BUREAUCRACY IN RAJASTHAN :
AN EXPLORATORY SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

A dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfilment for the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

by

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled

"BUREAUCRACY IN RAJASTHAN: AN EXPLORATORY

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS" by Arvind Kumar Agrawal

is in partial fulfilment for the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of this University. This

dissertation has not been submitted for any

other degree of this University or any other

University and is his own work.

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Date: February 28, 1981
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PROLOGUE

'Bureaucracy' is the concept which has been a major break through in social sciences in the last one century. Ever since Max Weber chose it as a subject of his scholarly inquiry, a host of social scientists have devoted themselves to it.

The enormous size of modern nations and the need of administrate on a large scale is one of the reasons for the rapid growth of bureaucracy. Greater emphasis on social and industrial reconstruction with a liberal democratic polity necessitates not only enlargement of the size of the bureaucracy but also systematic inculcation of changes in the bureaucratic system becomes necessary for the pursuit of goals. Bureaucracy in developing societies, like India, becomes all the more important as the burden of carrying out the developmental change falls on it. The present endeavour is the result of a sociological analysis of the empirical researches conducted on bureaucracy in Rajasthan, especially in the post independent period.

It is beyond my capability to express the gratitude in words, towards my supervisor Dr. M.N. Panini, who has helped me beyond the formal relationship of teacher-student. There were moments of depression and anxiety, it was he who inspired me to carry out this task.

I am greatly indebted to my 'Gurudev' who has been always a source of inspiration and guidance for me all through my life. Infact, he is only responsible for my being in this profession, today. He inculcated the interest for sociology in me . I always found him helpful and kind whenever I was in deep moments of crisis, may it be personal or academic. I am also very grateful to my teacher, Professor. R.K.Jain, Chairman, CSSS, who has always inspired and helped me. He has also encouraged me to grow in sociology. I take this oppertunity to express my gratitude to my teachers, Prof. Yogendra Singh,

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Prof. T.K.Oomen,Dr.K.L.Sharma,and Dr.J.S.Gandhi who have always been helpful to me. I am also thankful to Dr.Ehsanul Haque for his help.

My acknowledgements will be incomplete if I dont express my indebtedness to my friend,Mr Ajay Rajoria,who did all the running around to get the formalities completed.Besides this he was always with me whenever I needed him. I am also grateful to Dr.Aditya Gupta who took painstaking efforts to get my dissertation typed. He was a great source of help to me. I must acknowledge with great indebtedness the help of Mr Aloke Gupta.

I am thankful to my respected colleagues,Dr.I.P.Modi, Assistant Professor in Sociology,University of Rajasthan, who has always been encouraging me to complete this dissertation.

I also feel indebted to all those scholars whose works have helped me in bringing out this analysis.

Finally,I thank Mr N.K. Menon and Mr Gajanan who typed out the dissertation efficiently, in such a short time.

                                   Arvind Kumar Agrawal.

Dated   Feb.28,1981.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Modern society is an organizational society.[1] Organizations including governmental bureau, trade unions, industrial corporations dominate social life. In a way, the modern man can be characterized as an organizational man. He has to learn to live and function in an environment of organizations.[2] Organizations are social units (or human groupings) deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek the specified goals.[3]

Certain types of organizations, especially highly centralized organisations are often called bureaucracies. The term has a pajorative connotation. Bureaucracy is seen as indispensible to any society, be it a totalitarian or democratic one. Indeed as Max Weber (and following him,

1.   Robert Presthus: The Organizational Society, (New York: Knopf, 1962) quoted in Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc. 1964, page 1.

2.   William P. Whyte: The Organization Man. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956.

3.   Talcott Parsons: Structure and Process in Modern Societies, Illinois, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960, page 17.

Peter Blau) views it bureaucracy epitomizes
the modern era. Max Weber regarded that bureau-
cratization is a necessary consequence of
rationality that characterizes modern societies,
be they capitalist or socialist. Indeed accord-
ing to him in socialist societies, bureaucrati-
zation if anything will be even more dominant
because of the absence of markets. In the
absence of a market, the decisions regarding
what to produce, how much to produce and how
to distribute the product necessarily will
devolve on bureaucracies. Peter Blau, however,
regards the bureaucracy as a child of money
economy. He regards the case of China and Egypt
as, however, exceptional.

CONCEPT OF BUREAUCRACY - Max Weber conceives
of bureaucracy as an 'ideal type'. As an ideal
type it represents not a manifestation of the
average attributes that exist in different empi-
rical instances, but it calls attention to its
most crucial features. His ideal type of a
bureaucracy is, however, based on comparative

analysis of historical material. The bureau-
cracy, for Weber, epitomizes rationality.

