affected the life of the people and society.

IV CRISIS SITUATION AND THE ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY

This chapter would examine the role of bureaucracy in normal times. The function and performance of bureaucracy in the time of crisis is analyzed. This is done through enunciation of the theories and critics of Weber's theory and conceptualization of bureaucracy. The brief description of two incidence Gujarat riots of 2002 and Mumbai attack of 2008 is described. In the end, the challenges posed and the responses by bureaucracy during the two incidents are studied and we would also examine how bureaucracy tried to tackle the issues. Finally, we would assess and conclude whether the response of bureaucracy was up to the mark or resulted in some kind of success or failure.

TH2 1639

V CONCLUSION: DIAGNOSIS AND PROJECTIONS

The finding of the study is given. The study concludes that it was because of the lack of commitment and mismanagement of resource by some bureaucrat which led to the poor development and performance of bureaucracy.

LIMITATION OF PROJECT AND TERM USED

The study is confined to only one scheme and two incidents of crisis. In this study only bureaucracy at the level of IAS and IPS are taken. Other form of bureaucratic organization like bureaucracy at university level, at political level and at judicial level has not been included in the study. The materials which are used in the study is from secondary sources and field work is not included. The terms which we intend to use in the study are:

Civil Services is generally defined to mean the 'public services' constituted by the government to translate all its plans and programmes into implementable action. Civil service is a body of professional, full-time officials employed to handle the civil affairs of a state. A civil servant belongs to a body of persons who are directly employed in the administration of the internal affairs of the state and whose role and status are not political, ministerial, military or constabulary.

According to N. Gladden, "Civil service is the name of an important government institution comprising the staffs of central administration of the state. It stands for a spirit essential to the success of modem democracy, an ideal of vocation in public officials who devote their lives to the service of the community." Herman Finer points out that "The Civil Service is a professional body of officials, permanent, paid and skilled" (Gladden 1968:60-62).

In India, the phrase bureaucracy is used to denote different clauses of officers appointed by and paid for by government for general administrative work.

Normally it does not include the legislature and judicial officers, nor members of the defence services. Officials of local bodies are not civil servants and local bodies control their own staff. The civil servants are the holders of civil posts, whose remuneration in India is paid out of Consolidated Fund of India, others (employees working in public undertakings, nationalized banks and quasi-governmental organizations funded wholly or partly by the state.

The concept of 'committed bureaucracy' is much contested in the political and administrative circles. It creates a breed of pliable civil servants who would always say "Yes Minister" and would be ready to crawl when asked to bend by their political masters. It is also alleged that in the name of commitment the ruling party was seeking bureaucracy's alignment with the party's ideology to perpetuate its rule. Commitment did not mean attachment to the ideology of the party in power, but a commitment to the development of the country and personal involvement of bureaucracy in the tasks as opposed to ostrich like withdrawal and isolation from politics. Thus, if committed bureaucracy stands for a non-partisan, socially sensitive civil service, which can empathize with the politician who is genuinely, interested in progress and development of the country, then a committed civil service is more appropriate for a developing nation than having an insensitive neutral one (Maheshwari 2002:195).

Thus, bureaucracy is a body of non elective government officials which is an administrative policy-making group and is characterized by specialized functions, had adherence to fixed rules, and a hierarchy of authority.

REFERENCES

Crozier, Michel, 1964."The Bureaucratic Phenomenon", Chicago: University Of Chicago.

Dreze, Jean and Sen, Amartya, 2002. "India's development and Participation", Oxford University Press.

Dreze, Jean,2002. "India, Development and Participation", New Delhi, NY: Oxford University Press.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen,1995. " The Political Economy of hunger: Selected Essay"Oxford, Cladendon Press.

Etozoni, A ,1961. "Comperative analysis of complen organization" Glencoe Free Press, Allied Publishers, Delhi.

Kohli, Atul,1987. "The State and Poverty in India: Politics of Reform", Cambridge University Press.

Kapur Mehta,A.A Shah,A.Kumar and S.Bhinde,2005. Getting Chronic Poverty on Policy Agenda: A case of CPRC India, A paper presented to ODI/CPRC,London.

Mason Philip,1985. "The Men Who Ruled India".Rupa Publication,New Delhi.
Mommsen, Wolf Gang, 1930. "The Age of bureaucracy: Perspective on Political Sociology of Max Weber", Oxford: Blackwell.

Mathur, Kuldeep,2009. "From Government to Governance: A Brief Survey of the Indian Experience", India: National Book Trust.

Weber, Max,1909. " Economy and Society: An outline of Interpretative Sociology", Oxford University Press.

Scott, C.James,1998. " Seeing Like a State", New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Selznick,P,1953. "TVA and Grassroots",Berkley University,California.

Singh, Yogendra,1994. " Modernization of Indian Tradition", Rawat Publication.

Singh, Yogendra,1997. "Social Stratification and Change in India", Manohar Publication.

Singh, Yogendra,1978. " Essay On Modernization in India" New Delhi: Manohar Publication.

Singhi,Kumar, Nagendra,1974. "Bureucracy , position and persons:role, structure and value orientation of Bureaucrats in Rajasthan", Abhinav Publication:New Delhi.

EPW Research Foundation,2005. "Institutional Constraints on Government Expenditure," EPW, Vol. 42, No.29, page 170.

Khera, Reetika ,2008. " The Black hole of MNREGA Records", New Delhi: Yojana.

Jhabuala, Renana,2010. "Targeting the Poor: Clogged Pipe of Bureauracratic Blinkers", EPW, Vol.46, No.26, page 239.

CHAPTER II

BUREAUCRACY IN INDIA : A BREIF HISTORICAL PROFILE

In this chapter we would discuss the evolution of Indian bureaucracy from the time of pre-British period to Independence India. In the pre-British times bureaucracy was based on caste and family lines but as the time passed the role of bureaucracy has changed. It changed specifically with the evolution of mansabdari system during the Mughal times. As has been argued that bureaucracy in the pre-Independence period was primarily concerned with enforcement of law, collection of taxes, defence and administration of justice. It also took up some welfare measures for society. While after the promulgation of the Constitution of India, the bureaucratic role was in the formulation, implementation and execution of policies from union level to villages level in the country. The pattern of modern administration in India has been moulded and determined by the members of Indian civil services.

BUREAUCRACY IN ANCIENT INDIA

In ancient India there was complex system of administration of state and military organization. In Kautilya in his 'Arthasastra' had stated "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare, whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good but whatever pleases his subjects, he shall consider as good"(Second ARC :13th Report: 74). He had mentioned three categories of government employees : (1) Officer (Yukta) (2) Clerk (Upayakta) and (3) Servant (purusham). In Kautilya's Arthsastra, Kings Councellor are reported to be organized into hierarchies of competence and power There were also administrators for tax collections, maintenance of law and order, police, arm, record maintenance of income and expenditure, for recording deaths and births in families, for the control of crime, disposal of criminals and for administration of finances (Yogendra 1974:143).

This was the arrangement of legal authorities with bureaucratic type of structure. It used to be common convention or kings or community chiefs discretion which used to rule. Recruitment of officials was based on caste and family lines. There were no distinction between private and public property for ruling elites. There was good deal of gap between ruler and ruled. The structural element of the administration was loose and not too well established and institutionalized. The personal character and temperament of the king and its ministers often determined the nature of administration. Justice was based on personal evaluation (Singhi N.K:13).

BUREAUCRACY DURING MEDIEVAL AGES

During the Mughal period the institution of Mansabdari developed. It was a combined civil and military bureaucracy. The civil and military establishments were separately maintained (Singhi 1974:13). There were some changes in the administrative set up. Kings like Akbar, Shah Jahan etc did made organizational innovations. But there was no inbuilt mechanism whereby innovation could have been institutionalized and historically maintained. Administration was neither secular nor welfare oriented in the principle excepting a few cases in Akbar regime. In its organizational aspects and systemization was dependant mainly upon individual style of concerned administration (Panandikar 1978:5).

According to Bipin Chandra the official position in nobility were not hereditary though in practice the principle was given attention in the initial appointment as well as promotion. The landed aristocracy India was not roofed socially in the soil, no manorial system existed in the India nor nobility was homogeneous or organized and stable but it spranged from successive conquests. There were of cases of Maratha, Jat and Rajput rulers of mean origins being raised to higher status through what Max Weber described as princely and priestly alliance (Chandra 1994:91).

During the time of Mughal times, the feudal nobility was a military aristocracy which incidentally owned land, rather than a landed aristocracy which occasionally

27

had to defend Royal lands and property by military means. There was a heterogeneous class consisting mainly of two types of higher landed officials. There was the category of official nobility comprising superior government servants who were recruited from the upper layers of the social hierarchy. These officials were paid by the grant of jagirs or the assignment of land revenue which carried with it both power and patronage. They held big mansabs (offices), received robes of honour from the King, and performed political functions, mansabdars, the amirs also formed part of the general mansabari establishment (Mansabdar means military type grading of all imperial officials of the Mughal empire. The mansabdars governed the empire and commanded its armies in the emperor's name. Amir, meaning "chieftain" or "commander", there role was to maintainance of army). The officers employed in the administration of the districts were recruited from among these mansabdars. The provincial governors and departmental heads were classed as amirs who formed the official nobility. This system was bureaucratic. There was also a parallel feudalistic organisation but the possessor of land remained subservient to the king. It was based on personal relationship. The vassals were given jagirs and assignments primarily because of blood and kinship. Some feudatories would raise their own army, collect taxes and customary dues, pay tributes, and rally round the standard of their overlord or king with their military contingents when called upon to do so. But the assignee had no right of coining money. He maintained his own troops but he had no right of waging private war. He could only increase his influence by entering into matrimonial alliances with powerful neighbours or the royal family (Mason 1985:243).

The assignment of land revenue was also made for religious purposes called madad-i-masili was a kind of jagirs but its holder formed no part of the mansabdari establishment. The Government itself was a bureaucracy during pre-British time. Intellectually, socially and culturally, there was practically no gap between a member of the Government and the permanent civil servant in the pre-independence period (Chitkara1994:15).

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN BUREAUCRACY DURING BRITISH PERIOD

Britishers initially came to India with the motives of trade and profit. However because of existing political situation, lucrative business profit and vast territory of the Indian sub continent tempted them to colonize the country. Quoting Marx, Chandra explains the role of British rule in India, "England has to fulfill a double mission in India, one destructive and the other regenerating. The annihilation of old Asiatic society and laying of material foundation of western society to Asia" (Marx 1973: 139).

Though as an institution the bureaucracy service is quite old, the expression bureaucracy is recent origin. Initially this term was used by the East India Company to designate its non-combatant employees in India. The development of the bureaucracy the Company witnessed four broad phases. The first phase ended with the Mughal grant of the diwani in Bengal in 1765, when it first emerged as a territorial power. The second phase from 1765 to 1798 was a period of Parliamentary intervention without any definitive political policy, a normative period where the personal contributions of Hastings and Cornwallis were more significant than the effect of statutory provisions. The third, which began with Wellesley's administration in 1798, witnessed, by 1833, the triumph of laissez-faire and the transformation of trade into politics. Lastly, we would describe the role of bureaucracy after the commencement of constitution of India .

Wellesley marked the beginning of a new era which called for an organized and continuous flow of talent to administer the Company's Indian territories as permanent imperial dominions. The principle of competition, which first expressed itself in the economic field, came to be applied to administration. Although the Court of Directors resisted this as an infringement of its right to patronage, it could not prevent the establishment of the competitive system of examinations under the Charter

Act of 1853. It was during the third phase that the English Utilitarian's in India tried to supply an ideological justification for a centralized and strong executive administration, basing it additionally on the paternalistic tradition of Indian society. This prepared the ground for bureaucratic despotism based on the rationalization of administrative and legislative institutions (Mishra 1961 :60).

For this efficient and modern administrative structure and institution was needed which not only enabled the structuring of colonialism and colonial exploitation but also made possible oppression and exploitation of the peasantry by non capitalist landlords, usurers, merchants and lower bureaucracy. In colonial India large part of surplus is generated in the economy which was appropriated by colonial state which spent almost all it army administration and enforcement of law and order. The colonial rule introduced modern method of commercial, financial and industrial organization, it introduced modern bureaucracy, judicial system , army and machinery for enforcement of law and order (Chitkara 1994:18).

Evolution of Bureaucracy during East India Company

The East India Company established its first organized cadre of civil servants in India in 1765. This service was established with the sole objective of assisting it to collect revenues from the people of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa where the company had been granted the Diwani or the right to collect revenues by the Mughal Emperor. The dual role of East India Company as traders and ruler continued till 1833 by which time the Company had acquired control over extensive territories all over India. The Company in its new role as ruler recognized the need for establishing a bureaucracy exclusively devoted to administration unburdened by any responsibility for trading operations and started creating one. In 1853, the Company accepted the most distinctive feature of the covenanted bureaucracy of India which became the Indian Civil Service (ICS) after India came under the direct rule of the British Crown in 1858 and selection was through competitive examinations (Chitkara 1994:21).

It was in 1793 that a reorganization of public services was made by Lord Cornwallis. His so-called unification of services meant creation of 'Covenanted Service' which gave a permanent status to civil servants . Only Europeans could belong to this service. Indians were excluded from all posts of trust and responsibility. A college was started at Kolkata to train the young European officers in oriental languages and in law. In 1806 Haileybury College was established in England to give pre-service training to junior officers. The method for admission was nomination by the Court of Directors. By the middle of the nineteenth century the Company had acquired large territories in India, the administration of which required men of ability and character. The system of nomination made room for nepotism and corruption and so persons could not be selected with reference to merit (Cohn 1987:500-73).

The Government of India Act 1858 invested the Crown with direct responsibility for Indian administration. Thus, in the course of this period, the two conflicting principles of monopoly and free trade competed for supremacy in the Indian subcontinent, the former representing the pure commercial interest of the Company, the latter the British imperial interest. Although the second beat the first in the long run, the process of interaction did not fail to leave its mark on the bureaucracy in India under the Company's rule. It was not as bureaucratic as it became under the Crown (Mishra 1961 : 63).

The Civil Service Commision of 1855

The Civil Service Commision was created in 1855 and became the key institution in the development of the British civil service. The work of the commission was the recruitment of civil servants by fair methods, treating all qualified applicants equally, and using open competitions wherever practicable. It was held in high esteem in the United Kingdom and also in the many other countries throughout the world. It continued until 1991, when most of its work was devolved to over 3,000 government departments and executive agencies.

Macaulay Committee Report and Birth of Indian Civil Services

On the basis of the a report submitted by Macaulay in year 1854. Macaulay committee had laid down number for Indian bureaucracy. For Instance the committee desired that the minimum age limit for admission be raised to 18 and maximum to 23, so that a person could go out to India at the latest aged twenty-five. Macaulay desired that a considerable number of the Company's Civil Servants should be men who have taken the first degree in Arts at Oxford or Cambridge. Macaulay also believed that a civil servant whose duty was to assist to political executive in the formulation of policies should have received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that England could then afford. Macaulay's whole emphasis was in fact on the cultivation of mind, on general education, on the enlarging and strengthening of understanding, which must precede special education or training in skill, necessary for the dispatch of professional business. Hence the service was given statutory recognition by the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 (Mishra 1970: 178).

Consolidation of Indian Bureaucracy between 1858 and 1918

The development of the bureaucracy in India between 1858 and 1919 was marked by a series of attempts at rationalization. The process which began with Wellesley the Governor General of India, matured considerably in the course of this period. The earlier role of the Company disappeared and imperialism was now free to act and proceed in the direction of rationalization. In its legal signification rationalization meant an emphasis on the codification of law and procedural rigidity, which tended to invest public administration with an element of predictability. Its natural corollary was 'red-tapism' and the centralization of bureaucratic control, which in turn tried to reduce to uniformity every process of decision-making. This in fact was a period of 'bureaucratic despotism' which at every level of the hierarchy tightened the chain of subordination from local officers through Provincial' Governments to the Government of India. Administratively, the object of rationalization was to promote speed and efficiency by means of proper selection,

grading and job specifications. This was necessitated by an extension in the scope of state activity. And since the extended function of the state called for a corresponding increase in the area of executive discretion, efficiency was sought to be achieved within the framework of institutional and legal constraint imposed on the exercise of discretionary authority (Das 2010 :208).

The Paradox of Rationalization of Indian Bureaucracy

Indeed, rationalization was both a legal and organizational concept. It was based on the principle of bureaucratic impersonality which was not supposed to recognize political or social differentiations. Politically and socially, however, the progress of rationalization in the Indian situation was beset with serious difficulties. These were mainly the presence of imperialism and the Brahmanic social order. The former resisted the extended employment of Indians despite their merit and fitness for superior posts. And despite the liberalism of policies, the average European civilian shared the racist outlook. Though in theory Indians were permitted to compete for the Indian Civil Service yet it was of no practical consequence because very few Indian students could utilize the opportunity they were offered. The cost of living in England was too high and so it was prohibitive to the people of a poor country like India. The environment of London was foreign to the citizens of this country. The social and religious restrictions on journey to foreign lands were ordinarily of insurmountable nature. The chances of success at the examination were remote. The result was that only in 1870 an Indian was able to enter the Indian Civil Service. In 1870 the rules regarding such selections were modified and it was provided that Indians of approved merit and ability would be selected by domination, without going through the competitive examination in London. Only one or two persons were appointed by this method. The subject was reconsidered in 1879 and it was laid down that recruitment in India would be extended up to one-fifth of total number of civilians taken during the year. These appointments were generally confined to young men of good family and social position who had fair abilities as a result of liberal education (Mishra 1970: 110-133).

This plan also failed to produce the desired result, because the British Government never look it kindly. However, a commission was appointed, under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Aitchison to investigate the claim of Indians to higher appointments, which submitted its report in 1887. The recommendation of the Aitchison Commission which the Government accepted in essence did impart a great deal of finality to the structure of bureaucracy that emerged in the 1890's and at the turn of the century. The great majority of government officials in India were divided into classes corresponding to the responsibility of their work and the qualifications required to perform it. These classes were organized for the most part as 'Services', the highest or the 'Superior' services, the 'Provincial' and then the 'Subordinate'. The superior services were themselves divided into the 'Central Services' dealing inter alia with Indian states, frontier affairs, the state railways, post and telegraphs, customs, audit and accounts, as well as such technical departments as the Survey of India, the Geological Survey and the Archaeological Department. The other class consisted of the 'All India Services' which the Aitchison Commission had preferred to call 'Imperial', but which at the instance of the Secretary of State became known as 'Indian'. These were the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Indian Education Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, the Indian Forest Engineering Service, the Indian Medical Service (Civil), and the Indian Service of Engineers. On account of the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and the subsequent declaration of August 1917 of the Secretary of State for India, which outlined a new policy which contemplated increased association of Indians in every branch of the service to introduce complete home rule at a future date, the fundamental basis of the report was changed and hence it became out of date (Chitkara 1994:23).

The Resolution of 1934 and the scope of Reservation

The Act of 1934 provided to counteract with the discrimination in society and government, and to ensure efficiency in administration without prejudice to race or religion, caste or creed. The Resolution of 1934 extended the scope of reservation.

According to the Resolution of 1934, if Muslims and other communities failed to obtain the percentage of posts fixed for them in open competition, their quota would be secured to them by means of nomination. If members of the other minority com munities happened to obtain less than their reserved percentage in open competition, and if duly qualified candidates were not available for nomination, the residue of the 8 per cent was to be available for Muslims, for the percentage reserved for other minorities as not distributed among them in any fixed proportion. The old emphasis on competition as the best mode of entry into the public service was in these circumstances weakened. A minimum standard of qualification was of course imposed and the reservations were made on this condition. But it was difficult to reconcile considerations of merit with those of social justice. To safeguard the interests of minorities other than Muslims and Anglo Indians, therefore, it was decided that an additional 6 per cent reservation of the direct recruitment be set apart for them (Mishra 1977:381). The selection of communities to the Indian Civil Services is given below:

Table 1-Selection of Communities to the I.C.S.

Year	Hindus	Muslims	Indian Christians	Sikhs	Parsis	Anglo-Indian
1925-30 (inclusive)	122	29	9	1	3	1
1931	12	8	2	1	-	-
1932	15	6	2	-	-	2
1933	15	3	4	-	-	-
1934-43	111	48	6	4	6	4
Total for 19 years	275	94	23	6	9	7
Annual average	14.47	4.49	1.21	0.31	0.47	0.36

Source: Mishra B.B: pp 384

Table- 2 Communal Composition of the Indian Civil Service on 1 January 1947

(excluding 90 listed-post holders)

No. of Service etc.	Hindus				Minority communities recognized for purposes of communal representation														Total	Remarks
	Europeans		Hindus other than Depressed classes		Depressed Classes		Muslims		Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians		Sikhs		Indian Christians		Parsis		Other communities			
1	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	20	21
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
Indian civil service	468	47.75	352	35.90	2	0.20	101	0.31	5	0.51	10	1.02	25	2.55	13	1.33	4	0.41	980 (a)	
Indian Officers	-	-	352	68.75	2	0.39	101	19.73	5	0.97	10	1.95	25	4.88	13	2.53	4	0.78	512	

Source: Mishra B.B: pp 384

However, the principle of reservation was not applied in promotion, which was determined on merit. Its application to direct recruitment produced the desired result. Of the minority communities, Muslims were the greatest beneficiaries. The position of schedule caste showed no improvement except during 1934-1943 when only two candidates were selected in I.C.S, one in Bengal and other in Assam. The safeguard for minorities provided by the Constitution Act made a firm beginning in removing their backwardness. In 1946 the reservation was extended to further 12.5 percent in direct appointment which helped as political remedy to social and economic disabilities. It encouraged higher education among the lower castes, which in turn brought about changes in the traditional patterns of occupation, standard of living and social relationships. But the political approach encouraged separatism and caste rivalry. Its contract-based legal foundation countered to status bound traditional society without providing any cohesive force which in past kept the social order together on the principle of rigid functional reciprocity.

It remained neither traditional in the sense of being community-bound nor modern in the sense of providing freedom combine in the infrastructure of society. The reservation of posts in the public service gave scheduled castes and tribes freedom to fight for the rights so reserved, but made each of then socially hidebound for fear of losing their gains. It facilitated the task of political leaders to mobilize votes in blocks of religion, caste and tribe. It also added to the influence and power of the bureaucracy in the distribution of patronage and certificates of backwardness as a title to privilege. But it certainly obstructed the progress of democracy, a territorial concept based on the freedom of individuals to form associations according to ideology or interest or a combination of both (Mishra 1977:382-384).