The core characteristics of any bureau-
cracy are: specialization, a hierarchy of
authority, a system of rules, and impersonality.[4]
Main characteristics of bureaucracy as delinea-
ted by Max Weber are as follows[5]:

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

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

3)   Operations are governed by a consistent
system, abstract rules from and consists of the
application of these rules to particular cases.

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4.   Peter M. Blau: Bureaucracy in Modern
        Society: New York, Random House, 1956,
        page 19.

5.   Max Weber: The Theory of Social and
        Economic Origanizations. Translated by
        Handerson M. and T. Parsons. New York,
        Oxford University Press, 1947, page 331.

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

5)   Experience shows that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization is from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency. The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism can be compared with other organizations in the same manner as a machine to work by hand.[6]

On the basis of the conception of legal authority system which operate within bureaucracies, according to Weber, the following may be said to be in the fundamental categories of rational-legal authority -

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

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6.   From Max Weber; Essays in Sociology (Translated by Gerth and Mills), New York, Oxford University Press (1946), page 232.

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

3.   'The organization of offices follows the
principles of hierarchy'.

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

5.   There is complete separation of property
belonging to the organization and personal pro-
perty of the official.

6.   The official holder cannot appropriate
his office.

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

8.   Legal authority systems can take many
forms, but they are purest in a bureaucratic
administrative staff.

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

1.   The officials are personally free, and observe impersonal official duties.

2.   They are organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.

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

4.   The office is filled by a free contractual relationships.

5.   Officials are not elected but appointed on the basis of technical qualifications. Competence is tested by competitive examination or guaranteed by diplomas.

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

7.   The office is treated as the primary occupation of the incumbent.

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

9.   The official does not own the means of administration.

10.   He is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office.[7]

Through delineation of ideal-typical characteristics Weber attempts to present a universal model of bureaucracy. His emphasis on formal aspects needs a careful examination of the model.

The function of security of tenure, pensions, incremental salaries and regularized procedures for promotion is to ensure the devoted performance of official duties, without regard for extraneous pressures. The chief

7.   Delineated from: Op.cit. Max Weber,
      Theory of Social and Economic Organization
      page 330-334.

merit of bureaucracy is its technical efficiency, with a premium placed on precision, speed, expert control, continuity, discretion, and optimal returns on input.[8] In order to maximise efficiency in administrative decisions personalized relationships and non-rational considerations (hostility, anxiety, affectual involvements etc.) are completely eliminated.[9]

Weber regards bureaucracy as the most efficient instrument of large scale administration which has been developed and the modern social order in many different spheres has become overwhelmingly by dependent upon it.[10] The bureaucratic organization is technically the most developed instrument for wielding power and authority. Under normal conditions, a fully developed bureaucracy reduces the area

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8.   R.K. Merton; Social Theory and Social
      Structure, Glencoe, Ill. Free Press,
      1957, page 250.

9.   Peter M. Blau: Op.cit. page 19.

10.   Op.cit. Max Weber; Theory of Social
      and Economic Organization, page 58.

of discretion for the political master, who
often finds himself in the position of the
"delettante" facing 'the expert' or trained
official who stands within the management of
administration.

SOME CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS — In Weberian
analysis of bureaucracy the positive attain-
ments and functions are emphasized and the
internal stresses and strains of such structures
are almost wholly neglected. Weberian analysis
is a functional one, ignoring the fact that in
course of its functioning new elements arise
in the internal structure of bureaucraćy and
its adaptive forms, that influence its subse-
quent operations.[11] Weber failed to point out
these internal characteristics that inhibit
rational goal achievement.[12] Weber overemphasized

11. Peter M. Blau: "The Dynamics of Bureau-
cracy", Chicago: The University of Chicago
Press, 1963, p. 2.

12. Charles E. Jacob: "Policy and Bureaucracy",
Princeton, New Jersey: D. van Nostrand
Co., 1966, p. 38.

the formal aspect of bureaucracy. Formal
view of bureaucracy alone fails to take into
account the importance of informal organiza-
tions. Informal organizations that the latter
cannot exist without the former,[13] Weber's
approach also implies that any deviation from
the ideal type or formal structure is detri-
mental to administrative efficiency. There is
a considerable evidence that suggests that
informal relations and unofficial practices
often contribute to efficient operations.[14]

Blau also discusses informal organization in
federal law enforcement agency and how it
leads to cohesiveness and efficiency.[15] Such
informal activities are not simple stray
deviations but form consistent patterns which
become new elements of organization.[16]

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13.   Chester I. Bernard, "The Functions of
        Executive, Cambridge: Harward University
        Press, 1948, page 123.