Indian Bureaucracy and the Government of India Act, 1935

The Act of 1935 introduced the special responsibility of the Governor-General in respect of the federation and that of the Governor in the case of provinces for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the services and to allay their apprehensions.

The Secretary of State was given the power to make appointments and to prescribe salary and other important conditions of service of the three existing all-India services under the Act, namely, the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, and the Indian Medical Service (Civil). Appointments to the central services were made by the Governor-General and to the provincial services by the Governors. No member of the civil service could be dismissed by an authority lower than the appointing body. Public Service Commission for each province so that the public services may be completely free from political influence and the merit rule may be put in operation which is so necessary for the economical and efficient conduct of public affairs.

Two or more provinces could agree to have a joint public service commission, as was done in the case of N. W. F. Province and the Punjab. The chairman and members of these commissions were appointed by the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, in his discretion, and he also determined the number of members, their term of office and conditions of service. At least one-half of the members were required to be persons who had held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India. The expenses of the commissions including salaries, allowances and pensions of their staff formed non-votable item in the budget. In order to ensure impartiality it was provided by the Act that the chairman of any commission was not eligible for any further appointment under the Crown in India (Maheshwari 1989:230-231).

Development of Bureaucracy under the Indian Independence Act, 1947

India was given by the Independence Act 1947, the power to call a Constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution for the country. She could frame laws even against the provisions of any law of the British Parliament. The Constituent Assembly was to serve also as Indian legislature as long as a new constitution was not adopted and enforced. Further, through competitive examinations held by the Federal Public Service Commission a large number of persons were recruited to the various All-India Services. Finally, to utilize the best talent of the country selection was made for the

Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service, on the basis of viva voce test, by a selection board appointed for the purpose. This was an all-India selection. From the Uttar Pradesh alone there were about 4,000 applicants out of whom about 400 were called for interview (Mishra 1970: 167).

Constitution of Independent India and Role of Bureaucracy

Indian Constitution deals with the services under the Union and the States. It lays down that the appropriate legislature to regulate the recruitment, conditions of service of persons appointed, to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the union or of any state. A person of the all-India service of the Union holds post during the pleasure of the President, and in the case of a service of a state during the pleasure of the Governor. A civil servant has been given the right of compensation, in case of premature abolition of a post. No bureaucracts can be dismissed by an authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. As far as possible, a member of the bureaucracy shall be given an opportunity to show cause why he should not be reduced in rank or dismissed for a particular offence. The Constitution originally permitted, only two all-India services, namely, the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service. However, Parliament can create other all-India services by passing a law to that effect. In 1951, the All India Service Act was passed by the Parliament. In 1966, a new All India Service-the Indian Forest Service was created. At present, in India, there are three All India Services, 59 Central Services Groups and in large number of Provincial or State services are in existence (Mason 1985:302).

Importance of Indian Civil Services

The Indian Civil Services has always been considered as the most important and coveted service and the key positions in the legislature, executive and judiciary, with the exception of certain posts, such as that of Governor-General, were mostly held by members of the service. It was this service in particular upon which the

responsibility of good government depended. The members of the Indian Civil Service had a direct hand in the enactment of laws as members of the legislature, in the determination of policy as members of the executive council and in the administration of justice as judges. Besides, these officers enjoyed great powers which are unthinkable in a democratic country. The District magistrate and Collector, for example, was head of the Magistracy in the district and were responsible for the maintenance of peace and tranquility of the district. In the discharge of his function he could order the arrest of any person. Thereafter, he could sit as a Magistrate to try the accused and punish him. The executive and the judicial powers were combined in India. This caused a great injustice to the people. He was also the Collector of land revenue and he in this capacity supervised the collection of land revenue of the district. He could also sit as a court to try revenue cases. Besides, he was given power to interfere practically in all the departments of government functioning in the district, if he so desired, in the interest of peace. It was for these reasons that he was considered by a substantial majority of the people as the Government or Sarkar (Fifth Pay Commission 1997 : 102).

Indian Civil Services and Recruitment Policy 1974 and 1976

The Committee on Recruitment Policy and Selection methods was appointed by the Union Public Service Commission on 6 February, 1974. The terms of reference of the committee given in the Resolution of the commission are: "To examine and report on the system of recruitment to the All India and Central Services Class I and Class II, followed by the Union Public Service Commission and to recommend such changes the scheme of examinations and in the selection methods as would give adequate emphasis to knowledge, skills and qualities appropriate to the role and functions of the services in the context of tasks of national development and reconstruction" (Maheshwari 1996: 313).

Later, the Kothari Committee recommended on 29th March 1976,that the recruitment to the All India and Central Services (Class I) should be made on the basis of a

unified scheme of examination common to all the services. The committee called it the 'Civil Services Examination' scheme (CSE scheme). The proposed scheme consisted of three sequential stages, each making a significant and specific contribution to the total process. These are, One: Civil Services Preliminary Examination (Objective type) for the selection of candidates for the Main Examination, Two: Civil Services Main Examination (Written and Interview) to select candidates for entry to Academy, and Three: Civil Services Post Training Test at the end of the Foundation Course at the Indian academy: In 2011, as per the decision of Government of India, there was change in the syllabus and pattern of the Preliminary Examination from 2011 in the scheme of the Civil Services Examination. The Preliminary Examination shall now comprise of two compulsory Papers of 200 marks each and of two hours duration each. Detailed below is the new syllabus and pattern of the Preliminary Examination, which is brought to the notice of the prospective candidates intending to appear at the Civil Services Examination (CSE) in 2011 onwards: Referring to introduction of CSAT, an official said: "The new system will also provide a level-playing field and equity, since all candidates will have to attempt common papers unlike the current format which provides for only one common paper." Though a scaling system is currently used in the preliminary examination in order to ensure that no candidate who has opted for any particular optional paper gets undue advantage because of varying degree (Maheshwari 1996: 313-316).

MODERN DEMOCRATIC BUREAUCRACY

In a modern democratic polity bureaucracy is an inevitable ingredient of the governmental apparatus. It is the non-political and non-elected functionaries who are responsible for carrying on the administration under the direction and control of the elected representatives of the people and in accordance with rules and principles. Bureaucracy consists of two main classes: Lower clerical class and higher administrative class. Bureaucracy includes generalist' administrators as well as

specialists like engineers, doctors, economists, statisticians, lawyers, etc. The generalist administrators are directly connected with the political head of the department. They assist ministers in the formulation of policy. According to E. N. Gladden, "It is the function of the Bureaucracy to fulfill the will of parliament as formulated by the cabinet. The cabinet works out the policy of the Government. The bureaucracy sees that that policy, when duly approved by Parliament, is faithfully executed, so far as this is humanly possible" (Gladden 1948:60).

However, Gladden explains the bureaucracy in India has a specific meaning. In his own words, "In India, the phrase bureaucracy is used to denote different clauses of officers appointed by and paid for by government for general administrative work. Normally it does not include the legislature and judicial officers, nor members of the defence services. Officials of local bodies are not civil servants and local bodies control their own staff. The civil servants are the holders of civil posts, whose remuneration in India is paid out of Consolidated Fund of India, others (employees working in public undertakings, nationalized banks and quasi-governmental organizations funded wholly or partly by the   not so paid. In Britain, they are also accepted as "those servants other than holders of the political and judicial offices, who are employed in civil capacity and of course, remunerated through budget passed by Parliament"(Gladden,1948 :61).

Function of a Secretary to the Government and Bureaucracy

In India secretary to the government is the head of the ministry and is responsible for formulation of policies and also for execution and review of those policies   Thus   he   secretaries to government   have   multiple and demanding responsibilities pertaining to a wide range of policy, administrative, and implementation activities. The time they can give to each of these policies are limited thus they do not find sufficient time to reflect on important policy and strategic issues. As a result the policymaking capacity in India is weak and stretched thinly among a handful of senior civil servants who are obliged to attend to numerous

tasks. They have to provide ministers with high-quality policy advice. The secretaries to the government and their supporting staff in the ministries with policy advisory responsibilities do not get diverted by the demands of managing administrative and operational responsibilities (Das 2010:47-49).

Law and Indian Bureaucracy

The bureaucrats also administer the law of the land. They implement and execute the law of the land faithfully and impartially. Today they perform quasi legislative and quasi judicial functions as well.

Bureaucracy and Financial Function

In finance, the bureaucrats not only prepare the budget but also influence the taxation and expenditure policy of the government to a great extent. Public relations have become an important part of their official duties. Therefore, they are expected to explain the government policy to the people and to win their co-operation in its implementation. In a country like India, civil servants are entrusted the responsibility of implementing various programmes of rural development and welfare measures.

It has now been proved in country after country that an honest, professionally sound contented bureaucrat is a critical element of any programme of economic resurgence. Their importance arises from the following functions that they and only they can perform. They are catalytic agents of change. They have access to information from all over the world, they have to implement ideas and they have the communication network to propagate the agendas for action. They enforce socially beneficial regulations with reference to crucial inputs like land, forests, minerals energy, water, finance, power, training, education, health, housing and the like. They can hasten the setting up of infrastructure, speed up customs clearances and provide a boost to International trade. They provide inputs to the maintenance of macro-economic equilibrium, by controlling the total money supply, keeping inflation' under check, preventing the dumping of goods by foreign competitors, taking steps to

retain a positive balance of payments, adopting national policy or manpower related issues and so on (Sharma 1987:381).

Role of bureaucracy in welfare programme

After attaining independence, the functions of government underwent fundamental changes. Instead of being the guardian of law and order alone, it has assumed the role of a custodian of welfare and the well-being of its citizens. The intervention of the state into economic and social developmental activities has acquired new importance in the task of nation building. The role of bureaucracy was to bring economic and political change in India. With the adoption of new goals and objectives, the functioning of bureaucracy had also undergone changes. Formerly the bureaucracy in India had to function in the background of colonial rule, but now it was supposed to work in the framework of a democracy with the active involvement of the people for whose welfare the state existed.

The fundamental question in the context of India was whether the administrative system developed and nurtured in a colonial setting could play an appropriate role in a free democratic state committed to a socialistic pattern of society and simultaneously respond to the exigencies of development. With the initiation of the process of national planning, the responsibility was with the bureaucracy for bringing about welfare goals in the society. The functions of bureaucracy thus go beyond the traditional frame of reference of a laissez-faire state. The officials acted as catalysts to the process of social and economic transformation. Over the years Indian bureaucracy has played a dominant role in carrying forward the agenda of the Indian state for example uplifting the poor and downtrodden. From community development programme in 1950's , to Twenty Point programme for poverty alleviation programme of 1970's to MMNREGA in 2005 are testimony to the aforesaid facts (Kapur et al: 2006).

Bureaucracy the Mediator between Government and Citizens

There is no doubt that the bureaucracy plays an important role in modern state. Policies are formulated by the political executive with the approval of the legislature. But these are implemented by the administration and it is the administration that comes into contact with the ordinary people. The cabinet or ministers take decisions on the basis of information and facts placed before them by the officials. In this way, the civil service also influences policy making decisions. An ordinary citizen does not know the minister or legislator; but he knows the collector, tehsildar, the postman, the tax collector, and so on, because he comes into frequent contact with them.

COMPOSITION OF INDIAN BUREAUCRACY: FROM HISTORY TO CONTEMPORARY

Further, the institutions of governance like legislature, bureaucracy, and judiciary should have fair representation of the members of diverse social groups without any monopoly of one group or the other. According to Kumar(2007) in a hierarchically arranged society like India which is divided on the basis of caste, religion, class etc., it is all the more important that the institutions of governance are organized on universalistic principles so that each strata gets its fair share in decision-making and policy formulation. However he explains, " That has not been the case in Indian society. Since the inception of modern institutions of governance viz. legislature, bureaucracy, judiciary etc., the so-called upper castes have dominated them. For instance, 'most of the Hindus in the service of the Government were upper caste men, especially Brahmins and Kayasthas, who dominated the field.

The Indian Public Service Commission reported in 1887 that of 1866 Hindu members of the judicial and executive services as many as 904, i.e., nearly half were Brahmins, and 454, i.e., nearly a quarter were Kayasthas who were called Prabhus in Bombay. The number of KShatnyasm Rajputs was 147; Vaishyas, 113; Shudras, 146; and others, 102. The Brahmins were especially dominant in Madras with 202 of

the total 297, and in Bombay with 211 out of 328. Similarly, reveals that in the year 1886-87, the caste of persons employed in the executive and judicial branches of the uncovented service in the Bombay Presidency the elite of the Indian administrative hierarchy-shows that of the 384 persons employed in this capacity, 328 were Hindus, of which 211 were Brahmins, 26 Kshtriyas, 37 Prabhus, 38 Vaishyas, 1 Shudra and 16 others. In this context, if we take note the Miller Committee (named after its British Chairman, a judge), it showed that in Mysore 9712 of the 13946 jobs in the state service were occupied by Brahmins In the same vein Ambedkar also highlighted the dominance of the caste Hindus in the public services after the issue of Indianisation of services emerged in the public domain with the establishment of Islington Commission in 1915 and Lee Commission later on. He opined, it is notorious that the public services of the country in so far as they are open to Indians have become by reason of various circumstances a close preserve for the Brahmins and allied castes. The Non-Brahmins, the Depressed Classes and the Mohamadans are virtually excluded from them " (Kumar 2007:307).

Further, highlighting, the repercussion of such type of domination Kumar(2007:308) concludes that, " From the above data it is evident that the traditional hierarchy of the Hindu social structure replicated in the bureaucratic structures as well. This strengthened the position of the Brahmins, Kshtriyas, Vaishyas who clubbed their social privileges and positions with the secular one, which emanated from bureaucratic and legal structures and reinforced their dominance over marginalized sections. Hence, the growth of rational legal authority and bureaucratic social structure of universalistic principles was thwarted." Accordingly, one can recall what Weber had to say about such phenomenon. He remarked that traditional India did not have a developed socio-culture foundation for the growth of rational legal authority and bureaucratic social structures (Weber 1946: 416-17). After independence and the commencement of the democratic Constitution with the principles of equality and equality of opportunity, it was envisaged that the administrative structure will get democratized with a fair

representation from most of the sections of society. But the irony is that the composition of the institutions of governance hardly changed. In fact, the dominance of the so-called upper castes substantially increased soon after the partition of the country and further increased over the years. They monopolized the institutions of governance. Their representation in the institutions of governance has increased over the years, whereas the representation of Dalits, tribals and other marginalized sections has remained negligible. The community-wise population and their representation in various services have been given in the table below:

Table 3: Percentage Population of Various Castes and Communities and their Representation in Class-I Government/Non-government Services

Castes/communities	% of population		Representation in services (%)	
	1935	1989	1935	1989
Brahmins	3.5	5.20	3.00	70.20
Rajputs	2.5	3.80	2.00	1.70
Kayasthas	0.85	1.03	40.00	7.00
Banyas	1.20	1.78	1.00	3.50
(Total so-called upper castes)	(6.15)	(11.81)	(46.00)	(82.40)
SC/ST/OBC	64.00	68.85	1.00	8.00
Muslims	21.00	10.13	35.00	3.20
Others	7.95	9.21	18.00	6.40

Source: National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Fourth report, 1996-97 and 1997-98, p. 20. From, Kumar Vivek, "Governance and Development in the Era of Globalisation",pg 308.

Looking at the data of contemporary India the same can be said for today as well. The institutions of governance have been functioning more or less on particularistic values, and therefore, the lower strata like Dalits and tribals have been discriminated against. The administrative machinery dominated by the so-called upper castes does not sympathize with the Dalit cause and interests, is not charged

47

with their pain, wants, desires and cravings and is inimical to their aspirations. That is why there has been a wide discrepancy and gap between the formulation and implementation of state policies as well. That is why cumulatively the resources could never reach the targeted groups, making Dalits and other marginalized groups suffer (Kumar 2007:308).

According to Sacchar Committee report which analyzed the share of Muslims in the civil lists was identified in the year 2006, for the Indian Administrative Service, Indian Foreign Service and Indian Police Service. This was undertaken by identifying the religion of a government employee by their name. The presence of Muslims was founded to be only 3% in the IAS, 1.8% in the IFS and 4 % in the IPS. Moreover, Muslims who have secured high level appointments was because they were considered as 'promoted candidates'. Their shares as direct recruits through competitive examinations were as low at 2.4%, 1.9% and 2.3% respectively. The Data for two years, 2003 and 2004, as provided by the Union Public Service Commission maintained showed that the share of Muslims who appeared in the written examination constituted only 4.9 % of candidates, those selected for oral interviews were 4.8% and those selected for appointments, this is far below the 13.4 % share of Muslims in the population (Sacchar Committee report :165-167). The shares of Muslims in the Civil Services are given in the table below:

Table 4: Share of Muslims in All India Civil Services – 2006

Service	All Officers	No. of Muslims officers	Muslim as Percentage to All	Unconfirmed Names
Civil service officers (IAS, IFS & IPS)	8827	285	3.2	10
Direct Recruitment through competitive examination	6460	155	2.4	4
Promoted from State Service	2367	130	5.5	6
Indian Administrative Service	4790	142	3.0	4
Direct Recruitment through competitive examination	3542	80	2.3	0
Promoted From State Service	1248	62*	5.0	4
Indian Foreign Service	828	15	1.8	0
Direct Recruitment	621	12	1.9	0
Grade I of IFS (B) Personnel	207	3	1.4	0
Indian Police Service	3209	128	4.0	6
Direct Recruitment through competitive examination	2297	63	2.7	4
Promoted from State Service	912	65**	7.1	2

Source: Sacchar committee report ,pp 167-169

Table 5: Recommended Candidates though the Union Public Service Commission (2003 and 2004)

Category	Total	Muslim Candidates	Percentage of Muslim Candidates
Appeared for Main Written Civil Services Exams	11537	283	4.9
Selected for Interviews	2342	56	4.8
Recommended Candidates	835	20	4.8
Recommended Candidates as % of Appeared for Written Examination	7.2	7.1	
Recommended Candidates as % of Selected for Interview	35.7	35.7	

Source: Sacchar committee report,pp 167-169

Thus looking at the data above we can access that the representation of Muslims in the Civil Services is much below. The comparison of share of Muslims in government jobs with their share of population provides estimate of their under-representation. There existed deficit in all departments and at all levels.

The Representation of Caste

According to Vithal (1997), the entry of the caste factor into the civil services changed the nature of the processes. Even without formal reservation, caste was an unstated but relevant factor which entered the process of recruitment both to the political executive and to the civil services. In the initial phase, the upper castes were heavily represented in both spheres and the general congruence in outlook between them could not be separated easily from their class origins. With the introduction of caste reservation in the services, the composition of the services changed progressively. However, despite reservation, the representation of the

scheduled castes (SCs) and backward classes (BCs) in the services is still below the percentages stipulated in the statute.

In Andhra Pradesh (as at the beginning of 1989) the proportion of SC employees in the services as a whole was 15 per cent. But if this figure is disaggregated, the overall percentage is 22 per cent SC employees in the Class IV category, 12 per cent in the Class III category, 5.5 per cent in Class II, and only 4 per cent in Class I (against a statutory figure of 15 per cent in each Class). This is partly due to the earlier imbalance not yet having been rectified, but it is also due to the fact that, even in fresh placements, the Employment Exchanges have been able to place only 57 per cent of the vacancies reserved for the SCs. Therefore, in the higher services the proportion of SCs is only in the range of 4 to 6 percent. The backward classes would be better represented than the SCs, but would still not meet the reservation figure, Nevertheless, as a result of these reservations the services now have the same spread castes as the political executive. In this respect, there has been a decisive shift in the caste composition of the services. The spread of castes occurs even in categories where there is no formal reservation. For instance, there is no statutory provision for a proportionate number of different castes in the cabinet. Equally, there are no such provisions for Vice Chancellors of universities or the higher judiciary. In fact, however, an informal caste rotation does apply to all these categories. There is thus a rainbow coalition not only in the political executive and the civil services, but also in the judiciary and all other important public offices. As a result, the gravitational pull between different spheres of life, including the political executive and the civil services, operates along caste lines. Thus, for example, during an earlier period, an officer wishing to use political influence would go to the minister with whom he worked or had previously worked, or who belonged to his district. But, since the 1970s and 1980s 'this situation has changed- radically. Officers now go-to ministers belonging to the same castes. Each minister, whose appointment owes much to his importance as leader of his caste, considers himself to be the protector and godfather of all the officials in the government who

belong to his caste. The civil servants, for their part, reciprocate such a sentiment, though there are rare cases of choice running counter to such a practice.

This raised the question of whether only those officials belonging to a particular caste can be entrusted with the task of implementing, efficiently and enthusiastically, schemes intended for the welfare of that caste. There may be officials belonging to other castes who are genuinely devoted to the welfare of the SCs and BCs. In some cases, they may even be the most suitable among the officers available for the task. In such a case, should a less suitable officer be selected merely because he belongs to a particular caste? Here a distinction has to be made between schemes which are purely of a welfare nature and schemes which are intended to protect specific castes or instill confidence in them. In the former case, the efficiency and enthusiasm of the official should be given greater weight than his or her caste origin.

However the position is different where the confidence of the caste is an important factor. Many instances are known in which SCs find it easier to represent their grievances to a Collector belonging to their own caste. Even solicitude expressed by a high caste person may carry a hint of condescension or patronage. The response of the SCs is reflected in the difference between their attitude to Gandhi and their feelings towards Ambedkar. The latter symbolizes what the SCs can achieve by themselves whereas the former represents, at best, only support, sympathy and an admission of guilt.

New links between the bureaucracy and the political executive at different levels have been developed along caste lines during the last twenty years. There are also other horizontal links developing as a result of the process of politicization already outlined and institutional changes such as the strengthening of the local bodies to which a number of functions have been devolved. At the same time, the traditional vertical linkages of the bureaucracy through the conventional line of control and authority are being weakened if

not altogether vitiated. They are weakened partly as a consequence of these very horizontal links, which provide an opportunity for the lower levels to bypass their superiors through the political channel. The vertical link has also suffered on account of the weakening of the normal mechanisms of control and promotion. Acute controversy surrounds the question of whether merit, as differentiated from seniority, can be a criterion for promotion without undermining the vertical links of control. Thus there is a great deal of scepticism about the integrity of superior officers and a corresponding readiness to believe complaints alleging caste prejudice.

The link of administrative control has also been weakened by judicial intervention, which deals even with such trivia as transfers. All that is needed is an allegation of malafides and all that is required is a stay order. Neither proof nor final orders carry any importance because of the inordinate time consumed by the judicial process. Officers against whom adverse remarks are passed in assessment reports are given an opportunity to appeal against them. This procedure can lead to the author of an adverse remark having to spend more time justifying it than the subject of the remark defending him. These processes have resulted in an erosion of discipline in the bureaucracy.

Yet the same bureaucracy can be periodically shaken into action and made to perform tasks of considerable administrative complexity with great efficiency. The conduct of elections, despite growing complaints about booth-capturing, is one such example; disaster management is another. Such instances point to the fact that if a clear-cut objective is given and intervention (except orders through the direct line of command) is absent, the administrative machinery can still deliver the goods. But a vast proportion of the normal work of the administration does not deal with such well defined and specific tasks. Public bureaucracy, by definition, must develop the general capacity to deliver the goods. Such capacity should not be dependent upon the nature of the task that the bureaucracy is called upon to perform.

There are of course constitutional and sometimes moral limits to the nature of the tasks that an administration can be called upon to handle. But within these limits, a spirit of neutrality must be cultivated. The Indian bureaucracy has been considerably weakened in this respect. It is doubtful whether the bureaucracy today can be regarded as an instrument of change. Its composition reflects many of the contradictions inherent in the society. In the implementation of any programme of change, the conflicts that may arise in the society at large are likely to be replicated within the microcosm of the bureaucracy, thereby affecting its efficiency.

However sometimes the class heterogeneity of the bureaucracy and the class coalition within the political executive reinforce each other. In the case of a programme such as land reform, in which the ruling coalition itself is unable to resolve its inner contradictions, contradictory signals are sent through legislative measures and then through administrative implementation. The former are radical in content but the latter is crippled by confusion and prevarication. It may be genuine confusion arising out of the mixed character of the bureaucracy, or it may be confusion engineered by certain elements in the ruling coalition acting in collusion with similar elements in the heterogeneous bureaucracy. If a political executive is elected to power which follows objectives, its programmes may be obstructed by intra-bureaucracy conflicts. The communist parties have not found the bureaucracy an easy instrument for the pursuit of class-orientated objectives. A party such as the Bharatiya Janata Party is also likely to encounter similar difficulties (Chatterjee 1997:208-230).

THE EMERGING TREND : FROM BUREAUCRATIC STATE TO ADMINISTRATIVE STATE

The power of civil service is gradually increasing and changing, so much so that the concept of administrative state was advanced by Dwight Waldo in his book 'The Administrative State' published in 1948. The administrative state denotes the phenomenon by which state institutions influence many aspects of lives of citizens, especially those aspects which relate to economic and social dimensions. It describes a system of governance through which public policies and programmes, affecting almost all aspects of public life are influenced by the decisions of civil servants. However, today it is true to state that the bureaucratic state began to displace the administrative state, when the predominant functions of the Government changed from regulation to operation of business.

The Fifth Central Pay Commission observes in its report with regard to the size of the public services, while it is true that the numbers have risen sharply from 29.82 lakh in 1971 to 41.82 lakh in 1994 as far as Civilian Central Government employees are concerned, there is a visible trend towards slowing down of the annual increase, over the last 15 years. Various measures taken by Government are responsible for this. In fact, the only segment which has been substantial increase in numbers in-recent years is that of Central Police organizations and here the reasons are known. The IAS, known for its excessive numbers in a governmental apparatus, has grown from 1232 in 1951 (When the IAS was formally constituted) to 5,671 in January 2009. The per capita emoluments of the Government employees rose to Rs. 47,000 per annum in 1996-97 as against Rs. 35,000 in 1993-94, an increase of eight per cent per annum. A great change is taking place in the approach of the bureaucracy. The old negative approach has given place to a positive one. Today, a more positive theory of bureaucracy has come to the forefront which believes in creating positive motivation among officials which would enable them to give in their best to the public service. The development administrator, it has been argued, had to be outgoing and people oriented, responsible to the new political pressures, know

how to get along with politicians (the Fifth Central Pay Commission vol 1,Jan,1997: 252).

The role of bureaucracy is rapidly changing. The bureaucracy is no longer confined to collection of revenue and administration of justice and maintenance of law and order. In India after Independence the bureaucracy is called upon to undertake development schemes of various kinds, embark on programmes of industrialization and implement planning at all levels. In this context the qualities needed in the bureaucracy are not merely the qualities of judgment, honesty and general competence but also courtesy, understanding and human approach. On the one hand, the bureaucracy today is called upon to maintain law and order, and on the other, it has to operate a democratic system. And since India is a democratic state, today not only political rights but also economic advancement and social welfare is an important concern. Modern state makes a very heavy call on the time, attention and merits of a civil servant. The public service today is expected to have a growing passion for social service and to identify itself with the people. Efficiency today means something more than an efficient performance of routine duties. It implies the active direction ofthe economic life of the people with the declared object of ultimately eliminating poverty, disease and ignorance (Das :2010).

According to Radins (2004), the pattern of recruitment and training of the IAS officers, the career planning which involves working with the Central government as also with state government the rich fund of experience and understanding which such officers bring and share in their posts as they move between the Centre and the states, and the batch camaraderie which exists between officers of different state cadres, have all been instrumental in maintaining a cordial and harmonious relationship between the Central government and the state government. The value of a single group of administrators controllable from the Centre has been demonstrated repeatedly in times of national calamity, crises, and general elections. This derives from the 'steel frame', argument that a mechanism for national integration is provided through members of the IAS who are allocated to various state cadres but who provide the

nation with an all-India outlook. The other view, points to the differences between the states and regions, and to the patterns of identification with local political leaders and communities (Radin 2004:4). It argues that the current reality is not all that hospitable to the development of an all-India, national approach, it also points to the fact that the states no longer look to the Centre for leadership. In the contemporary situation, the 'steel frame' argument that is supposed to enable the Indian system to maintain unity and integrity as a nation, transcending cleavages and differences which form the basis for the identity of the states, does not sound convincing In fact, a commentator goes on to suggest that the Indian society would be better served by separate Central and State government bureaucracies" (Mukarji 2000: 191).

David Potter (1998) concluded that the central features of the tradition administration continue. According to him, the content of the IAS tradition was not only the concern of the IAS men and women within it, for it has also influenced the behaviour of other administrators and affected the general character of the Indian state structure as a whole. The civil service in independent India has not merely continued the process driven, hierarchical, rigid, and centralized, nineteenth-century bureaucratic form of governance created by the British but also deepened it in all the key aspects. If at all, the Indian civil service has become even more bureaucratic. The hierarchies are taller now. The outdated, rigid, and cumbersome rules and regulations continue to operate and new ones have been added over the years. The overall result is a regulatory environment and an emphasis on process, which is inconsistent with contemporary management philosophy and acts as a major inhibitor to innovation and best practice (Das 2010:6).

In this context, where does the civil servant fit in? His function is to implement the law. Nehru (2002) opines that, this is regarded by the politician as a check on his power and that check is unacceptable to him. There is consequently a continuous war between civil servants who live up to the democratic concept of the rule of law. For the minister, it is only category 'A' officers who are

worthwhile. But ideal civil servants are expected to belong to category 'C'. The weapon that is used to bend civil servants to the minister's will, is frequent transfers which ruin a man's life and that threat has changed much of the transferees from category C to A. here is unfortunately no denying the fact that an increasing number of civil servants are now corrupt. Sardar Patel wanted a civil service without political interference, but forgot to place any limit on the chief minister's power to transfer officers. In developed democracies, there are such limitations. In Britain, senior officers cannot be transferred without the orders of the prime minister, who will not, by convention, act except on the advice of the Secretary of the Civil Services Department. However in India, it is the custom, both in the states and has now crept into the centre, to transfer dozens of civil servants whenever a government is changed.

The other factor which has changed the position of the civil service is the spread of corruption at all levels throughout the country. Not too long after independence the whole country seems to have changed its religion. The worship of God was replaced by the worship of Mammon. The economic policies we adopted, the strict control over private industry and the totally absurd rates of direct taxation placed enormous powers in governmental hands and gave both, the politicians and the bureaucrat, an opportunity to make money.

Till about twenty years ago, one could say with confidence that there was hardly any member of the IAS who was dishonest or corrupt. These days, over half of the IAS have joined the politicians in corrupt practices. (They may, if they wish, seek satisfaction in the fact that among the politicians, the percentage on a conservative basis, is well over 80 per cent). It is a matter of credit to the strength of the IAS tradition that they resisted the temptation for so long. This break in the tradition has been helped by the fact that it is only about 50 per cent of the IAS who are appointed on the basis of merit through competitive examinations. The other half come through reservation of all kinds and promotions from the State Services. Furthermore, the competitive examination can now be taken by members of some

classes till they are well over thirty years, by which time there is little likelihood that they will be affected by the tradition of the service they join.

The position of the Indian Police Service is even worse because they are not regarded as the implementers and enforcers of the law, but members of the private army of the chief minister. It is not only he alone whose orders have to be obeyed without question, but the desires and wishes of his wife, children, and grandchildren, have also to be attended to. The crimes committed by the members of the 'royal family' are numerous. Apart from taking bribes or fees for favours done, a practice very common indeed, they range from kidnapping for ransom, to rape and murder. If the crime is so open that some action has to be taken under public pressure, the evidence is so tampered with, that not even a prima facie case can be made out and taken to court.

Furthermore, the prime duty of the police now seems to be not to protect the common man from crime but to protect the VIP and see to it that he is not discomfited in any way. The definition of VIP has also become very liberal. Most MPs and MLAs seems to be included ex officio in that category. It is often said that of the 60,000 policemen in the Delhi Police, no less than 40,000 are employed on VIP duties. Given all these circumstances, is there any wonder if a larger proportion of the Indian Police Service than of the IAS have joined the criminals? (Nehru,2002: 74-79).

The civil service systems, as they operate now, do not encourage performance. Part of the reason lies in the overwhelming emphasis on process. It is also partly because of centralized controls. The line departments with operational responsibilities are micro-managed by the central ministries by the exercise of control they have over the use of financial and manpower resources. While micro management may be a way to ensure accountability by monitoring performance and procedures, however, it leads to an over-emphasis on procedures leading to substantial non-productive paperwork without any emphasis on end results and lack of delegation with a deleterious effect

on performance. Narrow emphasis on accountability demoralizes employees and also leads to shift in priorities to compliance or regulations and performance accountability rather than service provision. Micro-management frequently proves detrimental to improvement in performance and effective service delivery" (Das 2010:20).

Politicization of the Civil Services

Politicization of the services, therefore, largely refers to civil servants playing politics. In most cases, the motivation underlying politicization lies in the furtherance of one's career or in taking advantage of opportunities to engage in corruption. Personal aggrandizement plays a much more important role. They are also involved in the electoral process but influence is brought to bear on higher civil servants on an individual basis and not on a group basis. If politicization at lower levels is related to unionization, at higher levels it is the relationship between the civil servant and the politician (usually a minister) which is important. In the past, factional struggles within the ruling party, rather than party affiliations as such, have influenced this relationship. The political executive in a number of states has made use of senior civil servants in dealing with inner-party dissidence. This has been true of the centre to date, because of the genealogy of the Prime Ministers and the Presidential style of functioning that they seem to prefer. With the far-reaching recent changes in political equations at the centre, politicization of the civil servant is becoming evident. Straightforward and strict officers can be posted to departments under the control of dissident ministers, the ministers could be compelled to stick to the straight and narrow path.

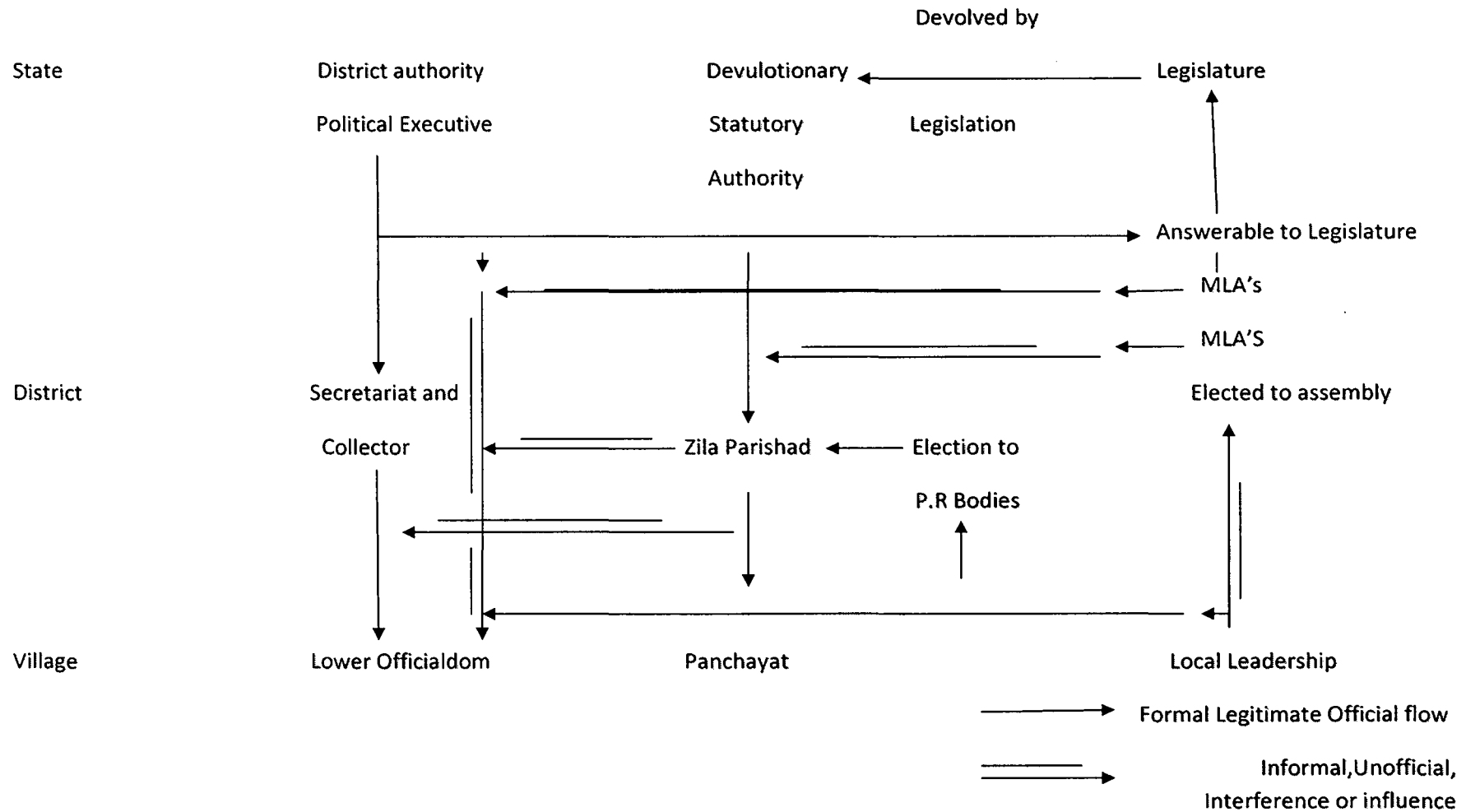On the other hand, posting an accommodating officer to a department would automatically result in making the task of the minister concerned easier. The same logic would also apply to elected local bodies, which the state government may wish either to curb or to encourage. District officers can be posted with the object of undermining a dissident politician in his or her home base. The willingness of a civil

servant to assist a minister in the efficient formulation or implementation of a programme does not constitute evidence of politicized behaviour on the part of the former. Thus there may be enthusiastic officers whose strong conviction enables them to implement certain programmes, say in the social welfare and social justice spheres. Indeed, a number of enthusiastic officers are identified and posted to such programmes and it is in the interest of any political party in power to do so in order to win elections. Thus it should not be assumed that when officers show enthusiasm or work closely with a minister, or some other political authority, they are necessarily engaging in politicized behaviour.

However, the postings of officials in the Indian bureaucracy are expected to be based on the principle that ministers and officials should be able to function smoothly on the basis of institutional arrangements and not on the grounds of personal likes and dislikes, though it is understood that there can be exceptions in extreme cases of mutual incompatibility. However, in the course of working together a mutual understanding and a sense of partnership does often develop between civil servants and their political superiors. This may be honourable or dubious. If the political head chooses the same official repeatedly, because the particular official's abilities are well known from previous experience, he may give the impression that his or her motive in making the appointment is 'political'. Certain specified posts belong to another category of 'political appointment'. These are made on the principle that they can only be filled by officers with whom the political party in power can function smoothly. This applies to certain key posts such as the Chief Secretary of a state or the secretaries to the Government of India, or even certain sensitive posts identified in the Constitution. The practice in India at present is that, within the constraints of certain conventions of seniority, the Chief Minister or the Prime Minister exercises her or his prerogative in making the selection of Chief Secretary, Director General of police, and Cabinet Secretary and other secretaries. In these cases, a degree of discretion must be left to the political executive.

However 'Political interference' is a another phenomenon but different from, politicization. In a democracy, whether it be presidential or parliamentary, a political executive heads the executive branch of government. He thereby derives legitimate authority to take executive action through the bureaucratic apparatus, in accordance with her or his political commitment and within the constraints of the Constitution. An action of a political nature conveyed as a direction by the political executive to the bureaucracy under its control will be a legitimate one, even if it is based on political considerations or has political consequences. Political interference can take place both vertically and laterally. It might appear unusual that interference should be exercised vertically, as executive power can be exercised through legitimate channels. However, this occurs wherever an intermediate bureaucratic level resists directions of a political nature and cannot be overruled because of the legal or constitutional legitimacy of such resistance. For instance, a minister may have a secretary who resists taking action along the lines desired and has good reasons for doing so which the minister is unable or unwilling (sometimes for reasons of adverse publicity) to overrule formally. In such cases, it is sometimes easier to influence the lower levels to initiate action along the lines desired by the minister, so that when the matter reaches the secretary's level, it is he who would have to overrule a report or a proposal that has come from below. These are cases where political interference takes place vertically down the line to lower levels with a view to weakening or subverting the authority *of* the higher bureaucratic levels. It is such interference that establishes a contact between the higher political executive and lower officialdom leads to either a politicization of the lower officials or encourages corruption. The political executive at the state level, such as a minister and other political officials, such as members of the legislature tend to exert pressure Political interference of these various types undermines the morale of the bureaucracy. It also leads to either politicization or corruption. Table below gives, in schematic form, the formal lines of authority and informal lines of influence or interference.

Table 6– Lines of Authority, Lines of Influence

Devolved by

State	District authority	Devulotionary ⟵———————— Legislature	
	Political Executive	Statutory Legislation	
		Authority	

Answerable to Legislature

MLA's

MLA'S

District	Secretariat and		Elected to assembly
	Collector	Zila Parishad ⟵—— Election to	
		P.R Bodies	

Village	Lower Officialdom	Panchayat	Local Leadership

———————⟶ Formal Legitimate Official flow

════════⟶ Informal,Unofficial, Interference or influence

Source : Chatterjee   1998 "State and Politics In India " pp-222

That is why the Sixth Pay Commission argued that the basic changes in the accountability system are essential. This change is all the more justified as the centralized command and control systems with process compliance and input control have not been effective in securing performance. Accountability should be seen as the ability of the system to deliver results and services effectively and in a responsive manner of the appropriate quality and at the right time. The correct test of accountability should be whether the results have reached the end consumer in a time-bound and effective manner and not merely whether all the prescribed procedures were followed without taking into consideration the final effect of the action. Thus defined, accountability will lead to improvements in service and create an assurance in the working of the institution as against a narrow 'blaming' approach to accountability (Das 2010 :21).

An assessment by the World Bank which comments on the performance of the IAS which is, one of the highest ranked service in Indian bureaucracy, states that, "The Indian Administrative Service (IAS), successor to the Indian Civil Service (ICS), the legendary 'steel frame' of the British Raj, is today battling against onslaughts to its relevance. The strength of the Service lies in its extraordinary pool of skills and talents, its field of experience, its extensive networking, its appreciation and overview of the functioning of the government at the cutting edge, its understanding of delivery systems for development, awareness of the formal and informal socio-economic networks in the field, its 'can deliver' attitude, its role in national integration, its ready adaptability to new and unfamiliar situations and tasks, and its social orientation, bolstered by intense competition among the officers (Das 2010).

Yet, the members of elite service remains under perpetual criticism. Recently, the Department of Personnel, Ministry of Home Affairs had issued a circular (based on 1969 rules of code of conduct) relating to conduct of public servants with foreign nationals and barring government officials from having 'intoxicating drinks' with foreign nationals or taking up employment in foreign embassies without prior

government approval. There has been many instances where the government officials without prior government approval were involved in immoral code of conduct like from attendance at formal receptions, acceptance of invitation and hospitality, supply of information, employment of spouse and dependents, association with cultural organizations and admission to foreign language classes.

Quoting from, the department of personnel and training (DoPT) (Indian Express :11 July 2012),"Some instances have come to the notice of the government where officers have been in touch with or interacting with foreign service nationals, embassy officers, staffers of other countries in contravention of laid down rules for personal favours, such as being nominated for various courses abroad, etc. This has been viewed seriously by the government, the government routinely comes out with such circulars to remind its officers of their duties towards the country and ensure that they do not engage in improper conduct" (Indian express:11 July 2012. However, several other instance where bureaucratic apparatus was involved in immoral conduct were in transfer and postings, mismanagement of resources, etc. Power of transfer and posting has been transformed into a "veritable tool to reward the pliable," and in this process it proliferate corruption. Because of indiscriminate illegal promotions, bringing juniors on a par with seniors often results in a situation where the officers who are ineligible are willing to render everything, right from money to self-respect (The Hindu: 10 Jan 2012).

CONCLUSION

From the above analysis we can conclude that bureaucratic structure in India has a long history. It presence can be observed from ancient period; Kautilya's Arthashastra being its most important representative. The system was hierarchical and particularistic based on Caste and Varna. It was mostly drawn from twice born castes-Brahmins , Kshatriyas and Vaishayas(Singh 1974). Things, did not change much in during medieval period; except one form of hierarchy changed to another i.e the Hindu Varna hierarchy was replaced by muslim hierarchy of Ashrafs. With the

advent of British the composition of structure of Indian Bureaucracy started changing. However, here the members of British society started dominating, especially at higher echelons of the bureaucracy. Although, British did broke the ancient and medieval pattern of induction of individuals on the basis of primordial identities, yet they titled all the rules of induction in their favour. The result was Indians were left out from the strata of Indian bureaucracy. As the time went by, with the relaxation of rules by the British especially after the crown took over from East India Company the affairs of Indian bureaucracy did not democratized.