14.   Peter M. Blau: Bureaucracy in Modern
        Society, Op.cit., page 36.

15.   _____: The Dynamics of Bureau-
        cracy: Op.cit., page 50-52.

16.   Ibid. page 3.

Merton discusses bureaucracy, critically highlighting its dysfunctional aspects. He points out to Veblen's concept of "trained incapacity", Dewey's notion of "occupational psychosis" and Warnotte's view of "Professional deformation".[17] Trained incapacity refers to that state of affairs in which one's abilities function as inadequacies or blind spots. Such inadequacies in orientation which involve trained incapacity clearly derive from structural sources. The process may be briefly recapitualated :
(1) An effective bureaucracy demands reliability of response and strict devotion to regulations.
(2) Such devotion to the rules leads to their transformation into absolutes; they are no longer conceived as relative to a set of purposes.
(3) This interferes with ready adaptation under special condition not clearly envisaged by those who drew up the general rules. (4) Thus, the very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general produce inefficiency in specific

17.   R.K. Merton. Op.cit., page 251-252.

instances.[18] Gouldner also deals with the
fourth point in a satiric tone. Interestingly,
Gouldner's study reveals that the apparently
predictable relationship among variables may
be absent, e.g., anxiety concerning promotion,
wage increase or job-insecurity, may encourage
greater productivity, motivation and efficiency
rather than otherwise. This suggests how
apparently non-rational features could also
increase efficiency.[19]

Amitai Etzioni[20] criticizes Weber by
pointing out that it is not the formal rational
legal authority but charisma that is crucial for
the functioning of a bureaucracy. He argues
that: (1) Genuine charismatic leaders emerge
within the established "head" positions; they
reendow the organization with legitimacy, which
means any organization may have bad period
following death or absence of its original

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18.   Ibid. page 254.

19.   A.W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial
       bureaucracy, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free
       Press, 1954.

20.   Amitai Etzioni: "A comparative Analysis
       of Complex Organizations (New York: The
       Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), Chapters
       IX and X.

charismatic founders, but these organizations
do not die. They get rejuvenated with the
emergence of another leader with charismatic
qualities. (2) Weber's sharp distinctions
among the three modes of authority and social
structure is according to Etzioni exaggerated.
Indeed, there are many "mixed" types. For
instance, there were semi-traditional, semi-
bureaucratic organizations in ancient Egypt,
imperial China, and medieval Byzantium in
which hierarchical structures and adherence
to rules and regulations combined with a fairly
diffuse, totalistic status structure, such as
those which characterise modern totalitarian
regimes. (3) An organization might deviate
from being bureaucratic. Peace time armies are
highly bureaucratic. During war, rules and
regulations are waived. Personal leadership
counts more than formal power positions, oral
communications replace written ones. But soon
after the war, armies return to their bureau-
cratic structure. (4) The appearance of leaders
with charismatic qualities is not limited to

the top organization position. Lower-ranking
combat officers, low-ranking priests and
professors in universities occasionally exhibit
a great deal of personal charisma.

Apart from above works, analyses of
Selznick[21], William Whyte[22], Mills[23] have also
suggested dysfunctional consequences of bureau-
cratic organization. Etzioni[24] in his compara-
tive analysis of complex Organizations mentions
the studies of Granick[25] regarding industrial
management in Soviet Russia, of Fallers[26]
regarding analysis of Bantu Bureaucracy, of

21. P. Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots,
    Berkeley: University of California, 1953.

22. William Whyte, Op.cit.

23. C.W. Mills, "White Collar", New York:
    Oxford University Press, 1956.

24. A. Etzioni: Complex Organizations,
    New York: The Free Press of Glencoe,
    Inc. 1961, p. XVIII.

25. D. Granick, Management of Industrial
    Firm in the USSR, New York: Columbia
    University Press, 1954.

26. L.A. Fallers, "Bantu Bureaucracy",
    Cambridge, England: W. Heffer, 1956.

Caplow[27] about Navy, and of Janowitz's[28]

study of combat armies to show that Weber's

model does not fit in the organizations they

studied.