Throughout the history, we could observe that there were two main functions of bureaucracy in India. They were maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues. These can be considered the function of bureaucracy of a colonial state because colonialist were least bothered about the welfare of the colonized. But this is also true because the colonial state wanted to exact maximum revenue from the motives they has spread the network of bureaucracy at every nook and corner of the country. Without any welfarism of the people. Hence, Indian bureaucracy saw a sea change in its orientation after independence even though we exherited the colonial structure of bureaucracy.

So, after independence with the promulgation of the democratic constitution and adoption of welfare state there has been many changes in the role of Indian bureaucracy. Acting as a mediator between government and people along with the maintenance of law and order and revenue collection it became the chief formulator and implementer of the state policies and programme. Over the years Indian bureaucracy has played a dominant role in carrying forward the agenda of the Indian state for example uplifting the poor and downtrodden. From community development programme in 1950's , to Twenty Point programme for poverty alleviation programme of 1970's to MNREGA in 2005 are testimony to the aforesaid facts.

However , we have also seen that the structure of Indian bureaucracy has yet not been democratized. It is so because most of the excluded community members

like Dalits, Tribals and muslim minorities have been left out of its structure. This has definitely affected the nature of formulation programme for their welfare. And it has also affected the effective implementation of the programmes meant for them. We will analyse few cases, in this context to prove our preposition regarding Indian bureaucracy.

REFERENCES:

Bhatt Anil,1979."Colonial Bureaucratic Culture and Development Administration : Portrait of an Old-Fashioned Indian Bureaucrat", Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics.

Chitkara M.G,1994. "Bureaucracy and Social Change". Ashish Publishing House,New Delhi.

Das,S.K,2010. "Building World Class Civil Service:For Twenty First Century India".Oxford University Press,New Delhi.

Finer Herman,1961. "The Theory and Practice of Modern Government".Methune ,London.

Frederich A. Ogg,1947. "English Government and Politics,Macmillian". p. 202.

Report of the Fifth Central Pay Commission (Government of India, Ministry of Finance), Vol. I-January 1997, pp. 252-253.

Kohli, Atul, 1987. " The State and Poverty in India: Politics Of Reform", Cambridge University Press.

Kumar,Vivek,2007. " Governance and Development in The Era of Globalization",in "Glabalisation, Governance Reforms and Development in India", edited by Kameshwar Choudhary, Sage Publication,New Delhi.

Kuldeep Mathur, "Bureaucracy in India; Development and Pursuit of Self Interest", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. xxxvii ,1991, p.636.

Misra B.B, 1970. "The 'Administrative History of India",Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Mukarji,Nirmal,2000. "Restructuring Bureaucracy:Do we Need the All India Services?",in Balveer Arora and Beryl Radin (eds),The Changing role of All India Services:An Assessment and Agenda For Future Research on Federalism and All India Services. A CASI, UPIASI,CPR publication. New Delhi.

Panandiker and Kshirsagar,1978."Bureaucracy and Development Administration",Centre for Policy Research,New Delhi.

Pant and Gupta,1990. "Bureaucracy Development and Change, Contemporary Perspective".Segment book distributers, New Delhi.

Prasad G.K,1974. "Bureaucracy in India, A Sociological Study".Sterling Publishers ,New Delhi.

Singh Anupama,2006. "Bureaucracy at Grassroot level".Kanishka Publishers,New Delhi.

Singhi,Narendra Kumar,1974. "Bureaucracy:Position and Persons". Abhinav Publication,New Delhi.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN BUREAUCRACY AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY: A CASE STUDY OF MNREGA

In this chapter we would take one of the policy of Government i.e MNREGA and will define its characteristics, features and significance of the policy. We would then access that how has the policy impacted and effected the life of the people and society at large. Along with this, we would examine the role of bureaucracy in the implementation of the programme.

Expected role of bureaucracy

It has been argued earlier that bureaucracy is an agent of government for formulation, implementation and execution of policies from the level of the union to villages of the country. It formulates and executes policies and programme for the development and welfare of the country and its people. The role of bureaucracy in the execution of policy is to obtain records of the programme, verification of muster rolls, estimation of expenditure, estimation of expenditure, planning and coordination to build capacity of social audit and financial exclusion. However the question arises that whether bureaucracy was effective enough in the implementation of the policy like MNREGA.

According to the assessment of world bank, poverty in India declined from 36 percent in 1993-1994 to 28 percent in 2004-2005.But approximately 300 million people still live in chronic poverty on less than one dollar a day. According to recent assessments of poverty by the Suresh Tendulkar Committee, 37 percent population are still below poverty line (TOI July 13, 2010). According to the World Bank, the population below poverty line is 40 percent. Unemployment and out of labour-force days of rural agricultural labourers is 104 days (World Bank Report :2005). Extensive erosion of the natural resource base over the last 50 years has resulted in some of the worst natural disasters adversely impacting agricultural productivity and employment

opportunities. Growing poverty and unemployment have led to the fragmentation of land and an increase in number of agricultural labourers (TOI Feb10 , 2010).

Understanding of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee scheme

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREG) scheme, is one of the flagship programmes of the UPA government, had become operational throughout the country from First of April 2008. The act of MNREGA was passed by the Parliament of India in the monsoon session of 2005. The Act received the assent of the President on September 5, 2005, and was notified in the Gazette of India on September 7, 2005. It came into force in 200 selected (backward) districts of the country on February 2, 2006 and then was extended to 130 more districts from April 1, 2007 . After that it has been extended to all the districts from April 1, 2008. The act of MNREGA draws the experiences of a number of rural wage employment programmes of the Central and State Governments. It aims at better livelihood security of households in rural areas of the country by providing at least one hundred days of guaranteed wage employment, in a financial year, to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. The choice of works suggested in the Act addresses causes of chronic poverty like drought, deforestation and soil erosion, so that the process of employment is maintained on a sustainable basis. The law is historical in terms of guaranteeing livelihood security to rural people at this side. The rationale for such legislation was based on the need to provide a social safety net to rural households as well as to create assets that rejuvenate the natural resource base of their livelihood (Joseph,2008 :296).

SIGNIFICANCE OF MNREGA

The ideal type significance of MNREGA lies in the fact that it operates at many levels. It creates a social safety network for the vulnerable by providing

employment source, when other employment alternatives are scarce or inadequate. It adds a dimension of equality to the process of growth. It creates a right-based framework for wage employment programmes by conferring legal entitlements and the right to demand employment by the workers and makes the government accountable for providing employment in a time bound manner. By prioritizing natural resource management, and emphasizing the creation of durable assets it holds the potential of becoming a growth engine for sustainable development of an agriculture-based economy. Further, the spread of programme is much larger because along with below poverty line families it includes poor households willing to do manual labour. However, a kind of limitation is that the nature of employment is seasonal and that the duration of employment varies according to opportunities of employment offered under local agricultural practices and other alternative forms of employment (Sobhan,2010 :217)

THE SALIENT FEATURES OF MNREGA

However having understood the scheme and its significance let us delineate certain features of the scheme. At the onset the Gram Panchayats after verification of the benefeciaries issues a job card. It has to be kept in mind that the work under MNREGA should be provided within 5 km radius of the village or else extra wages of 10 per cent are payable. Another important feature of the act is that, disbursement of wages are done on weekly basis and it should not be beyond fortnight. At least one-third of persons to whom work is allotted have to be women. Work site facilities such as creche, drinking water and shades have to be provided. Pancyati Raj institutions have a principal role in planning and implementation. Following are some of the important features of the Act:

> Adult members of a rural household may apply for employment if they are willing to do unskilled manual work. At least 100 days work will be provided per household per annum.

Such a household will have to apply for registration to the local Gram Panchayat, inwriting or orally. The Gram Panchayat after due verification will issue a Job Card to the household.

The Job Card will bear the photograph of all adult members of the household willing to work under MNREGA.

All adults who have completed 18 years of age are eligible to work. Employment will be provided within 15 days of application for work.

Men and women will be paid equal wages and preference will be given to women in each work.

If employment is not provided within 15 days, daily unemployment allowance in cash has to be paid. liability of payment of unemployment allowance is of the States.

At least one-third of persons.to.whom work is allotted have to be women.

Disbursement of wages has to be done on weekly basis and not beyond a fortnight andwages are credited directly to their bank/post-office account.

Panchayat Raj Institutions have a principal role in planning and implementation.

Each district has to prepare a shelf of projects. The selected works to provide employmentare to be selected from the list of permissible works. The different categories of permissibleworks are as follows: Water Conservation and water harvesting Drought Proofing (including plantation and afforestation).

Irrigation canals including micro and minor irrigation works Flood Control and Protection Works

Minor irrigation, horticulture and land development on the land of SC/ST/BPL/ IAY and land reform beneficiaries Renovation of traditional water bodies including desilting of tanks

Land Development

Rural Connectivity

The shelf of projects has to be prepared on the basis of priority assigned by Gram Sabha. At least 50% of works have to be allotted to Gram Panchayats for execution. A 60:40 wage and material ratio has to be maintained.

Work should ordinarily be provided within 5 km radius of the village or else extra wages of 10% are payable

Work site facilities such as creche, drinking water, shade have to be provided.

Social Audit has to be done by the Gram Sabha at least once in every six months.

Grievance redressal mechanisms have to be put in place for ensuring a responsive implementation process.

All accounts and records relating to the Scheme are to be made available for public scrutiny and to any person desirous of obtaining a copy of such records, on demand and after paying a specified fee.

Those who violates the MGMNREGA Act will be penalized with a penalty of rupees up to 1000 (Khera 2008 :11).

Cost of MNREGA : Division of Cost between Centre and State

The federal structure of polity is evident in the execution cost of the programme in which both state and centre are sharing. Some cost of the programme is in the ratio of 75:25 shared between centre and state.

The Central Government bears the costs on the following items:

The entire cost of wages of unskilled manual workers.

75% of the cost of material, wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Administrative expenses as may be determined by the Central Government, which will include, inter alia, the salary and the allowances of the Programme Officer and his supporting staff,work site facilities.

Expenses of the Central Employment Guarantee Council.

The State Government bears the costs on the following items:

25% of the cost of material, wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Unemployment allowance payable in case the State Government cannot provide wage employment on time.

Administrative expenses of the State Employment Guarantee Council.

Structure of Implementation of MNREGA

The implementation of MNREGA involves every level of government in the country, one the central government, second the state level and third all three tiers of local government. The three level of government are zilla panchayat at the district level, the taluk panchayat at the block level, and the gram panchayat at the village level. The most important agency in the implementation at the central government is the Ministry of Rural Development . The ministry is responsible for ensuring the adequate and timely delivery of resources to the states and reviewing, monitoring, and evaluating the use of these resources. Further, implementation of MNREGA depends on the state government at state level which formulates the minimum features specified under the Act. The state government also constitutes the State Employment Guarantee Council (SEGC), whose responsibility is to advise the state government on MNREGA related matters and to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the Act. Finally, the state government is responsible for ensuring the adequate and timely release of the state share of the REGS budget and facilitates administrative, financial, and technical support for all implementing bodies at the zilla (district), taluk (block), and gram (village) panchayat level.

MNREGA at the Grassroot

At the grassroot level, the principal authorities for the implementation of the MMNREGA are the local government (panchayat). This means it involves district, block, and village level. In order to provide employment in a timely and adequate manner, the local government institutions at all levels must identify priority areas of

employment generating activities. Then the local government proposes scrutinizes and approves the respective MMNREGA projects. At the district level, the identification of the projects is guided by the five-year District Perspective Plan, which specifies the long-term employment generation and development perspectives of the district. At the gram panchayat level the priority areas are decided by the village council (gram sabha) and sub-village council (ward sabha) . Based on the recommendations formulated in the gram sabha and ward sabha, the gram panchayat prepares an annual plan and forwards it to the MNREGA block program officer for technical sanction approval (Khera 2008:17).

MNREGA and Programme Scrutining

The program officer scrutinizes the annual plans of the individual gram panchayats for technical and submits a consolidated statement of approved proposals at the block level to the taluk (or intermediate) panchayat. The taluk panchayat discusses and approves the plan and forwards it to the district program coordinator. The coordinator scrutinizes the plan proposals of all taluk panchayats and consolidates them into a district plan proposal with a block-wise shelf of projects. For each project, the district plan indicates (1) the time frame, (2) the person-days of labor to be generated, and (3) the full cost. This plan is discussed and approved by the zilla panchayat with the assistance of Technical Resource Support Groups. These groups are asked to assess the technical feasibility and cost efficiency of projects and to monitor and evaluate work implementation (Goel 2009 :370).

In order to coordinate projects and employment at the block level, the gram panchayat is mandated to inform the block program officer about the job allocation. In addition, the Act mandates notification through a public notice at the offices of the grampanchayat and the block program officer and through the mail, but it is not evident whether this transparent process is actually followed. The gram panchayats are responsible for verifying the households registration for MNREGA employment, registering households for job cards, issuing and distributing job cards, allocating

employment, initiating MNREGA related projects, measuring and evaluating the completed work, and remunerating the MNREGA wage workers. The job cards are issued by gram panchayat free of cost within 14 days after the application for registration is submitted. The job cards are valid for a period of five years and it must carry the photographs of adult members. After the job cards are issued each rural households can seek employment from the gram panchayat or the MNREGA program officer. After the request for employment is submitted in writing to the gram panchayat or the program officer, stating the registration number of the job card, the date from which employment is required, and the number of days of employment required, work is to be provided within a radius of 5 kilometers of the village and within days of the date of demand. But if the state fails to provide work within the period prescribed for the applicant is entitled to an unemployment allowance at pre-fixed rates which is paid by the state government. If work cannot be provided within a radius of 5 kilometers of the village, the rural workers are entitled to a markup equal to 10 percent of their wages (Goel 2009 :389).

The Financial Contribution of MNREGA

MNREGA activities are financed from the central as well as state government. The central government releases funds directly to the districts through the National Employment Guarantee Fund. The funds cover 75 percent of the MNREGA related material and wage expenses of semiskilled and skilled workers. The central government is required to fund 100 percent of the wage costs of unskilled workers. The state government is mandated to provide the funds for the remaining 25 percent of expenses as well as the funds for the unemployment allowance payments and the administrative expenses. The state government releases revolving funds under the REGS to the implementing agencies at the district, block, and village levels. At all levels, the implementation of the REGS is facilitated by line departments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), central and state government undertakings, and self-help groups (MRD,2006).

Since ,three fourths of the funds are to be provided by the central government and one-fourth by the states is implemented in MNREGA. The states utilizes more resources to implement a larger number of low-wage projects, generate more employment and labor income, and create more infrastructure. For example the state is required to release funds within 15 days of the release of the central funds. In order to transfer and use the funds and to ensure transparency and accountability, the state government is required to design a complete Financial Management System. Under this system, separate bank accounts for MNREGA-related funds are opened at the level of the district, block and village. The accounts of the beneficiaries need to be squared on a monthly basis in order to track the use of the funds and ensure financial accountability (Kiran,2011).

Accountability and Transparency in MNREGA

The maintenance and computerization of records helps in promoting accountability and transparency in the generation of employment. Accountability and transparency are promoted through computerization because records help to (1) authenticate the number of households that demanded and received employment, (2) substantiate the caste and gender distribution of MNREGA employment, (3) identify the number of days of employment provided, and (4) locate any discrepancies between the number of work days demanded and provided. For example, the Employment Register in many gram panchayats was not maintained and the details were missed the duration of employment and the employment that was actually taken up (Palanithurai,2011 :175).

The implementation of the programmes at different levels and the functions of institutions and official are given below in the table:

Table 7 -Rights and Dependent Obligation

Level	Institution	Rights	Obligation
Village	Gram Sabha	• Decide projects • Carry out social audit	Function actively as gram sabha, demand its rights to do so
Village Cluster	Gram Panchayat	• Consolidate recommendations of works by Gram Sabha into a the village development Plan • Implement at least 50% of approved works • Receive proportionate funds for it	• Receive pplications from job cards, verify and issue job cards • Receive work applications ,allot work within 15 day, pay within 15 days • Convene gram sabha, facilitate social audit
Block	Programme officer's offi ceIntermediate	• Consolidate GP plans into a Block Plan • Receive funds	Receive work applications and allot work • Dispose grievances in 7 days, Proactive disclosure
District	District Programme Coordinator District Panchayat	• Consolidate Block Plans into the district plan and make a labour budget • Receive funds	• Ensure that the guarantee is upheld • Dispose grievances Proactive disclosure
State	Department of Rural Development State Council	• Make schemes under Law • Set up State Council • Receive funds from the Centre • State Council: Determine preferred works	• Fund 25% of material cost, • Pay unemployment allowance, • Impose penalties, • Delegate powers to the DPC for implementing schemes under law, • Make Rules for grievance redressal, accounting, • Proactive disclosure
Centre	Ministry of Rural Development Central Council	• To amend law • Make rules on National Fund, and Council and on manner of release of funds • Central Council Monitor evaluate, review, collect statistics,	• Fund 100% of cost of wages, 75% of material 100% of administrative expenses, • release Central funds on time to implementing agencies • Proactive disclosure

Source: Yojana,pp 12

79

Understanding the Role of Bureaucracy in the Implementation of the Policy

Here we would discuss the actual role played by bureaucracy in the implementation of MNREGA programme. In other words we will analyse the role, function bureaucracy performs or duty they have. For example for in the implementation of MNREGA. It has been argued that bureaucracy has following role:

Identification of persons eligible for the job.

Planning and Policy Making.

Administration and Maintenance of record.

Vigilance and Monitoring of work.

Timely payment of wages.

Inspection of worksite areas.

Social Audit.

Awareness Generation.

Grievances Management and disposal of complaints

Identification of persons eligible for the job

It is outset that the first and foremost role of bureaucracy is in the implementation of policy is the identification of the proper persons eligible for the job, the number of person days generated per household, coverage of women and job card holding rural households, gender empowerment, and impact on distress migration, wage negotiation of capacity of workers.

Planning and Policy Making

Another role of bureaucracy in the implementation policy is quality of planning for projects and timeliness of its completion. This includes perspective planning, annual shelf of projects and formulation of labour budget. Maintaining at

least 60:40 ratio in the expenditure on labour and material. Use of ICT in management of information including generation,transmission, sharing, storage and retrieval of documents and publication of information in public domain on the web.

Awareness Generation

Dissemination of information and creation of awareness in the rural areas in regard to the entitlement of the workers is the role of bureaucracy for e.g. steps taken for training and orientation of the MNREGA functionaries to equip them with the required knowledge about their roles and responsibilities and to enable them to discharge their obligations in a proper manner.

Administration and Maintenance of record.

Another role of bureaucracy is quality of maintenance of MNREGA records such as job cards, muster rolls, measurement books, cash books and prescribed registers. Bureaucracy has to maintain timeliness and adequacy of disclosure of information along with display of the list of works and workers in Gram Panchayats and submission of annual reports by the Districts, Blocks and Gram Panchayats .

Vigilance and Monitoring of work

Activeness of the District and Village level Vigilance and Monitoring Committees in ensuring the irregularities and corruption in implementation of the programme is checked by the bureaucrats at district level. Action are to be taken by them on the suggestions of the Vigilance and Monitoring Committees.

Timely payment of wages

The bureaucrats during the policy had to ensure that the wages are timely paid to the beneficiaries. They have to check that wages which are paid to them are correct and are paid to them in respective weeks.

Inspection of worksite areas.

Regular inspection of works 10 percent by districts and 100 percent by the block level officers are to be completed during the year by the bureaucrats. For example the bureaucrats use district level quality monitors which invoves verification of muster rolls and implementation of transparency safeguards.

Finance,Accounts and Audit

All completed projects under MNREGA should be subject to social audit by the bureaucracy. Findings of the social audit are then published in the MNREGA website with follow up actions which are taken. During social audit, muster rolls should be read out and verified, tallied with entries in the job cards. Recorded measurement of works are checked physically. Workers should be interviewed to check the entries in the Muster rolls and payment of wages. Timeliness in the release of funds are done by the district to the lower level spending units and implementing agencies including Blocks and Gram Panchayats.

Grievances Management and disposal of complaints

Another role of bureaucracy is grievances management and disposal of complaints which involves satisfying the complainants to settle their grievances within the prescribed time limit. Effective operation of Help lines and complaint boxes are provided to them. Proper maintenance of complaint register in the Gram Panchayats, Blocks and Districts with the help of bureaucrats are performed. Corrective action taken against wrong doers under Indian Penal Code,Prevention of Corruption Act, Service Rules, etc.

Worksite management

Apart from these ideal type bureaucracies there are certain role of bureaucracy of the worksite, which is performed by lower bureaucracy. Provision of worksite facilities such as shade, first-aid, crèche, drinking water. Setting up of transparency pillar or citizen information board containing details of the work are maintained by

the lower bureaucracy. Along with this the bureaucracy has to ensure proper quality in execution of works.

After discussing the ideal types of role which different levels of bureaucracy is supposed to play in the implementation of MNREGA, we would now analyze whether Indian bureaucracy has performed the above mentioned task satisfactorily or not. As the study is not based on the primary source of data we will evaluate the same on the secondary sources. For this we would prefer reports and studies done on the implementation of the scheme in different areas. We can analyze the mismanagement and carelessness depicted by bureaucracy in implementing the schemr. And on the other level we can also observe whether the scheme has brought about any changes in the socio- economic conditions of the people, specially rural poor for whom this scheme was launced.

The Official Version: Mixed Result in Implementation

The initial years of implementation of the MNREGS had mixed experience of success and failures across districts and states. According to Planning Commission, States like Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh have done reasonably well while Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have not made satisfactory progress. It is co-incident that all the variations in implementation have an implication for outcomes because there is a close relation between implementation and impact in the case of the MNREGA. The uneven implementation of MREGA can be attributed to chronic delays in wage payments in different states. Even though the Government of India had transferred adequate funds to the state and districts transparency and accountability was lacking (Planning Commission 2009: 75).

Rampant Corruption and Misappropriation of Funds

The most important agency in the implementation at the central government is the Ministry of Rural Development . The ministry is responsible for ensuring the adequate and timely delivery of resources to the states and revising, monitoring, and

evaluating the use of these resources. The main institution for the implementation is the State government at state level which formulates the minimum features specified under the Act.

According to government's study, on MNREGA has found large-scale corruption and irregularities among the bureaucracy in the implementation of the programme in several states. This was primarily because of the misappropriation of central funds and secondly threatening workers to keep their mouth shut. According to V.V Giri National Labour Institute, "There was great fraud in making (of job) cards, muster rolls were not maintained properly, and work was not provided to job seekers sometimes...." It has been founded that in many areas and cases the workers performed one day's job but their attendance was put for 33 days. The workers got money for one day while wages for 32 days were misappropriated by the people associated with the functioning of MNREGS.

Irregularity in Distribution of job cards

The Rural Development Ministry report highlighed how the workers or villagers were threatened not to reveal, "......In fact, the workers were threatened to keep their mouths shut. One of them mentioned that NREGS had proved to be a boon for the panchayat and functionaries,". According to Rural Development Ministry, the inquiry was initiated in September 2008. The research team visited Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. They collected secondary material and also elicited information from different stakeholders like Gram Pradhan and beneficiary workers, besides interviewing implementing agencies and personnel with regard to implementation of the scheme. The study team founded that in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, West Bengal and Bihar, the job cards were not in the possession of workers but sarpanches and other panchayat functionaries while in many cases job cards were found fudged with fake entries. Just to elaborate further the report observed that, " In

most of the cases, job cards were found in the possession of Sarpanches or other Panchayat functionaries. In many cases it was found that job cards were fudged and fake entries made. Interpersonal conflicts was also seen among project officers, block development officers and sarpanches, saying this has affected the performance and efficiency of the project officers. In some places, the Sarpanches were using their political clouts to trouble the villagers...In some cases, the Block Development officers were sore about snatching away of their signatory authority on NREGS cheques".

Irregularity in Muster Roles and its Impact

The required unique identification numbers were not properly placed in Muster Rolls and Muster Roll Issue and Receipt Registers information like the (1) the name of the person working, (2) the respective job card number, (3) the work order number, (4) the number of days worked,and (5) the wages paid. Due to these deficiencies, wages were paid to unregistered and fictitious workers and to workers whose names had been recorded two or three times for the same time period. Also, the gram panchayats did not keep photocopies of the Muster Rolls for public inspection and the block program officer typically did not digitize the Muster Rolls.

Lesson Drawn from the Report on Pilot Project

We are aware that MNREGA, to begin with, was lauched in 200 districts as a pilot project. Therefore Comproller and Auditor General of India did not write the of the scheme and its bureaucracy. According to the report of CAG on MNREGA :"The Scheme does not present much evidence of large-scale embezzlement of funds, nor does it conclude that MNREGA is "a failure." However the report observed procedural lapses in implementation of scheme. According to the report there was procedural lapses in the implementation of the scheme. According to the study of G.B. Pant Social Science Institute on muster roll verification was done (The Hindu, July 13, 2007). According to Times of India report, in Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh

large-scale corruption was founded under the National Food For Work Programme (NFFWP). For example in the Surguja District of Chhattisgarh, there was no check on the embezzlement of NFFWP funds. The situation was so bad that people were constrained to describe NFFWP as a "Loot For Work Programme" (Times of India, July 2, 2005).

Mixed Result by Public Report

In the some districts of Chattisgarh, the enactment of MNREGA had led to a steep decline in the incidence of corruption. For eg. 95 per cent of the wages that had been paid according to the muster rolls. A similar study was done in Koriy district which estimated that leakages in the labour component of MNREGA was 5 per cent . In Jharkhand the NGO and some people organization has formed "Jharkhand MNREGA watch" to focus on the role of bureaucracy. It was founded that leakages in the distribution of muster roll were about 33 per cent. Also most of the MNREGA funds did not reach the poor. According to the report, in Jharkhand too there was evidence of a gradual retreat of corruption compared with earlier years, when it was not uncommon to find that entire muster rolls had been manufactured from top to bottom. Of the total applicant households that are yet to receive job cards in Jharkhand .7.66 percent person said that the officials were demanding payment for the issuance of the job cards, in 24.45 per cent of the cases due to non-completion and verification people did not received job cards was not seen, 30.29 per cent of the applicants were refused job cards, 6.57 per cent were declared ineligible, the applications of 20.80 per cent of the households were rejected, and there were other reasons which were cited in the case of 10.22 per cent of the applicants (Jean Drèze, Reetika Khera & Siddhartha,2007).

Effectivity of Bureaucracy and Success Story

If there were negative aspect of bureaucracy and also mixed result there were some positive and success story of role of bureaucracy as well. For instance, the government and bureaucracy were effective enough of Tamil Nadu. They had

initiated a system of muster roll maintenance, where each labourer has to enter her signature or thumb print in the muster roll every day by way of marking attendance. This had ensured not only that the muster roll availability for public scrutiny at the worksite as per MNREGA guidelines but also that large numbers of people see it every day. In this and other ways, much progress had evidently been made towards a leak-proof system and to prevent the spread of corruption in MNREGA.

Case of Andhra Pradesh :Post of Social Audit

Similarly, the government of Andhra Pradesh has taken the bold step of paying all MNREGA wages through post offices. This is an example of the separation of payment agencies from implementing agencies, as recommended in the MNREGA guidelines. This step helped to remove any incentive the implementing agencies who have to fudge muster rolls, since the payments were beyond their reach. Beside Andhra Pradesh has also started a system of institutionalized social audits which involved routine verification of MNREGA records through participatory processes. These safeguards were quite effective. While various forms of petty corruption (such as bribes being taken by postmasters) have been seen from the social audits, there is no evidence of the sort of large-scale fraud that plagued public works schemes in Andhra Pradesh just a few years ago. Thus Andhra Pradesh enabled to observe and appreciate various initiatives to prevent corruption in MNREGA (Odugbeni &Lee,2011:125).

Widespread Flaws in Record Keeping System : Some Examples

The main problem in the implementation of the scheme was the distribution of job cards. Operational guidelines were not properly stated and job card distribution remained incomplete. When confusion arose in the mind of labourers, the bureaucrats and official gave different answers. Officials were not cooperative with the villagers in registration of the job cards. The bureaucrats wrongly excluded the name of household which was the major loophole. The lower bureaucrats said that the name of

the labourers without job cards will not be accepted. To deal with this they did not enter the name of unregistered workers on muster rolls. Instead they accommodated others family members name.

In Orissa there is transition from the "traditional system" of corruption in public works schemes (involving private contractors, mass fudging of muster rolls, and institutionalized kickbacks) towards a transparent and accountable system. The transparency safeguards had been sabotaged by vested interests and the system was virtually unverifiable. About 22 per cent of MNREGA funds were absorbed but many changes were seen, there were many indications of positive change. As checks and balances are put in place it was difficult to fulfill the vested interests to manipulate, and corruption slowly came down (Yojana Aug 2008 :7).

In Kangra a district of Himachal, transparency in public records was seen . The muster rolls and MNREGA records were in computerized form where the s public scrutiny at the gram panchayat office was seen. In Minta gram panchayat there was an almost perfect match between the muster rolls and workers' testimonies.But in another district of Himachal Pradesh , Sirmaur, there was evidence of fudging of muster rolls. In some cases, this had been done to augment the material component of the scheme, without appropriating any funds, but there were also cases where embezzlement involved (Holle et al,2011 :51).

State-wise highlights on performance

These are specific case studies, stories, and news items on selective states focusing on problems in implementation of MNREGA and role of bureaucracy can be observed.

(i) There was lack of assessment in Uttar Pradesh where there was no data available on jobs required to provide livelihood security (Bisht Times of India,2006).

(ii) Lack of rationalization of work norms which are too demanding so that few are able to earn the wage rate of Rs 73 per day (Iqbal 2008).

(iii) Corruption and neglect hindering implementation of the programme in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh (Sulaiman 2006 :June 15).

(iv) Low ground awareness, low wages and lack of attendance in gram sabhas in Gujarat which also has the distinction of having the first court case on lack of payment of adequate wages (Sulaiman 2006 :June 15).

(v) Difficult work sites, underpayment, violation of social security norms, uninformed people and children in scorching heat characterizing the implementation of MNREGA in Madhya Pradesh. Discrimination on the basis of caste, community, disability and proximity to Sarpanch, panchayat Secretary have been noticed across the country (Bisht :2006).

(vi) Several states failing to implement provisions of the programme. Haryana, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Uttaranchal and Kerala have not issued state specific operational guidelines. Chattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh have issued their own amendments which violate the provisions of MNREGA (Bhist:2006).

Poor awareness generation of the programme

Little awareness was seen among the people of Bihar because the government efforts were minimum in spreading the contents of the schemes like family planning, drinking water and vector diseases. The government has failed to develop a proper policy in place to increase the awareness MNREGA. In Chattisgarh also it was seen that in most of the places the government officials did not provide the villagers with adequate information. The awareness generation effort in the NREGP was being done as any other government scheme. In Jharkhand the government

89

officials, it appeared that even the government officials at the block and panchayat level were not fully aware of the scheme and its guidelines. In Madhya Pradesh it was observed that even at the block level, proper awareness material was not available. In Maharashtra despite having an employment guarantee scheme for the past 34years, the Maharashtra REG Scheme formulated MNREGA did not evoke very enthusiastic response from the villagers as the villagers were not clear about the differences from earlier EGS and MNREGA . In Uttar Pradesh lack of political will was reflected in awareness creation as well.

Faulty Design Distribution and Maintenance of Job Cards and poor implementation of transparency safeguard.

Muster roll and Job cards were the two things where corrupt practices among the bureaucrats were prevalent at each and every levels. The corruption was seen in widespread differences in the entry of the payment. The labourers were paid through post office after the gap of 21 days. The main purpose of job card is to act as an employment passbook a written record of member of days of work and wage earned by labourer under MNREGA. Muster rolls are like attendance sheets that record the name of labourers employed in the particular worksite in aa given week. Muster roll data is the basis of withdrawing money from the Gram Panchayat. The job card irregularities were found in Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh.In the state of Bihar it was observed that there was undue delay in issuing Job cards after receipt of application Job cards were being issued without any registration number and/or photos of adult members In some villages the bureaucrats asked the people to pay for the photographs in direct contravention of the due procedures. In some state money was demanded for the job card. Somewhere, job cards were incomplete, some where they were not distributed timely, some where job card distribution was on family basis.

Further in Maharashtra case is interesting because despite having 34 years history of Employment Guarantee Scheme, in the state less than 50 percent of person

who have registered have for MNREGA job cards. In Aurangabad district the government claims to have distributed 100 percent job cards but in reality just two of the five blocks in the districts have got 100 percent job cards In some districts APL people not being registered for the scheme by saying that the scheme is only for the BPL families. In Uttar Pradesh a situation has been created where it seems mandatory to have a printed registration form for application and most of the cases the forms are not available. It was also observed that the authorities are taking a dilly-dallying approach to avoid paying, unemployment allowance in case of non-provision of work (Hollar Kozoil,2011 :51)

Caste Segregation of work

In the state of Orissa and Tamil Nadu the disabled were excluded from the programme and caste segregation was seen in rotation system. For example, SC were employed for one week and then BC next week. The lower bureaucrats said the segregation was important because it helped in promoting separation of traditional and social barriers and fostering class solidarity among the same caste labourers (Yojana 2008 :75).

Poor Work Application Process and Generation of Unemployment Allowance

Even the unemployment allowance was to be given by the bureaucrats which is the payment of extra money to the beneficiaries who stayed beyond the radius of 5 km, as per the provisions of the act the concerned officials has to pay unemployment allowance to those holding valid job cards if they are unable to provide work to the applicants. In Bihar No unemployment allowance of payment was given. In Chattisgarh, since there were no dated receipts for registration or job application it was very difficult to verify the official claim on delay in job provision. Hence there was no payment of unemployment wages. In Jharkhand the awareness level of people regarding unemployment allowance is very low. The work was being done through contractors hence there had been no reports of actual unemployment allowance payment. In Madhya Pradesh there had not been any case of unemployment

allowance being paid till date. However, this was basically because people were either not getting any receipt for their application or they were not getting a dated receipt. In Maharashtra Even in Maharashtra there had not been any case of unemployment allowance payment till date. This can be attributed to many reasons like lack of awareness among the villagers and lower level government officials, and non availability of dated receipts. In Uttar Pradesh There are no instances of unemployment allowance payment .It was also observed that awareness level was very low and most of the people did not even know about such provisions in the act.

Delay in Payment of wages and Discrimination in the Payment of Wages

The wages were not being paid according to the norms. There was delay in distribution of wages and also the wages were lower than the prescribed minimum wages. Gender discrimination has been prominent. Women were paid lesser than male counterpart. In Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh it was found that the muster rolls were not being filled in the prescribed registers. Instead the panchayats are filling the wage payment details on plain paper. In some districts of Bihar it was observed that wage payments was lower than what was stipulated and there were also report of delayed payments for the work undertaken under MNREGA. In Chattisgarh There was gross discontent among villagers about low wages, especially in areas of hard soil strata. Payment was done on the basis of the work done, however it seems there is no difference in the rates for normal soil and hard strata. Thus people did not get the complete wage for the work done. In Jharkhand The state government hiked the minimum wage from Rs. 60 to Rs. 73. However the wages being paid at the MNREGA worksite was lesser than the old minimum wage rate. In Madhya Pradesh there was rampant delay in making payments due to the non-availability of overseers for evaluation of works undertaken. At some places wages being paid were lower than the stipulated minimum wage for the agriculture labour. At some places, there was difference in wages being paid to male and female workers. In Maharashtra Delays in wage payment was common at worksites, Sarpanch's attribute this to non-release of funds from the Taluka office. In some places, gender discriminatory in wage payment

was also observed. Uttar Pradesh In some of the areas wage rate stipulated by the government was less than the current market rate creating a disincentive for the people to come to the NREGS work sites.

Inadequate of worksite facilities and poor worksite management

While the act provides for extensive worksite facilities such as crèche and first-aid to be made available to the people there is little evidence of this in practice. Women with small children have been badly hit by this omission while the lack of first aid has endangered the workers since earth works do involve the possibility of injuries. At the most drinking water has been provided and that too has not been universal. In Bihar most of the cases inadequate worksite facilities were present. Apart from drinking water no other facility like crèche, first aid, and shade were available at the worksites. The worksite facilities in Chattisgarh were also very poor. There were no facilities like first aid kit or crèche. Women often complained that since the worksites did not have any facility for crèche, they either did not go for work or had to leave their children at home. Jharkhand There was complete lack of facilities at the work site People had very low level of awareness about the provisions related to facilities at work site MadhyaPradesh As observed in most states worksite facilities were nonexistent, Even the PRI representatives did not know about the facilities to be provided at the work site. In Maharashtra Facilities as per the provisions of the act were not being provided at the work sites. The local officials were ignoring directions of higher authorities with regard to the facilities that had to be provided (Balkrishnan, 2008 :195).

IMPACT OF MNREGA ON TARGETED GROUPS

After evaluating the MNREGA scheme its structure, level of implementation let us observe the impact of MNREGA on targeted mass. According to Mahendra(2010:6) there are number of positive impact of MNREGA on the target population. First and foremost a remarkable impact of the policy is seen. A

93

remarkable impact is in terms of the increase in awareness about the concept of minimum wages and the claim that a worker has over this. Secondly, there is also impact on village and community life in terms of the mobilization of society and strengthening of PRIs. It has inculcated a new level of consciousness about entitlement to minimum wages. It must also be noted that the MNREGA has not been able to create a significant impact on the local wage rate so far primarily because of the abundance of the labour force available there and also because of the low level of employment generation under MNREGA (Mahendra,2010 :64).

Impact on women

Women have been beneficiary of the scheme because the Act mandated 33 percent participation for women. Till 2009 the participation of women was about 49% as compared to previously implemented Jawahar RozgarYojana which was around 20% participation of women. The highest percentage of participation was in TamilNadu (80%) and Rajasthan (67%) (Scandizzo and Immai 2009:193).According to the study done by IIT Chennai it was because of the involvement of the bureaucracy in spreading the awareness of programme had helped in the increase of the participation rate of women in the Financial year (FY) 2009-2010 and (FY) 2010-11 at the national level was 48 percent. Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA hence have helped the local employment strategy for supplementing household income (Kannan 2005: 4518).

The empowerment of women was on rise and hence it was the source of economic stability. Another aspect was that Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA is that it had helped in increasing women's assertion and their contribution to their households. For example ,women workers of Cuddalore in Tamil Nadu, said that 81 percent of their earning and 96 percent in Rajnand gaon spent their earnings from Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA on food and consumer goods. Also some proportion of the wage was used for children's education and a small number was spend on off-setting debts.

According to, National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD), Women have ـtarted to appear more actively in the rural public sphere as they take up their and responsibilities. There is a general trend of low migration in the areas where ـment was carried out and workers have started to repay their debts. In Tripura, ـs rural employment guarantee scheme had helped women to earn their living, ـ two-thirds of the population is still below the poverty line. Because of lack of ـpportunities for women in these areas had made them confined to home. ـ ـver, since the Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA schemes have been implemented in ـ locality, the women have been able to augment their family incomes (Scandizzo ـmmai 2009:243).

The bureaucracy were quiet effective enough in disbursing the wages in some ـ equal wages was disbursed between men and women. According to the NSSO y (round 64th), no wage discriminations was seen among women and men under ـtma Gandhi MNREGA, whereas, there were considerable wage disparities ـg men and women in all other programmes. In addition, work-site facilities now ـsingly visible, also encouraged women participation (Krishnaraj,2005:145).

ـncing Income

Apart from awareness about minimum wages, enhancing mobilizing capacity ـthening of PRI'S, empowerment of women, the MNREGA had played an ـrtant role in providing statutory minimum wages which helped in decreasing ـmination and marginalization based on caste and community line ,easy access to ـly available credit, respect for widows, reduction in risks associated with ـation as migration has declined and reduced humiliation and embarrassment in ـnding work (Vijayanand and Jithendra 2009:20).

Therefore many are of the opinion that Indian bureaucracy has been directly or ـctly responsible for the same. In this regard, according to Indian Institute of ـgement (IIM) Lucknow, it was because of the awareness dissipated by the ـ ـucracy it had helped marginalized have a high workforce participation. The

workforce participation of SC/STs was 49 percent in the current Five Year 2009-2010. In there study of Uttar Pradesh 85.3 percent of the beneficiaries belonged to the BPL category. Among these 50 percent belong to SCs, 44.5 percent belong to Other Backward Classes (OBCs). In the same vein a report by Institute of Human Development 90 percent of the beneficiaries in Bihar belonged to SCs and OBCs. Similarly, in Jharkhand, STs, SCs, and OBCs constituted about 95 percent of the beneficiaries, and in terms of landed category, more than 90 percent of the beneficiaries belonged to the landless and to households with up to 2.5 acres of land. Therefore, the scheme is well-targeted in that it reached to the most disadvantaged and deserving households. (GOI :2006).MMNREGA became path breaker by changing the notion of social protection . It guarantees social minimum security to rural poor (Vijayanand and Jithendra 2009:27).The average wage rate earned rose incrementally from INR 65 (approx. US$ 1.4) per day to INR 90 (approx. US$ 2) per day from 2006 to 2010. The NSSO round (64th), the Mahatma Gandhi NREGA MIS data on the wage rate, indicating a wage rate of Rs. 75 per day. For example, the most obvious impact is that the income from MNREGA has contributed to about 8 per cent of the total annual income of the households in Bihar and to about 2 per cent in Jharkhand (Tendulkar EPW,Dec-2011)

Augmenting Employment

Bureaucracy had played an outstanding example in the delivery system and the whole legal and governance paradigm .The government provided employment to 44.1 million people in the last four years By providing competitive and minimum wage rates with 10o percent compliance to all labour laws and benefits, bureaucrats and government in MNREGA has succeeded in eliminating tier contractors who often exploit labourers by either under-paying them or flouting labour laws and exploitation of the poor.. Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA when it covered the entire country in 2008-2009 generated 2.16 billion person days and in 2009-2010 2.83 billion person days The scheme has provided employment to around 52.5 million households (FY 20009-10) (Tendulkar EPW,Dec-2011).

Financial inclusion of poor

Another important role of bureaucracy was dispersion of the wages and to provide employment at the grass root level. According to Jonathan (2008), besides the legal guarantee of 100 days of work in a financial year, MNREGA households are also assured of basic minimum income per day. Access to finance for those belonging to poor and vulnerable groups is a prerequisite for poverty reduction and social cohesion. This has to become an integral part of our efforts to promote inclusive growth. In fact, providing access to finance is a form of empowerment of the vulnerable groups. Financial inclusion denotes delivery of financial services at an affordable cost to the vast sections of the disadvantaged and low-income groups. The various financial services which are provided include credit, savings, insurance and payments and remittance facilities. At present 96 million accounts opened in banks and post offices for Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA with the help of bureaucrats at the bank. Hence MNREGA has become the largest financial inclusion scheme of the rural poor. Wages are disbursed through these accounts. These accounts have also encouraged thrift and saving among some of the poorest families (Jonathan 2008 : 56).

Impact on Agriculture and Rural Economy

Mahendra(2010) opines that enhancement of agricultural productivity (through water harvesting, check dams, ground water recharging, moisture content improvement, and micro-irrigation),stemming of distress migration, increased access to markets and services through rural connectivity works, supplementing household incomes was seen. The completion of the various development schemes has increased the fertility of agricultural lands and increased the water table too helping farmers who are now comparatively less dependent on the monsoons (Mahendra 2010 :98).

Impact on Literacy Development:

The Government of India United Nations Development Programme (GoI-UNDP) launched a project Support to Operationalization of the MNREGA, the

97

Ministry of Rural Development and UNDP are working towards improving functional literacy of the target population through various schemes such as films to train stakeholders. This programme is currently running functional literacy interventions in 13 villages. This has met with significant success especially among women who are now able to comprehend the entries on the entries on their job cards and bank books and be better informed(World Bank report 2008:38)

Reduction in Migration

The NREGS may have also played a role in checking out-migration. For example, between 2006 and 2008, the incidence of migration came down by 12 percentage points among the beneficiaries in Bihar. According to a study conducted by Disha,Ahmedabad in the FY 2009-2010 in districts of Narmada, Dang, Banaskantha, Dahod, Sabarkantha and Panch Mahals in Gujarat. Migration from tribal areas has also substantially declined due to Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA in the districts of Dungarpur and Udaipur in Rajasthan, Jhabua and Dhar in Madhya Pradesh and Nandurabar and Dhule in Maharashtra (Mistry et al: 2007). According to a study conducted by the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore, in Raichur and Gulbarga Districts in Karnataka, and Adilabad and Anantapur districts in Andhra Pradesh, 98 percent of the families surveyed did not migrate from the villages for work (Vardhan 2006 :63).