SOME OTHER STUDIES – It is true that the

Weber wrote the epic as far as bureaucracy is

concerned, nevertheless, considerable amount

of work has been done by various scholars on

bureaucracy. A few names have already been

mentioned. At macrolevel, Taylor[29], Elton

Mayo[30], Etzioni and Merton have significantly

contributed. Taylor tried to point out the

practical problems of efficiency, whereas Mayo

conducted studies to examine the correlation

27.   T. Caplow: "The Criteria of Organizational
       Success: Social Force, 32, 1953, pp. 1-9.

28.   M. Janowitz, Sociology and the Military
       Establishment, New York: Russell Sage
       Foundation, 1959.

29.   F.W. Taylor, Principles and Methods of
       Scientific Management, New York: Harper
       and Bros., 1912.

30.   G. Elton Mayo: The Social Problems of an
       Industrial Civilization, Boston:
       Division of Research, Harvard Business
       School, 1945.

between human relations and productivity.
Etzioni has emphasized comparative study of
complex organizations. Etzioni alongwith
Parsons and few others have tried to study
bureaucracy giving a less pejorative, pervasive
and technical sense. Etzioni points out that
often bureaucracy carries a negative meaning
for layman while organization is a neutral
term. On the other hand, bureaucracy specifi-
cally relates and reminds of Weberian model.
In modern society, many complex organizations
have developed which do not possess bureaucratic
features in technical sense. For example,
hospitals do not have single centres of deci-
sion-making unlike typical bureaucratic organi-
zations. Therefore, instead of using terms
like formal organizations or bureaucracy, he
prefers organization as a concept.[31] Parsons
has viewed the organization as a social system,
composed of various sub-types which exist with-
in wider social system.[32]

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31. A. Etzioni: Modern Organizations,
Op.cit., page 3.

32. T. Parsons: "Structure and Process in
Modern Societies, "Glencoe, Ill. The
Free Press, 1960, page 17.

At microlevel also quite a few studies of bureaucracy exist. These studies have been attempts of probing the informal relationships in the bureaucratic set-up. The significant studies are of Gouldner[33], Selznick[34], Blau[35], Bernard[36] and Crezier[37]. Riggs has tried to study bureaucracy with reference to third world countries. In his prismatic model, he tries to present a predominantly agrarian society, diffracted with industrial society, and prismatic with traditional transitional developing societies.[38]

The latest effort in the study of bureaucratic organization is to develop a model which portray the developmental nation-building aspects of bureaucracy in the developing nations.

33. Gouldner, Op.cit.

34. Selznick, Op.cit.

35. Blau, Dynamics of Bureaucracy, Op.cit.

36. Bernard, Op.cit.

37. Michel Crezier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon, Chicago: Tavistock Publications, 1964.

38. F.W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries, Boston: Houghton, Miffin Co., 1964.

BUREAUCRACY IN INDIA -

The present study deals with the bureau-
cracy in the growth of bureaucracy in India,
therefore, it becomes important to understand
the growth of bureaucracy. The modern, rational
form of bureaucratic institutions did not exist
in traditional India. Weber has said that tradi-
tional India did not have a developed socio-
cultural foundation for the growth of rational
legal authority and bureaucratic social structu-
res.[39] But it would be wrong to say that there
were no administrative institutions in India.
In order to grasp the role of bureaucratic orga-
nizations, it is necessary to consider how they
have evolved in India. The growth of admini-
strative institutions has to be understood in
terms of feudal, colonial and modern social
structure. Therefore, it becomes imparative to
discuss feudal society, feudalism and feudal
bureaucracy as concepts.

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39.   Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Op.cit.,
        pp. 416-417.

Feudal society refers to the form of
civilization which is characterized by a closed
agricultural economy and the presence of lords,
vassals and fiefs. In such a society officials
perform their duties for the sake of personal
and freely accepted links with their lords not
because of "the state" or of public service.
In return they receive remuneration in the form
of fiefs, which they hold heriditarily. Another
feature is the manorial or seignorial systems
in which land-lords exercise over the unfree
peasantry, a wide variety of police, judicial,
the fiscal and other rights.[40]

After discussing feudal society, it is
important to discuss feudalism. Feudalism denotes
the type of society and the political system
originating in Western and Central Europe and
there during the greater part of the middle
ages. Marxist interpretation of feudalism refers

40.   The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, volume-
       IV (Chicago, William Benton, Publisher,
       1943-1973, Helen Hemingway Benton, Publi-
       sher, 1973-74), 1977, pp. 115-116.

to a type of society and economy characterized
by serfdom, generally succeeding the economic
systems based on slavery and preceding capita-
lism. It also denotes any political system
where the state is paralyzed by the privilege
of the few and made inefficient by the opposi-
tion of political or economic aristocratic
order. Broadly, most common characteristics of
a fully developed feudal systems may be accepted
as:[41]

1.   A personalized government that is most
effective on the local level and has relatively
little separation of political functions.