Reduction in Indebtedness

The MNREGA has also played a role in the reduction of indebtedness among the beneficiary households. For example, 38 per cent of the beneficiary households were indebted in 2006 in Bihar, this figure came down to 31.37 per cent in 2008, signifying a reduction of seven percentage points within two years of implementation (Kurushetra 2009:46).

Augmenting Productivity

Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA works focus on natural resource regeneration and thus augment productivity. They have to be executed manually and so enhance wage security. Typically, Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA works have ranged from digging ponds, small bunds, land development, and afforestation. MNREGA had led to increased water availability and a positive impact on agriculture in the district through improved access to irrigation. This has led to crop diversity and farmers have been able to switch from Mono- crops to dual crops.

According Verghese(2010), in Andhra Pradesh there is substantial increase in ground water levels in the Anantpur district. Similar results are seen in several other districts, notably from Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and Kerala where local innovations have emerged from converging Mahatma Gandhi NREG works with other development works (Verghese 2010: 253).

Expanding Connectivity

MNREGA has also vastly improved rural infrastructure. Fair weather roads are connected with hinterland areas which were left out of larger rural network programmes like Pradhan Mantri Grameen Sadak Yojana (PMGSY). This had helped in linking scattered tribal hamlets. The basic earth work done under Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA is also being used in many places to provide the base former lasting roads through convergence with PMGSY. Roads internal to the village along with side drains are also being taken up. This has helped in linking markets, schools, and health services. For example, in Karnataka, village-like habitations, traditionally called 'tanda', are often isolated and cut off from the nearby markets, schools or hospitals. These isolated settlements are mostly in majority inhabited by the Lamani Scheduled Caste. It is because of the enactment of Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA, the 500 families living in Basavana Tanda are now, for the first time, connected by road to the capital of the district, Gulbarga, situated which is situated 25 kilometers away. A four kilometer road had to be built on a challenging terrain, which made the work more

labour- intensive. This road has proved to be a lifeline to the 500 families living in the village (Jelani, Caravan: May 2010).

CONCLUSION

From the above we find that the performance of bureaucracy in the context of implementation of MNREGA is average. However no generalization regarding the performance can be made because in some states the performance has been dismal while in others it had been commendable. According to latest figures,3.08 percent households were provided employment as against the demand by 3.10 households. (Yojana,2008 :6).A total of 121.64 crore persondays have been created. This includes 32.89 crore pers.ondays of Scheduled Castes (27.04 per cent) and 36.50 crore persondays of Scheduled Tribes (30 per cent). Women constituted 51.24 crore persondays (42.13 per cent). 2.50 crore Job cards have been issued and the number of filled muster roll stood at 11.27 lakh. (Steward & Hulme,2010 :143).Thus, the employment guarantee scheme like MNREGA had initiated changes which are different from other employment generation of the past, these could define new paradigm of development. They have not been widespread and impact has also been varied and uneven. It is seen that in some of the states like Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, bureaucratic machinery were quite effective enough in generating employment on massive scale, proper payment of minimum wages,disappearance of the contractors and machinery, empowerment of women etc .Some areas of concern where the performance of bureaucracy was not satisfactory and certain loopholes were seen in the process of transparency and accountability of the implementation of the programme. Because of these loopholes irregularity and corruption was widespread across the states. Some areas where bureaucracy lacked effectiveness was the poor awareness generation, faulty design, distribution and maintenance of the job cards ,widespread flaws in record keeping system, the placement of work application, in generation of employment ,caste segregation of wages, exclusion of the disabled

person ,inadequate worksite facilities, lack of child friendliness, shortage of staff, poor worksite management, low work productivity at many worksite and poor implementation safeguard.

REFERENCES

Ashokvardhan, 2006. "Socio economic profile of Rural India." Concept publication, New Delhi.

Balkrishnanan, 2008 ."Social development in independent India: Palth trends & roads Ahead" Dorling kinderley Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.

Dorrientos Hulme, Stewart, 2010. "Social protection for poor and poorest concept & politics." Palgrave Machillian oxford.

Dev Mahendra, 2010. Inclusive growth in India: Agriculture, poverty & Human Development." Oxford University Press.

Ghate,Chetan,2012. "The Oxford Handbook of Indian Economy," Oxford University Press.

Goel,Rajneesh, 2009. "Panchayati Raj in India: Theory and Practice",Deep Publication.New Delhi .

Gompathy, Palanithuri,2011."Globlization & Rural Development" concept publication, New Delhi.

Hardgrave L, Kochanek A. Stanley ,2008. "India Government & politics in a developing nations." Thomson Publication, USA.

Joseph, M ,2008. "New government paradigm: Issue in development." Kalpaz publication, New Delhi.

Jonathan Bay, 2008. " Promoting financial inculsion: lessons around the neored inNew Delhi vistas in financial services." Mac Kinley & Company.

Kiran Asha ,2011. "MNREGA: A rural revolution, "sunshine publication, New Delhi

Koziol, Holle, Ringold, Srinivasan, 2011." Citizen & Service delivery: Ascending the use of social accountability approaches to thenian development world bank, Washington, DC.

Raoke, Birner, Shekhar,2010." How to overcome the governance challenges of implementing MNREGA: Insight from Bihar using process influence napping.

Planning commission, 2009. "A hundred small steps." Report of committee on financial sector." Govt. of India, page publication, New Delhi.

Verghese,B.G, 2010. "Witness to the Making of Modern India", Thomsons Press, New Delhi.

Article

India Today, Volume 34, issue 9-14, 2009

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, 2005 (2006) operational guideline. Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Rural Development Govt. of India.

MNREGA, beyond wages to sustainable livelihood, workshop by the National Resource Centre for rural livelihood, conference, Indian Islamic Centre, Nov 21, 2008, World Bank.

Kannan,K.P,2005 . "Linking Guarantee to Human Development", EPW,15 Oct 2005 :4528-4522.

Krishnaraj,M.,Pandey,D.,2004. "Does EGS require restructuring for Poverty Alleviation and Gender Equality,"EPW, 24 April 2004,pp-1741-1743.

Lee & Odugbeni ,2011. "Accountability through public opinion from Austria to public action"World bank, Washington, DC.

Sridhar, V, 2005-"Empowering the poor." Frontline, Volume No. 22, issued 19 Sep, 16-23.

Shah Mihir, 2004. "MNREGA, "Employment Gurantee sing of transformation the Hindu, Thursday, May, 4.

The World Bank, "India Achievement & Challenges in reducing poverty."

Missing poulmre & Jaswal, Anshuma, 2007. "Will Mahatma Gandhi MMNREGA ensure security against Hiurgen. A suhmary report, Disha Ahmedabad.

Scandizzo,P ,Gaiha,R,2009. "Option values,Switches and Wages: an Analysis the Employement Guarantee Sheme in India," Review of Development economics, pp 248-263.

CHAPTER IV

CRISIS SITUATION AND ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY

In this chapter we would see how Bureaucracy functions and how it delivers in the ordinary time in routine manner. We would also analyze the function and performance of Bureaucracy in the time of crisis. We would see wherein Bureaucracy is actually made to function and deliver in the time of crisis. This would be done through enunciation of source of the theories and critics of Webers theory and conceptualization of Bureaucracy. It is in this context that, we would study the two incidence Gujarat riots of 2002 and Mumbai attack of 2008. We would see the challenges the two incidences posed for Bureaucracy and the response of Bureaucracy to the two incidences we would see the way Bureaucracy related and tried to tackle the issues. Finally, we would assess and conclude whether in the response was upto the mark and resulted in some kind of success or failure.

Bureaucracy according to Max Weber has technical superiority compared to organizations based on charismatic and traditional authorities. This technical superiority steps from combination of specialist skills subordinated to the goals of organization personal emotions and interest which might hinder achievement of the goal one controlled. It works on the basis of a set of rational rules to further objectives of the organization. Tasks in bureaucracy are performed with greater precision and speed and with less friction and lower cost. Bureaucracy helped in modernization process and the modern post industrial society is usually dependent and drawn a lot from technical superiority of Bureaucracy. However, a question is does Bureaucracy works effectively in a situation of crisis in India?

In this chapter we would take two cases which shocked India in the recent times and Bureaucracy was put to severe test. We would examine the response and performance of Bureaucracy in context of Godhra and post Godhra riots in Gujarat in 2002 and attack on Mumbai by Pakistan based terrorist in the year 2008. This led to

death of large number of people. While in one case, Bureaucracy seemed to have completely failed to measure up to the task. In the other case Bureaucracy to a large extent converted a major failure of internal security apparatus into successful management of the challenge.

Primary function Bureaucracy

Brass(2003) has explained the difference between the scholars and commission in evaluation of collective violence or riots. According to him, "Virtually every scholar who has written about riots, progroms and other forms of collective violence seek their causes...Many of those who seeks causes also seeks cure – as if dealing with an illness – or solutions, as if dealing with social problem. Commissions of inquiry are often appointed after particular serious riots or after a wait of riots. Their charge is invariably to determine the causes of the riots in question. Their purpose is often different from the work of scholars. It is to assign responsibility especially upon the state authorities and their agents, administrative officers and police" (Brass 2008:16-17). In this chapter in the light of above we are not concerned with the causes of Godhra riots, the terrorist attack and bomb blast in Mumbai. No doubt there is clear cut case of religious violence between majority and minority community, however in the chapter our prime concern is role of bureaucracy-the police and administrative machinery in coping these. This can be seen as emergency or crisis situation. Unlike the management of poverty alleviation scheme by bureaucracy. In India the advertisement of Bureaucracy is basically to help the government in the process of governance and administration. At the lower level like districts, Bureaucracy is to administer in the district, ensure functionary of various institutions like school, hospitals, Panchayati Raj etc. and to co-ordinate functioning of various agencies and institutions. At the higher level i.e. at the level of government it is to help formulation of policies and provide expert advice to the political executive's town the government. It is also to implement laws and various programme at different levels of administrative units.

According to Das(2010),the primary functions of Bureaucracy is as follows, administration, policy advice, articulating interest, political stability and allocation of resources. Bureaucracy plays an important role in policy making and keeps the executive in identifying major policy area. Preparation of policy proposals, analysis of various alternatives and solutions to social problems, determination of programmes effective and suggestion of modification in the existing policy on the basis of its experiences gain during implementation of the policies. (Das,2010:45).

Further, another important function of Bureaucracy is to execute the law and policy relating to governance and welfare. Execution of law involves implementation and encouragement of the law of the land which aims at establishing peace and order and ensuring development of the country. Bureaucracy is also to implement policies of the government, population control for example is the policy of government of India and of State Governments. Programmes like family welfare programme aims at controlling the population with the help of various incentives and decentives and the duty of Bureaucracy is to implement these policies and programme to control population. Implementation of the motor vehicle act which is a law to regulate traffic on the roads is another example of enforcement and execution of law in India.

In the same vein, during the course of administration and execution of law Bureaucracy comes into contact with the common man and understands the problems and inspiration of the people. During the process of execution of law is imposed to the problems of people complications involved in an issue and gets an understanding as to how to deal with them. Such ideas and the expectation of the people is brought to the knowledge of the political executives and the same issued in further formulations of policies and programme for the welfare and division of the people. Bureaucracy also provides political stability in a country. Though the political executives change with the change in government during elections. Bureaucracy thus provides continuity in policy programmes administration of the country. It also fills the gap during the political vacuum and gives continuity to the system. bureaucracy in India also allocates budgets and resources of various departments. As a part of government

Bureaucracy have decisive say in the resources like manpower, experts, equipments, infrastructure etc. Any department or agency has and is able to provide service to the people. A more equipped and resourceful organization would be able to provide better facilities to the people and make more satisfied. An ill equipped organization and department would not satisfy people and would attack hostility and brick back of the people (Das:46).

Committed Civil Servants

Chatterjee(1998), says that during the Emergency, civil servants were expected to be 'committed'. If 'politicization' is linked to political parties, 'commitment' is linked to beliefs, ideologies, or values and, therefore, to programmes based on these. But it may also have a negative connotation when the stress is on commitment to certain personalities of their political futures. Any political party in power can, with justification, select such officials and put them in charge of programmes with a social content, which will then be well implemented. Conversely, when a party in power wants to 'soft-pedal' certain schemes (which may be identified with its predecessor), its instinct would favour the transfer of such officers. A transfer by itself is entirely innocuous and within the government's remit (particularly those newly come into power), but in such cases the transfers might signal the intentions of the new government. Commitment, however, need not be identical with, political affiliation. Therefore, it is necessary to examine how politicization of the civil service appears to have spread in a system in which genuine political affiliation or commitment is not widespread. Political affiliation, in the sense of a more than usual affirmity to those belonging to the political executive, arose in the early phase of Independence. It was more or less characterized by the common class background of those who constituted such groups (Chatterjee 1998 :221).

Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy

According to Wilson, Bureaucratic organization is more efficient than those of other types, mark had pointed out earlier that every exploitative relationship lends to alienation of both the exploited and the exploiter resulting in loss of their freedom, creativity humanity and morality. Wilson's theory of Bureaucracy was criticized by Merton, Selznick, Gouldner for overcooking the dysfunctional aspects of Bureaucracy. According to them, the very element which lead to efficiency in general produce inefficiency in specific instances. Merton says that regrous discipline of Bureaucracy induces fear, conservations, and technicism in the bureaucratic personality. Gouldner says that works rules increases knowledge about criminal expectable behavior their reducing performance to the minimum level. According to Selznick, the demand free control by the top hierarchy leads to increased delegation of authority to submits resulting in more emphasis on submit goals than on the total organizational programme. Wilson also was skeptical about bureaucracy. According to him, "Bureaucracy with its peculiar impersonal character and is easily made to work for any body who knows how to gain control over it. A nationally ordered system of officials continues to function even after the enemy has occupied the area ; he merely needs to change the top officials" (Wilson 1989:98).

Merton observed that people in bureaucracies often develop trend in capacity where they obey for their own say rather than as a means to the end. Hiring practices may be based on rigid set up formal requirement rather than ability to perform the task involved in a Job actual problems do not always fit into the compartments designed to handle them. This can lead to run around for people trying to resolve problems. An understanding of the dysfunctions of Bureaucracy may help administrators, managers and entrepreneurs access the appropriateness bureaucratic structure for an organization. Bureaucratic form is not the best type of organization for every situations (Merton 1956:259).But during the time of crisis Bureaucracy has more critical role to play which for a rule bound organization may find difficult to deliver Bureaucracy structure on the line of the ideal type of Bureaucracy would

definitely minimize efficiency requires study of the response of Bureaucracy in the time of crisis there we would see source of the critical analysis by theorist on the claim of technical superiority of Bureaucracy.

In the light of above function and dysfunctions of bureaucracy we will analyze the role of Indian bureaucracy at the time of two extra ordinary episode pf violence in India, one in Gujarat and another in Mumbai.

The Godhra Incidence of Gujarat 2002: A Brief Description

On 27.2.2002 Sabarmati Express train was attacked at Godhra, Gujarat by a mob belonging to muslim community. During the incident 58 Hindu pilgrims who were returning from Ayodhya were killed. The deaths of the Hindu pilgrims led to immediate retaliatory attacks against the muslim community by the Hindu communities. Many people were killed, places of working were destroyed and the business of muslim community were attacked. Political parties and extremist organizations gave a call for state wide bandh to protest the attack on the train on 1st march, 2002 and thereafter the violence started. The violence raised largely between Feb 28 to March 3rd, 2002 and after a drop a violence restarted on March 15 and continued till mid June. All of the State of Gujarat was severely socked by the violence (Engineer 2003: 25).

Expected Role of Bureaucracy during this Incidence:

Acording to Second Administrative Report, the Bureaucracy was expected to:

Maintain law and order

Prevent violence against any particular community

Provide violence and safety to the citizen and groups.

Take penal action against those breaching the peace by arresting and putting them in jail.

Establishing an environment of peace and harmony.

Taking action against the anti-social elements and countering the riot.

Bergner (2008) argues that in riots also political elements did play a major part and the police and administration failed to control violence. They were not accused of direct involvement in the carnage. The failure of police and administration in the current riots is attributed not to their professional incompetence but this attitude of party and callousness in general and the accusation of connivance and complicity was made in some cases"(Bergner 2008: 2307). A number of persons holding responsible positions in public life alleged involvement of some Ministers and MLAs in these riots. They were monitoring progress of riots from the city police control room. One minister was accused of controlling things at Police Bhawan, Gandhi Nagar.

Representatives of many NGOs and some prominent citizens narrated a number of cases where they contacted the police and requested them to rescue the members of the minority community under attack from the marauding mobs but these pleas evoked no response. The team heard several allegations of connivance of police in incident of arsons and looting by the marauding crowds. It was alleged that the crowd involved in destructions had the support of administration. One of the resident told human right group, "Kerosene bottles were thrown in through the roof. They drew it into the window and the opening of the wall. We called the police thousands of times but they told us, 'Sir is out' (Human Right watch 2002:37).

When the Human right watch asked the police response regarding the incident the Rapid Action Force and Military said, "We got no message to come here. We have been close by for seven hours but got no message that there was any problem here." When the people called them for help, the police responded by saying that , "We are on the way." And subsequently the phone was cut and as soon as they arrived on the spot the police threw tear gas on the victim (Human Right watch 2002:43). Further, in many of the places of Gujarat border security forces were stationed outside the colony to prevent further attack. But the resident were afraid that once the BSF was lifted the situation would worsen again. They were frustrated by the political action committee   e of the investigation of the administration. The

complaints of the resident were noted by the police and the acid bottles which contained kerosene was send to the lab for testing. According to one resident reported to Human Right Watch, "There are twelve to thirteen people stationed outside . But they will leave on March 30. We don't know what will happen after that. After the first incident another acid bottle was thrown around March 15.Nothing has happened since then. The police took acid bottle and send it to the lab. We have filed complaints in the police. The police noted every thing down but there is no combing of the area."(Human Right Watch 2002:40)

According to Oomen(2005), many representatives accused the police of outright discriminatory approach in the matter of arrest. It was alleged that though it was the minority community which was under attack at all the places after the Godhra incidence, the bulk of the attack made by the police were from minority community. It was alleged by many that police allowed the crowd to swell and turn violent by ignoring the calls for help from the victims of mob attack. Admitting that police presence on such spot was very thin, it was asserted that their sense of duty demanded that they should have used firepower to rescue the persons under attack from mob fury. It was said by many that the police either did not use the weapons or merely fired a couple of rounds in the air without producing any deterrence (Oomen,2005:118).

In the report "We Have No Orders to Save You" Human Rights activist reported on the arbitrary detention and filing of false charges against the minority groups . The FIR was not properly written. In February 2002, Gujarat riots is worst of the kind .There are several reports and analysis on Gujarat riots. According to Human Right Watch, "people made panic phone calls but police, fire brigade and even ambulance proved futile. Many witnessed testified their calls either went unanswered or that they were met with responses like, "We don't have any order to save you, we cannot help you, we have orders from above, if you wish to live in Hindustan learn to defend yourself...In some cases phone lines were eventually cut off to make it impossible to call for help."(Levy and Mehra,2008:16).

Similarly, a number of NGO activists stated that the violence and destructions witnessed was not entirely spontaneous reaction of the majority community to the Godhra massacre. The suggestion made by many was that contained disturbance of Gujarat was without police support. They stated inter-alia that leaders of mob were in constant touch on mobile phones, that every wing of the State government was used to ascertain full or partial ownership of assets of the minority community; organized attempt for effecting social and economic boycott of the minority community was another distressing feature of the errant riot. Pamphlets and hand bills were widely circulated appealing Hindus to boycott Muslims in matters of employment and business activities.

According to the report of the NHRC and the views of various representatives of NGOs activists put before NHRC during its visit of riot affected areas of Gujarat in the year 2002 show that Bureaucracy was not able to meet the challenges. Bureaucracy was not able to work as per the legal rational rules as per law Bureaucracy and State administration was to ensure peace, stability and security of every member of the society. However, it was involved only in taking stocks of violence and disturbance in Gujarat during the crisis.

The rational legal authority as per the noted sociologist, Max Weber, "Bureaucracy was put to test during this crisis and it was found that it was not functioning as per the logic of rational legal authority. The officers were affected by feelings and emotions rather than rationality. They gave vent to these anger and prejudice against the members of other communities. They also did not act as per the law and the rules through which they get authority to conduct and perform. They violated the law which bound them to ensure safety and security of the member of society and to take action against those disturbing the peace and harmony"(Weber 1968:67).

Role of Bureaucracy during this incidence

Maintenance of law and order

The district administration is responsible for maintenance of law and order. District Magistrates or District Collector and District Superintendence of Police authorities have primary responsibility of maintenance of law and order at district level. At the State level, Home secretary reporting to chief secretary and Director General of Police are responsible for law and order in the state. During the disturbance in the wake of Godhra riots the first challenge was threat to law and order in the State of Gujarat. Bureaucracy was supposed to ensure law and order.

Prevention of violence against particular community

In the attack on the train at Godhra, members of Muslim community were found to be involved. There was possibility of resentment and violence against Muslim community as a backlash. The people were charged because of the ghastly incident on February 27th, 2002. Therefore, it was the duty and responsibility of first the district and then the state administration and police to contain the crowd and prevent anybody from attacking the members of other communities by taking pro-active steps like deployment of sufficient police force and by acting professionally.

Providing security and safety to the citizen and groups

If the violence brakes out Bureaucracy is supposed to provide security and safety, sufficient force should be deployed in the locality and neighbourhood of those who might be attacked, threatened or displaced. The displaced or threatened people can be located in the safe zone and after the abetment of the disturbance they may be relocated at their place of stay.

Action against those breaching the peace

In a communally sensitive environment, the incident at Godhra was likely to cause backlash and further disturbance. The task at hand for bureaucracy was to take exemplary action against those who break the peace and manage disturbance. Using adequate force against the rioters and mob, preventive arrest of the people involved in

riot and prompt action by the enforcement machinery would deter antisocial elements and control disturbance from spilling out. Preventive and penal action against those creating disturbance was an important task of Bureaucracy.

Establishment of an environment of peace and harmony

As the Godhra incident was a serious incident of violence against the members of Hindu community, the shock and anger on the part of Hindu communities was a natural reaction against such act of violence. However, step by administration should have been taken to pacify, to provide solace to the hard feeling, strict action should have been taken against those involved in the incidence and the message should have been sent that it is not the whole community who is guilty but a few miscreants who acted criminally. Such an step on the part of Bureaucracy would have pacify the emotion of the people and could have presented the issue from going out of control (Second Administrative Reform Commission :74).

Public Perceptions of the Police

According to Brass (2003), public perceptions of the police do not always distinguish between the actions of the police and those of the political action committee . While Muslims do distinguish the political action committee from the police as separate forces, when they say there was a "police firing," it is not always clear whether it was the ordinary police who fire or the political action committee . As per many respondents, the police in general were engaged in various actions that are considered either partial to the Hindus or outright and unprovoked assaults on Muslims with intent to kill.

Muslims contained the following elements.' If an attack breaks out between Hindus and Muslims, such as stone throwing by mobs from the two communities, the police act partially on the side of the Hindus, and shoot to kill Muslims. The police also engage in provoked actions, including the destruction of local mosques. The police kill and loot houses during riots, even in Muslim localities where there is no tension. Police fire upon crowds of Muslims returning from Friday prayers.

Police enter Muslim houses without provocation or, alleging that shots have been fired from a particular residence, molest women and arrest them and their sons if they protest, or kill the sons. Police act during riots upon requests by local Hindus or Scheduled Castes who have had quarrels with Muslims, and shoot Muslims dead. Police deliberately kill children also, reportedly between the ages of six and twelve. If the police are called, the likely response will be sheltering a rioter. Only if the family members have influential friends or if they are lucky enough to find kind and polite police office, they expect their wounded relation to be taken to hospital (Brass 2003 :329).

Police Perception on Riots

According to Brass (2003), the police are widely condemned in India for their often partisan behavior during riots. Brass says that some of the police officers at all levels presented cogent interpretation of the causes of riots. That police view also include attribution of profit motivations to rioters. As said by the inspector, "several problems arises in of police working during a riot with "underground hiding places and numerous by-lanes" in which criminals are at work and where majority of Muslims, including Muslim women, come out to protect the criminals and throw stones on police." In such circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine the police losing control, opening fire in frustration and rage, and killing many such "ordinary" people. Such actions, which have in fact occurred countless times in these kinds of situations, can in no way be excused. At the same time, police in such circumstances become scapegoats for the intolerable conditions in which work, as a consequence of the failures of the politicians and so-called planners to give even a moment thought to the conditions of these "ordinary" people of India, except to make use of them for their own political advantage. Police who must work day in and day out in such conditions also confront day in and day out not just the neglect of their masters, but their malevolent hypocrisy, as suggested by the police inspector,

"The physical actions are done by persons from lower castes and classes, but persons from middle and upper classes give shelter and guidance. Big criminals (who become involved) are close to the top lawyers, who are paid by the politicians from the committee funds for the relief of the riot-affected. If the polic take a criminal to the court he is released, which set a bad example. They also get the support of MLA and people in Delhi, who pressure the Government officials. The police responsible are known to police......" (Brass 2003:336).

Brass (2003) opines that on the riot scenes Godhra, prominent BJP and VHP leaders moved along with the mobs of Hindu rioters, sometimes they played the role of "conversion specialists," addressing the mobs, and then discreetly left after their departure, the mobs carried out their murderous attacks." Other politicians or their relations and employees were seen allegedly encouraging the police to fire on Muslim crowds, or were themselves observed "directing the mobs.:"? Similarly, the BJP made use in Gujarat of the poorest and most deprived segments of society, persons from the tribal communities and backward castes, to carry out much of the killing and destruction. Again, attacks were made for the first time on Muslim mohallas at the outskirts of the city, and even in areas where they constituted the majority. Further, the killings extended to several villages in rural areas of the state. Finally the involvement of land grabbers and "mafia" elements with "well-known links with ruling-party politicians" was also reported." These elements took advantage of the attacks on slum settlements to rid them of Muslim residents and property owners. They also exploited mob efforts to prevent residents from returning to their neighborhoods and homes. But members of the government of India compromised themselves and the central government in many ways. some blatant, some subtle. These police and administrative officers cannot act impartially and effectively unless they have a clear directive from the state administration to do so. The ordinary constables and the political action committee, who makes it worse. They do so in many ways. They show partiality, standing by while Hindus attack Muslims, as well as shooting down Muslims as soon as they leave their houses or mass in the

streets. Insofar as the reports are true-and there are too many such reports to doubt that a great many of them must be authentic-the police are also riot participants; they knock down the doors of people's houses, beat up and even kill the male residents, molest the women, and even kill minor children. They themselves rampage in the streets, striking out wildly, responding in an undisciplined manner to provocations. When assigning responsibility for the prevention and control of riots, that the police are agents of the state. But one must also remind oneself of the even more unpleasant fact that the police are no different from the society from which they come. They have the same prejudices, the same lack of discipline, the same hierarchical attitudes, the same penchant to abuse power, the same tendency to corrupt behavior that exists broadly in Indian society, unleavened by any significant degree of professionalization that would serve-as it has for the Indian army until now, for the most part to inculcate a different set of values while isolating them from society, and lack any pay, career, or other incentives to act differently (Brass 2003 :388-390).

Understanding The Role of Police During Mumbai Attack 2011

The 2008 Mumbai attack were a coordinated shooting and bombing, the attack was at 11 places across Mumbai by terrorist who came from Pakistan. The terrorists did reconnaissance before launching the attack. The attack began on November 26th, 2008 and continued till November 29th, 2008 resulting in death of 160 people and wounding of 308 persons. The attacks occurred at Chattarppati Shivaji Terminal (railway station), the Oberoi Trident hotel, Taj Mahal Palace and Tower hotel Leopoid café, Kama Hospital, Nariman House, Jewish Community Centre, Metro cinema, St. Xaviers Colleges and other places. By early morning of November 28th , all sites except Taj Mahal Hotel had been secured and on November 29th India's National Security guards conducted operation Black Tornedo to flush out terrorist from Taj Hotel. It has been argued reported that , the attackers were members of Lashkar-e-Taliba, Pakistan based terrorist organization. The government of India said that the attackers came from Pakistan and their Controller and Coordinators were based in Pakistan. The government of Pakistan also accepted that the planning for the

attack was done in Pakistan. One of the attackers caught alive, Ajmal Kasab was also the Pakistani National (Raman 2009:232). The attack posed a major challenge for the Bureaucracy to maintain law and order, peace and stability, to carry out operations for neutralizing and flushing out the terrorist from their strong hold.

The Mumbai attack posed the following challenges for Bureaucracy

According to Smith and Bards, (Smith et al 2009:504) the challenges of bureaucracy during terrorist attack were:

Neutralizing and flushing out the terrorist

The terrorist launched attack at eleven places across Mumbai. They indulge in shooting and bombing the public places causing disturbance and terror across the state of Maharashtra. The challenge was to shoot down or arrest the armed attackers spread across the city killing people in general. Trained near power was required to confront such hard core terrorist.

Maintaining law and order

Such a big attack created disturbance and terror across the city. Common men were terrorized and general ways of life of the people were disrupted law and order of the city was disrupted and killing and disturbance rocked the city. The challenge for law enforcement agency and Bureaucracy was to restore order in the city. Anti Social element could have further exploited the situation and created more problems for already stretched and overburden police force. They could have created further polarization and dissention in society leading to more conflagration and violence.

Restoring sense of security in the people

After the unexpected and unprecedented attack the faith of the people in State's ability to ensure safety and security of the people was completely lost. General public thought that police and Bureaucracy and the existing system of internal security cannot guarantee their safety and security. Therefore, the challenge

118

for administration was to ensure safety and security of the people and to restore the faith of the people in the system.

Dealing with the issue at the international level

The attack involved active indulgence and support of the people from Pakistan. The challenge was to project the issue of involvement of people from Pakistan and Government Agency of Pakistan so that the world may know what Pakistan was doing against India and pressure should be built on Pakistan for causing it suffer the consequences of attack it should not repeat such an incident against India. The issue was that if the attack was not properly dealt by India, Anti Indian forces would get emboldened and repeat such an attack on India. Therefore, the Mumbai attack warranted strategic moves by India involving propaganda and foreign diplomacy.

Punishing the people responsible for attack

The attack also required from the Indian Bureaucracy strong steps for punishment of those who were involved in launching the attack and who conspired and abetted the attack while those who came to Mumbai to launch attack were cornered and killed except one terrorist who was caught alive and was later sentenced to death. The other conspirators are located in Pakistan and the task before Bureaucracy was to capture and punish them. One person involved in this attack David Headly is in custody of United Stated. Bringing him within the Ambit of the law for this attack was also the task of objective of Indian Bureaucracy.

Ensuring that such an attack is repeated

Not only the punishment of the involved persons is the priority but also ensuring that such an attack is not repeated by finding the weakness in the existing system of internal security and taking steps to plug such loopholes. The attack was a massive failure on the part of agencies responsible for ensuring internal security of Mumbai and the country. Such attackers would come and take the whole city on ride was reflection of what is wrong with our security agencies. Therefore, several steps

were required to be taken so that such an attack did not happen and people have not to bear such a heavy cost for the lapses on the part of security agency and Bureaucracy.

Reaction of Bureaucracy during and after Mumbai Attack

Responding to the terrorist attack

Government deployed NSG for releasing the sites under the control of the terrorist The cammandos of NSG worked day and night and deployed man power and tactics to release the sites under the control of the terrorist. The terrorist holders in Taj hotel were finally killed, killing the offensive terrorist was the most important and immediate took for the Bureaucracy and law enforcing agency.

Bureaucracy maintained law and order

The attack was a massive assault on Indian Security and on the Psychology of Indian people. It generated deep frustration and anger among the people. There was every possibility that the attack would have detoriated into large scale disorder and disturbance in India causing a backlash against a certain community. By ensuring peace and order bureaucracy made the challenge posed by Mumbai attack.

Providing supports to the operations by National Security Guard

The logistics for launching operation was provided by local police authorities. All the requirement necessary for conducting the operation was provided by authorities of the state. Bureaucracy gave the commands of NSG full authority to conduct operations to rescue people and the terrorist who had taken the Taj hotel under his control.

Managing the Media

An independent Media in the time of crises like illusion attack posed a challenge of managing the Media by life presentation of the development to the audience and critical analysis of the incidence, the media created another front for the bureaucrats for management and control. Wide courage and free analysis of such an

incident also create disaffection and lack of confidence among the people in the system. Bureaucracy on this occasion also made the challenge of managing the media.

Bureaucracy also set up a commission 'Pradhan Enquiry Commission' to enquire into the weaknesses in the existing system of instant security which led to such an attack and to suggest real dial measures, one of the effort to set up national counter terrorism centre was made NCTC is a prepared anti terror organization, on the line of NCTC in USA. It aims to coordinate anti-terrorism efforts of the union and the states.A national investigating agency aimed at investigation of terrorist related with acts of terrorism was also established so that those involved in acts of terror was prosecuted by a dedicated agency for anti-terrorism. The effort on Indian part also required taking steps for preventive aspect of terrorism. As agency like NIA would essentially bring perpetrators of crime and would not help in prevention of the crime.

Bureaucracy also took up the matter at the international level and highlighted the role of Pakistan based terrorist and terrorist organization in the attack. This sent a clear message to Pakistan that India would not tolerate this kind of incident and Pakistan would have to bear a huge cost in case such an incident is repeated. International community also came in the favour of India, on this issue and the attack was seen as the serious attack of terrorism against humanity. Because many foreigners were also killed in the attack. It brought the sympathy and assistance of the western world. On the whole the handing of the incident from the start to the end can be termed as satisfactory. Though the RD Pradhan committee set up to enquire into elapses leading to the Mumbai attack was very critical of the treatment of the intelligence input and the initial response of Mumbai police. Also, the Mumbai attack have revealed serious gap in maritime security on western coast. There was major gaps due to naval and coast guard authorities to act on the report of the IB and RAW about sea threats from LET.

Despite the fact that Bureaucracy according to Weber, is that Bureaucracy has technical superiority over other forms of organizations and therefore, suited to

121

perform efficiently and effectively, Bureaucracy suffers from several simulations. According to Wilson, Bureaucracy is generally effective in normal situation where there is extra-ordinary demand on the system. A Bureaucrat is suited for routine work and pushing the file, is not have the source on portion of innovation, creativity and change. He is not adept to handle rapid change and revolution. An incident like Godra attack or Mumbai attack generates too much of neat and pursuer for Bureaucracy to handle and manage. Bureaucracy may be fit and equipped for distribution of food and other facilities, public distribution system but is not very efficient organization to stand the test in a situation of war, rapid change or a Mumbai like attack. The rule bound officials, hierarchy and files and meetings and interminable level of decision making would not allow quick decision and fast action which is required in a time of crisis. Though Weber presented a rosy and bright picture of Bureaucracy in his thesis many skeptics have raised doubts on his thesis.

CONCLUSION

Thus, seeing the performance of Bureaucracy during the two serious and distinct incidents in recent India, which caused shock and disturbance on large scale and hit the psyche of people of India, one can say that the performance of Bureaucracy was not very satisfactory. In the Mumbai attack case, the threat and challenge was allowed to prevail and cause massive assault on Indian though the management and post incident steps somewhat show a better response of Bureaucracy.

During the crisis the terrorist were killed and flushed out from their places of hiding this was done with urgency, strategy and precision. The scale of damage that terrorist had the potential to cause was kept to the minimum by quick and appropriate response from law enforcement agencies and Bureaucracy. The three days crisis at Taj Mahal Hotel where the maximum No. of people were killed was also by in large managed effectively the attackers were confined and there capability to cause damage was neutralize. Post incident analysis of the attack was do not findings of the study

was brought out for the security apparatus in particular and public in general to know the factors which allowed such a massive incidence to happen and cause a national level crisis.

However, we ask whether we learned anything from the crisis or taken any preventive measures one can safely conclude that Bureaucracy has done a little to inspire confidence. The Pradhan committee which was constituted and mandated to enquire into the attack and suggest measures to prevent and manage has come out with several valuable recommendation for enhancing the capability of internal security apparatus but nothing much have been achieved in the direction of their realization. Therefore, in the case of Mumbai attack the happening and the solutions to such incidence have been a point of dismay, while the management of the incidents itself have been commendable.

On the other hand, in case of Godhra and post Godhra riots, the beginning, the middle and the end all have been from bad to worse, the incident, though massive and very disturbing in itself was allowed to go out of control. Infact many expert say the disturbance was shocked and intensified by the state co-operative itself. As we saw the deposition made before the chairperson and members of NHRC. Make it abundantly clear that political executives actively intensified the passion of the people and push them to the conflagration; while the senior government officers either stood silent or facilitated the assets powered by passion, hatred prejudice, Bureaucracy surrendered itself to the ensurity of the challenge.

Instead of taking it head on. It is not that Bureaucracy was inherently incapable of preventing and controlling such an onslaught of mob activity and blood bleeding rather it choosed not to exercise its authority and capability. The excuse was that the riot was an spontaneous act of a large number of people of it was not possible for the enlisting system and apparatus of the state to tackle it. However, such an argument has been depreciated by the experts of sociology and internal security.

It is also important to note that it was suggested that the Indian Army may be called to enforce order, as the law and order situation had completely proper citizen.

However the political executive of the state denied permission for alternation of Indian armed forces. Similarly the central paramilitary forces sent to Gujarat to assist the state police in maintenance of law and order were all deployed in the field and the situation was deliberately allowed to detoriate and all these resulted in massive loss of life and property. Thus in case Gujarat riots the failure of Bureaucracy was absolute. Bureaucracy failed to exercise its authority, it buckled down under the political pressure, it was made to do what was unconstitutional and against the law. When the situation arose when it could have proved its loyalty to law and constitution of India, it failed to do so.

REFERENCES

Bhattacharya Sabyasachi and Vohra N.N, 2002. " Looking Back: India in the Twentieth Century", National Book Trust, India.

Brass R. Brass, 2003. " The production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India", Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Chande,M.B,1997. "The Police and the State",Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi.

Chattterjee Partha 1998. "State and Politics in India" ,Oxford University Press, Mumbai.

Das,S.K,2010. "Building World Class Civil Service:For Twenty First Century India".Oxford University Press,New Delhi

Mishra B.B, 1970. "The 'Adminlstrative History of India",Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Berger, M, 1957, "Bureaucracy and society in modern Egypt." Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Human Right Watch, 2002. "We have no orders to save You". State participation and complexity in communal violence in Gujrat. New York.

Engineer Asgharali,2003. "The Gujarat carnage",Orient Longman,New Delhi.

Levy and Mehra,2011 "The Police, State & Society:Perspective from india and France",Dorling Kinderley,Pearson.

Oommen T. K. ,2008. "Reconciliation in Post-Godhra Gujarat: The Role of Civil Society", Dorling, Kinderley.

Raman,B,2009."Mumbai 26/11:A Day of Infamy".Lancer Publishers,USA.

Schmidt, Shelley, Bardes ,2009. "American Government Politics Today",Thomsons ,USA.

Wilson,James,1989. "Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do And Why They Do It". Perseus Books,USA.

Wilson,James,1979 "Varieties of Police Behavior: The Managementof Law and Order in Eight Communities". Perseus Books,USA.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: DIAGNOSIS AND PROJECTIONS

We started this study with the question of factors responsible for the non achievement of bureaucracy. We assumed that non achievement of bureaucracy may be because of the ineffective and inefficient working of bureaucracy or lack of policy and proper planning at the time of crisis incentives to achieve the goal. Bureaucracy has touched new height in modern democracies. Its size and function have increased enormously. Emergence of welfare state has new dimensions to the expansion of bureaucracy. The nature and role of bureaucracy is changing gradually. The concept of neutrality, work ethics with honesty has lost its significance. The word 'committed bureaucracy' means that bureaucracy is either in individual benefits or is in relation with the political class.

Bureaucratic structure in India has a long history. It presence can be observed from ancient period; Kautilya's Arthashastra being its most important representative. The system was hierarchical and particularistic based on Caste and Varna. It was mostly drawn from twice born castes-Brahmins , Kshatriyas and Vaishayas(Singh 1974). Things, did not change much in medieval period; except one form of hierarchy changed to another i.e the Hindu Varna hierarchy was replaced by Muslim hierarchy of Ashrafs. With the advent of British the composition of structure of Indian Bureaucracy started changing. However, here the members of British society started dominating, especially at higher echelons of the bureaucracy. Although, British did broke the ancient and medieval pattern of induction of individuals on the basis of primordial identities, yet they titled all the rules of induction in their favour. The result was Indians were left out from the strata of Indian bureaucracy. As the time went by, with the relaxation of rules by the British especially after the crown took over from East India Company the affairs of Indian bureaucracy did not democratized.

Throughout the history, we could observe that there were two main functions of bureaucracy in India. They were maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues. These can be considered the function of bureaucracy of a colonial state because colonialist were least bothered about the welfare of the colonized. But this is also true because the colonial state wanted to exact maximum revenue from the motives they has spread the network of bureaucracy at every nook and corner of the country. Without any welfarism of the people. Hence, Indian bureaucracy saw a sea change in its orientation after independence even though we exherited the colonial structure of bureaucracy.

So, after independence with the promulgation of the democratic constitution and adoption of welfare state there has been many changes in the role of Indian bureaucracy. Acting as a mediator between government and people along with the maintenance of law and order and revenue collection it became the chief formulator and implementer of the state policies and programme. Over the years Indian bureaucracy has played a dominant role in carrying forward the agenda of the Indian state for example uplifting the poor and downtrodden. From community development programme in 1950's , to Twenty Point programme for poverty alleviation programme of 1970's to MNREGA in 2005 are testimony to the aforesaid facts.

However, we have also seen that the structure of Indian bureaucracy has yet not been democratized. It is so because most of the excluded community members like Dalits, Tribals and Muslim minorities have been left out of its structure. This has definitely affected the nature of formulation programme for their welfare. And it has also affected the effective implementation of the programmes meant for them. We will analyze few cases, in this context to prove our preposition regarding Indian bureaucracy. However, in the Pre-British administration and British India the administration of small principalities functioned on the basis of hereditary kinship. Normally the rulers had a Diwan who assisted him in day to day administration. There were few other officials who were appointed by the rulers and served during

his pleasure. The source of legitimacy of the power of the ruler was based on :
a)principle of primogeniture in succession along with family lives. The ruler ruled over his territory in two ways i) by direct control and involvement in administration or delegation to his authority to official.ii) allocation and responsibility and authority to the Jagirdars who , in turn, exercised control over the people within the fixed territory. The source of legitimation of Jagir authority was based on I) succession of family lives, II) Grant of the estate by the ruler, formalized ceremoniously in lieu of recognition of exceptional service rendered. b)conquest in battle.

Before independence, bureaucracy in India was government except for basic imperial policy direction from London. It was concerned with both policy and implementation. A dichotomous distinction was maintained in administrative set up, where policy matters where in the hands of higher civil servants at secretariat level both at centre and province and implementation of executive officers at district level. The district officers were the real executive who dominated the implementation level. After independence bureaucracy was restructured to some extent. The bureaucracy existed at a) All India level, b) State level, c) lower level. The upper level bureaucracy is exclusive in itself and entry into upper level is extremely a difficult task. Recruitment to the public services i.e. all India level and state level is through competition. This means that recruitment is based on universalistic, achievement. The rural administration has district authority at the top and panchayat at the bottom, the middle functionary is block level authority. A parallel body of political institution in the form of elected representative runs along the bureaucratic lines of rural administration.

However the in depth study of issue in the failure of bureaucracy in implementation of the policies and plans shows that bureaucracy is not solely responsible for the poor implementation of the plans and programme. However in the context of developing democracy this has undergone many changes. The

political class plays predominant part in formulation of policies. It is the traditional duty of the bureaucrats to make available their political chief all the information and experience at the time of formulation of policies or implementation of plan. But involvement of bureaucracy in policy formulation is real even when policy is directly formulated by political executive. Enunciation of details at various levels in field and in actual execution remains in the hand of bureaucracy.

There is wide gap in the policy formulation and implementation of plan. It may be noted that the assumption that once the policy has been formulated it will be implemented. Its not true in developing country like India. "Government in developing nation tend to make broad sweeping policies and plans and bureaucratic organization often lacks the capacity for the implementation, lack of qualified personnel's, insufficient opposition to policy , rampant corruption etc. While in western nations policies tend to be incremental in nature, in developing nations they are ambitious, sweeping, designed to bring about developmental and social reform creating new pattern of acts and institutions and in the process of generating tension both within and between the categories of idealized policies and plans".

In India growing awareness and concern had been expressed by politician, planner and public about 'implementation gap', the difference between planned goal and policies and their achievement and implementation. This has obtained particularly in respect to plan implementation, where major problem has been reaching targeted goals in set time. Part of problem has been faulty planning and insufficient coordination between planning and implementation which seems to operate in an atmosphere of undeclared conflicts. There are many intervening variables that contributes to implementation gap like lack of research and relevant knowledge about the development process and shortage of managers and administrators for developmental tasks, no new institutional form which could be

related more appropriately to developmental projects and other intervening variables with social and political forces. Perhaps the most important intervening variables between developmental plan and their implementation is bureaucratic machinery whose function is to translate goals into action. It has been argued that despite the relative effectiveness of bureaucracy in India in areas of policy execution and implementation, traditional bureaucratic structure and process is incompatible with implementation of developmental task.

These issues gives the real issue on hand, i.e red tapism and bureaucratic inefficiency which has almost become so much known that bureaucracy has started carrying negative connotation for lay man. Corruption is one of the significant manifestation of bureaucratic dysfunction. Till date panchayati raj has not become autonomous organization. Bureaucratic compulsions of target fulfillment have oriented administrator to pay attention to target and promote and foster popular participation in decision making. There is role confusion and lack of coordination among political leaders. Certain bureaucratic procedure are unsupportive to efficiency and there is no incentives for initiatives and efficiency. There is over emphasis on routinization. There is lack of motivation among the bureaucrats. As pointed rightly by Chaturvedi that, administration at block level and PRI is overstaffed leading to inefficiency. Misuse of public money is found. The areas of action are vaguely demarcated among block and panchayat level officials causing corruption to creep in.

For instance, when we see the role of bureaucrats in the implementation of the programme of MNREGA we see that there was delay in by the bureaucrats which had created uncertainty in income of rural poor households and has significant impact on the credibility of the programme. The labourers who preferred to stay at villages preferred to migrate to urban and the semi urban areas. The people were not made aware of the programme by the bureaucrats and also not trained enough to appreciate the work norms and work measurement for wage

payement . The bureaucracy was both unmotivated and corrupt. The main deficiency was lack of adequate administrative and technical manpower at the block and the gram panchayat level. The lack of manpower and the inefficient bureaucrats affected the preparation of plans, scrutiny, approval and monitoring and measurement of works and maintenance of records at the block and Gram Panchayat level. Beside affecting the implementation of the scheme and provision of the employment, affected the transparency and made it difficult to verify the provision of legal guarantee of 100 days of employment of demand. Planning was inadequate and delayed by the bureaucrats which resulted in the poor progress of works.

System of financial management and tracking were deficient with numerous instances of diversion and misutilization and delay in transfer of state share. Monthly squaring of account at different levels and transparency was not done properly. Maintenance of record at block and Gram Panchayat levels was extremely poor and status of monitoring, evaluation and social audit was not satisfactory. The documentation and procedural requirements of MNREGA of often he make it an unattractive proposition as compared to other schemes where financial leakage in the administrative process of planning, implementation and measurement of payment among the bureaucrats is marked with poor attention to quality and poor attention. The official machinery at the district, taluk, village level were not properly equipped with staff and material for proper implementation of the programme .There was no organized capacity building exercise to equip the official at both district and village level to understand its nuances .

But performance of bureaucracy in the state of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh was more than satisfactory, the corruption levels at all administrative level has significantly reduced and there was no sign of contractor or middleman regime. The participation of women, SCs, STs was seen on the large scale.

Awareness, enthusiasm among the bureaucrats and use of information technology are the key factors in the implementation of the programme in these states.

However, during the time of crisis bureaucracy has more critical role to play which for a rule bound organization may find difficult to deliver bureaucracy structure on the line of the ideal type of bureaucracy would definitely minimize efficiency. For instance, in case of Godhra & post Godhra riots, the beginning, the middle & the end all have been from bad to worse, the incident, though massive & very disturbing in itself was allowed to go out of control. Infact many expert say the disturbance was shocked and intensified by the state co-operative itself. As we saw the deposition made before the chairperson & members of NHRC. Make it abundantly clear that political executives actively intensified the passion of the people and push them to the conflagration; while the senior government officers either stood silent or facilitated the assets powered by passion, hatred prejudice, Bureaucracy surrendered itself to the ensurity of the challenge. Instead of taking it head on. It is not that Bureaucracy was inherently incapable of preventing & controlling such an onslaught of mob activity and blood bleeding rather it choosed not to exercise its authority and capability. The excuse was that the riot was an spontaneous act of a large number of people of it was not possible for the enlisting system and apparatus of the state to tackle it.

However, such an argument has been depreciated by the experts of sociology and internal security. It is also important to note that it was suggested that the Indian Army may be called to enforce order, as the law & order situation had completely proper citizen. However the political executive of the state denied permission for alternation of Indian armed forces. Similarly the central paramilitary forces sent to Gujarat to assist the state police in maintenance of law & order were all deployed in the field & the situation was deliberately allowed to detoriate and all these resulted in massive loss of life and property. Thus in case Gujarat riots the failure of Bureaucracy was absolute. Bureaucracy failed to

exercise its authority, it buckled down under the political pressure, it was made to do what was unconstitutional and against the law. When the situation arose when it could have proved its loyalty to law and constitution of India, it failed to do so.

From time to time bureaucracy has indeed risen to deliver the goals at the time of crisis. In the Mumbai attack case, the threat & challenge was allowed to prevail and cause massive assault on Indian though the management and post incident steps somewhat show a better response of Bureaucracy. During the crisis the terrorist were killed and flushed out from their places of hiding this was done with urgency, strategy and precision. The scale of damage that terrorist had the potential to cause was kept to the minimum by quick and appropriate response from law enforcement agencies and Bureaucracy. The three days crisis at Taj Mahal Hotel where the maximum number of people were killed was also by in large managed effectively the attackers were confined and there capability to cause damage was neutralize. Post incident analysis of the attack was do not findings of the study was brought out for the security apparatus in particular & public in general to know the factors which allowed such a massive incidence to happen & cause a national level crisis.

However, we ask whether we learned anything from the crisis or taken any preventive measures, one can safely conclude that Bureaucracy has done a little to inspire confidence. The Pradhan commission which was constituted and mandated to enquire into the attack and suggest measures to prevent and manage has come out with several valuable recommendation for enhancing the capability of internal security apparatus but nothing much have been achieved in the direction of their realization. Therefore, in the case of Mumbai attack the happening and the solutions to such incidence have been a point of dismay, while the management of the incidents itself have been commendable. Thus , we see that the role of bureaucracy is satisfactory whether it is in the field of scheme formulation or at the time of incidence of crisis. Thus, the social, economic and political

transformation of developing countries like India is inconceivable without massive and direct participation of bureaucrats and the proper functioning of the bureaucracy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashokvardhan, 2006. "Socio economic profile of Rural India." Concept publication, New Delhi.

Balkrishnanan, 2008. "Social development in independent India: Palth trends & roads Ahead" Dorling kinderley Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.

Benard C.P , 1957. "The functions of the executive" Cambridge, Massachusetts Harvard University Press

Berger, M, 1957. Bureaucracy and society in modern Egypt." Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Bhambri, 1971. "Bureaucracy and politics in India." Vikas Publication, New Delhi.

Bhatt Anil ,1979."Colonial Bureaucratic Culture and Development Administration : Portrait of an Old-Fashioned Indian Bureaucrat", Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics.

Bhattacharya Sabyasachi and Vohra N.N, 2002. " Looking Back: India in the Twentieth Century", National Book Trust, India.

Blau, P. M,1963." The dynamics of Bureaucracy." Chicago University Press, Chicago.

Blau,Peter,1956. "Bureaucracy in Modern Society.",Random house, New York.

Brainbati, R. S Spengler J. J, 1963. "Administration & economic development in India." Duke University Press, Duke.

Brass R. Brass, 2003. " The production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India", Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Chanda Ashok, 1960. "Indian Administration." George Allan & Univin Ltd, London.

Chaturvedi, H.R, 1977, "Bureaucracy & local community: Dyanauirs of Rural Development." Allied publishers, Delhi.

Chitkara M.G,1994. "Bureaucracy and Social Change". Ashish Publishing House,New Delhi.

Crozier, Michel,1964. "The Bureaucratic Phenomenon", Chicago: University Of Chicago.

Chande,M.B,1997. "The Police and the State",Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi.

Chattterjee Partha 1998. "State and Politics in India" ,Oxford University Press, Mumbai.

Das,S.K,2010. "Building World Class Civil Service:For Twenty First Century India". Oxford University Press,New Delhi.

Dev Mahendra,2010, Inclusive growth in India: Agriculture, poverty & Human Development." Oxford University Press.

Dorrientos Hulme, Stewart, 2010. "Social protection for poor and poorest concept & politics." Palgrave Machillian oxford.

Dreze, Jean,2002. "India, Development and Participation", New Delhi, NY: Oxford University Press.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen. (1995), The Political Economy of hunger: Selected Essay, Oxford: Cladendon Press.

Etozoni, A ,1961. "Comperative analysis of complen organization" Glencoe Free Press, Allied Publishers, Delhi.

Etozoni A ,1967." Complex organization", New York.

Etozoni A,1964. "Modern organization." Englewood cliff, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.

Engineer Asgharali,2003. "The Gujarat carnage",Orient Longman,New Delhi.

Finer Herman, 1961. "The Theory and Practice of Modern Government".Methune ,London.

Frederich A. Ogg,1947. "English Government and Politics,Macmillian". p. 202.

Gaudier, A.W,1954." Pattern of industrial Bureaucracy." The free press, Glencoe, Illinois.

Ghate,Chetan,2012. "The Oxford Handbook of Indian Economy," Oxford University Press.

Goel,Rajneesh, 2009. "Panchayati Raj in India: Theory and Practice",Deep Publication.New Delhi .

Gompalhy, Palanithuri 2011. "Globlization & Rural Development" concept publication, New Delhi. Hardgrave L, Kochanek A. Stanley (20080. "India Government & politics in a developing nations." Thomson Publication, USA.

Hirway, Indira and Terhal P,1994 . 'Towards Employment Guarantee in India: Indian and International Experiences in Rural Public Works Programme', Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, New Delhi.

India Year Book ,2010. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

John C., Ed. C. De Jesus, Maru M Rushikesh , 1986. "Beyond bureaucracy: strategic management of social development.". Kumarian press.New Delhi..

Jonathan Bay, 2008. " Promoting financial inculsion: lessons around the neored in New Delhi vistas in financial services." Mac Kinley & Company.

Joseph, M, 2008. "New government paradigm: Issue in development." Kalpaz publication, New Delhi.

Kiran Asha ,2011, "MNREGA: A rural revolution, "Sunshine Publication, New Delhi

Kohli, Atul, 1987. " The State and Poverty in India: Politics of Reform", Cambridge University Press.

Koziol, Holle, Ringold, Srinivasan, 2011. "Citizen & Service delivery: Ascending the use of social accountability approaches to development", World bank, Washington, DC.

Kuldeep Mathur, "Bureaucracy in India; Development and Pursuit of Self Interest", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. xxxvii (1991), p.636.

Lee & Odugbeni ,2011. "Accountability through public opinion from Austria to Public Action", World bank, Washington, DC.

Levy and Mehra,2011 "The Police, State & Society:Perspective from india and France",Dorling Kinderley,Pearson.

Mason Philip ,1985. "The Men Who Ruled India".Rupa Publication,New Delhi.
Mommsen, Wolf Gang,1930. The Age of bureaucracy: Perspective on Political Sociology of Max Weber, Oxford: Blackwell.

Mathur, Kuldeep,2009. " From Government to Governance: A Brief Survey of the Indian Experience, India: National Book Trust.

Marx,K, Engels, F. "Colonism." Foreign language publishing House, Moscow.

Mathur, H.M. (ed), 1976," Development Administration in Trisal Area." The HCM State Institute of public administration, Jaipur.

Mathur, K,1972. "Bureaucratic response to development." National Publishing House, Delhi.

Merton, R.K,1963, "Social theory & social structure." The free press Glencoe.

Merton, R.K & et (al)(ed.), 1960. "Reader in Bureaucracy." Free Press Glencoe, Illinois.

Mishra B.B, 1970. "The 'Adminlstrative History of India",Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Mukharji,Nirmal,2000. "Restructuring Bureaucracy:Do we Need the All India Services?",in Balveer Arora and Beryl Radin (eds),The Changing role of All India Services:An Assessment and Agenda For Future Research on Federalism and All India Services. A CASI, UPIASI,CPR publication. New Delhi.

Oommen T. K. ,2008. "Reconciliation in Post-Godhra Gujarat: The Role of Civil Society", Dorling, Kinderley.

Panandiker and Kshirsagar,1978. "Bureaucracy and Development Administration",Centre for Policy Research,New Delhi.

Pant and Gupta,1990. "Bureaucracy Development and Change, Contemporary Perspective".Segment book distributers, New Delhi.

Parson, T,1960. "Structure & Process in Alodera society." Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

Planning commission, 2009. "A hundred small steps." Report of committee on financial sector." Govt. of India, sage publication, New Delhi.

Prasad G.K,1974. "Bureaucracy in India , ASociological Study" .Sterling Publishers ,New Delhi.

Raman,B,2009."Mumbai *26/11*:A Day of Infamy", Lancer Publishers, USA.

Raoke, Birner, Shekhar ,2010. " How to overcome the governance challenges of implementing MNREGA: Insight from Bihar using process influence mapping.

Singh Anupama, 2006. "Bureaucracy at Grassroot level".Kanishka Publishers,New Delhi.

Singhi,Narendra Kumar,1974. "Bureaucracy:Position and Persons". Abhinav Publication,New Delhi.

Scott, C.James, 1998, "Seeing Like a State", New Haven and London: Yale University Press

Singh, Yogendra,1994, " Modernization of Indian Tradition", Rawat Publication, New Delhi.

Singh, Yogendra,1997. "Social Stratification and Change in India", Manohar Publication, New Delhi.

Singh, Yogendra,1978. "Essay On Modernization in India", Manohar Publication,New Delhi.

Singhi,Kumar, Nagendra,1974. "Bureucracy , position and persons:role, structure and value orientation of Bureaucrats in Rajasthan", Abhinav Publication,New Delhi.

Schmidt, Shelley, Bardes ,2009. "American Government Politics Today",Thomsons, USA.

Strauss, E ,1961. "The rulling Servants." George Allen & Orevin, London.

Tacold, CoE,1960. "Policy & Bureacuracy,Princeton D.Vas Nostrend Co. Princeton, New Jeresy.

Hirway and Terhal P ,1994. " Foreword to Towards Employment Guarantee in India", Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Weber, M ,1968. "The Theory of social and economic organization". A.M. Henderson & T. Parson, NY Press.

Weber, Max 1909. "Economy and Society: An outline of Interpretative Sociology", Oxford University Press.

Wilson,James,1989. "*Bureaucracy*: What Government Agencies Do And Why They Do It". Perseus Books,USA.

Wilson,James,1979 "Varieties of Police Behavior: The Managementof Law and Order in Eight Communities". Perseus Books,USA.

Verghese,B.G, 2010. "Witness to the Making of Modern India", Thomsons Press, New Delhi.

ARTICLES:

Ahluwalia, M.S, 2000. "Economic Performance of States in Post-Reforms Period", Economic and Political Weekly, Vól. XXXV, No. 19, pp. 1637-48

Arvind Singh Bisht, " Rural employment: No guarantee yet", Times of India, 19 February, 2006

Bending, R. 'Bureaucracy' in David sills (ed.), International Encyclopedia of social science, Volume II, USA Mac Millian & Free Press.

Blau, P.M, 1957. " Formal Organization Dimensions' of Analysis ." American Journal of Sociology, Volume 63.

Bipin Chandra, "Leare Marn, his theories of Asian Society & Colonel Rules.' C.H.S. JONU, New Delhi.

Chaturvedi, T.N. "Tension in Panchayati Raj." Relation between officials and non-officials. EPW Volume XVI, No. 22.

Development Report ,Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 221-23

Deaton Angus and Dreze Jean ,2002. "Poverty and Inequality in India: A Reexamination", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 37, No. 36, pp. 3729-48

"Eight Indian States Poorer Than Africa's 26 poorest", TOI, July 13, 2010.
EPW Research Foundation, 2005. "Institutional Constraints on Government Expenditure", EPW, Vol. 42, No.29, page 170.

Iqbal Narain,1962. " Administrative Challenges to Panchayati Raj institution" IJP ad. Volume 12,

Jhabuala, Renana, 2010, "Targeting the Poor: Clogged Pipe of Bureauracratic Blinkers", EPW, Vol.46, No.26, page 239.

Jithendra V.N. and Vijayanand S.M, 2009. 'Implementation of Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA-Experience of Kerala' 'Mahatma Gandhi MNREGA Design Process and Impact'.

Kapur Mehta,A.A Shah,A.Kumar and S.Bhinde ,2005. "Getting Chronic Poverty on Policy Agenda: A case of CPRC India", A paper presented to ODI/CPRC,London.

Khera, Reetika ,2008. " The Black hole of MNREGA Records", New Delhi: Yojana.

Kurian N.J,2000. "Widening Regional Disparities in India", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXXV, No. 7, pp. 538-50

Mistry, Poulme & Jaiswal, Anshuman, 2007. "Will Mahatma Gandhi MMNREGA Ensure Security against Hunger. A summary report, Disha Ahmedabad.

New Encyclopedia Britanica, IV, C Chicago William Benton, 1943-73, Helan Hemingway Bentwn.

Poverty Estimate for 2004-2005, Planning Commission Report, GOI, 2007. The Hindu, March 28, 2010.

Human Right Watch,(2002). "We have no orders to save You". State participation and complexity in communal violence in Gujrat. New York.

Kannan,K.P,2005 . "Linking Guarantee to Human Development", EPW,15 Oct 2005 :4528-4522.

Krishnaraj,M.,Pandey,D.,2004. "Does EGS require restructuring for Poverty Alleviation and Gender Equality,"EPW, 24 April 2004,pp-1741-1743.

Kar Sabyasachi and Saktivel. S, 2007. "Reforms and Regional Inequality in India" , Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 42, No. 47, pp. 69-77.

Krishnaraj Maitriya, Pandey Diya, et al. ,2004. "Does EGS Require Restructuring for MNREGA, beyond wages to sustainable livelihood, workshop by the National Resource Centre for rural livelihood, conference, Indian Islamic Centre, Nov 21, 2008, World Bank.

New Global Poverty Estimates –"What it means for India", World Bank Report, 2005.

Pankaj, Ashok K ,2008. "MNREGA: Guaranteeing the Right to Livelihood", in India Social Poverty Alleviation and Gender Equality?" Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXXIX, No. 17, April 24-30.

Planning Commission, Government of India, 2008, Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012), Volume-1: Inclusive Growth, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Ravillion Martin, Datt .G and Chaudhari S. 1993. "Does Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme Guarantee Employment', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 251-75

Reynolds N and Sunder P, 1977. "Maharashtra's EGS: A Programme to Emulate?", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 12, No. 29, pp. 1148-49

Report of the Fifth Central Pay Commission (Government of India, Ministry of Finance), Vol. I-January 1997, pp. 252-253.

Scandizzo,P ,Gaiha,R,2009. "Option values,Switches and Wages: an Analysis the Employement Guarantee Sheme in India," Review of Development economics, pp 248-263.

Shrinivasan, Rukmini."No financial crisis impact? India's poor grew by 34mn", TOI, Feb10, 2010.

Singh ,Shiv Raj.(1984), "Bureaucracy and Rural Development",Mittal Publication,New Delhi.

Sridhar, V, 2005, "Empowering the poor." Frontline, Volume No. 22, issued 19 Sep, 16-23.

Shah Mihir ,2004. "MNREGA, "Employment Gurantee sing of transformation the Hindu, Thursday, May, 4.

Singh Nirvikar, Bhandari Lavesh, et al. 2003. "Regional Inequality in India: A Fresh Look", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 38 No. 1, pp. 1069-73

Sulaimani Kamran, Paid just Rs 4 per day under rural job scheme, widow moves Gujarat HC, Indian Express, June 13.

The World Bank, "India Achievement & Challenges in reducing poverty."

The Twenty-Point Programme: Progress Report 2004-2005, Ministry of Statistics

The National Rural Empolyment Guarantee Scheme, 2005,2006. operational guideline. Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Rural Development Govt. of India.

nation with an all-India outlook. The other view, points to the differences between the states and regions, and to the patterns of identification with local political leaders and communities (Radin 2004:4). It argues that the current reality is not all that hospitable to the development of an all-India, national approach, it also points to the fact that the states no longer look to the Centre for leadership. In the contemporary situation, the 'steel frame' argument that is supposed to enable the Indian system to maintain unity and integrity as a nation, transcending cleavages and differences which form the basis for the identity of the states, does not sound convincing In fact, a commentator goes on to suggest that the Indian society would be better served by separate Central and State government bureaucracies" (Mukarji 2000: 191).

David Potter (1998) concluded that the central features of the tradition administration continue. According to him, the content of the IAS tradition was not only the concern of the IAS men and women within it, for it has also influenced the behaviour of other administrators and affected the general character of the Indian state structure as a whole. The civil service in independent India has not merely continued the process driven, hierarchical, rigid, and centralized, nineteenth-century bureaucratic form of governance created by the British but also deepened it in all the key aspects. If at all, the Indian civil service has become even more bureaucratic. The hierarchies are taller now. The outdated, rigid, and cumbersome rules and regulations continue to operate and new ones have been added over the years. The overall result is a regulatory environment and an emphasis on process, which is inconsistent with contemporary management philosophy and acts as a major inhibitor to innovation and best practice (Das 2010:6).

In this context, where does the civil servant fit in? His function is to implement the law. Nehru (2002) opines that, this is regarded by the politician as a check on his power and that check is unacceptable to him. There is consequently a continuous war between civil servants who live up to the democratic concept of the rule of law. For the minister, it is only category 'A' officers who are