2.   A system of land-holding consisting of
the granting of fiefs in return for service and
assurance of future services.

3.   The existence of private armies and a code
of honour in which military obligations are
stressed, and

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41.   J. Prawer and S.N. Eisentadt in Feudalism
quoted by David L. Sills in _International_
Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, volume V,
page 394.

4.   Seignorial and manorial rights of the
lord over the peasant.

Weber defines feudalism as a type of
patriarchal authority. According to him:

"1)   The authority of the chief is reduced to
the likelihood that the vassal will voluntarily
remain faithful to their oaths of fealty.

2)   The political corporate group is completely
replaced by a system of relations of purely per-
sonal loyalty between the lord and his vassals
and between these in turn, and their own sub-
vassals.

3)   Only in the case of a 'felony' does the
lord have a right to deprive his vassal of his
fief.

4)   There is a hierarchy of social rank,
corresponding to the hierarchy of fiefs, but it
is not a hierarchy of authority in a bureaucratic
sense.

5)   The elements in the population who do not
hold fiefs with some political authority are
'subjects', that is, patrimonial dependents.

6)   Power over the individual budgetary unit
(domains, serfs and slaves), the fiscal rights
of the political group of the receipt of taxes
and contributions, and powers of jurisdiction
and compulsions, and powers of jurisdiction and
compulsions to military service are all objects
of feudal grants."[42]

Feudal Bureaucracy - Bureaucracy is not a new
phenomenon. It existed in rudimentary forms
throusands of years ago in Egypt, Rome and China.[43]
The Pharaohs used organizations to build the
pyramids. The emperors of China used organisations
to construct great irrigation systems. And the
first Popes created a universal church to serve
a world religion.[44] Until quite modern times
bureaucracy seems to have arisen as a byproduct
of aristocracy or feudalism or in other cases,
the origin of bureaucracy may be traced to the

42.   From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Op.cit.
43.   Blau: Bureaucracy in Modern Society,
       Op.cit., page 36.
44.   A. Etzioni: Modern Organizations, Op.cit.,
       page 1.

desire of the crown to have a body of personal
servants who may be set off against the apetite
of feudalism. One of the historical conditions
that favours the development of bureaucracy is
a money economy, however, it is not an absolute
prerequisite.[45]

According to F.L. Ganshof feudal bureau-
cracy may be summarized as "a development pushed
to extremes of the element of the personal depen-
dence in society with a specialized military
class occupy the higher levels in the social
scale, an extreme sub-division of the rights of
real property, a graded system of rights over
land created by this sub-division and correspond-
ing in broad outline to the grades personal
dependence just referred to, and a dispersal of
political authority amongst a hierarchy of perso-
nnel who exercise in their own interest powers
normally attributed to the state and which are
often, in fact derived from its break-up.[46]

45.   P. Blau: Bureaucracy in Modern Society.
        Op.cit., page 36.

46.   F.L. Ganshof: Feudalism, London, Longmans,
        Green & Co., 1952, page xv.

In ancient India one gets details of complex systems of administration of the state, city and military organization etc. in Kautilya's Arthasastra; king's counsellors are reported to be organized into hierarchies of competence and power... There were also administrators for tax collection, maintenance of law and order, police, army, record maintenance of income and expenditure, for recording deaths and births in families, for the control of crime, disposal of criminals, and for the administration of finances.[47] In this way, there existed some form of legal authority with a bureaucratic type of structure. It used to be the common conventions or the king's or community chief's discretion which used to rule. Recruitment of officials was based on caste and fimilial lines. There was no distinction between private and public property for the ruling elite. There was a good deal of gap between the ruler and the ruled. The structural elements of administration were loose

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47. Yogendra Singh: Modernization of Indian Tradition, Delhi, Thomson Press (India) Limited, 1973, pp. 141-142.

and not 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.[48]

With the advent of Mughals in India, the
administrative set up underwent some changes, *Kings*
like Akbar, Shahjehan etc. did make organizational
innovations. But there was no in-built mechanism
whereby innovations could have been institutiona-
lized and historical continuity maintained. Admi-
nistration was neither secular nor welfare-oriented
in principle excepting a few cases in Akbar's
regime. In its organizational aspect and syste-
matization depended mainly on the individual
style of the concerned administrator.

Bipin Chandra writes that the "official
positions in the nobility were not heriditary,
though in practice the principle was given atten-
tion in the initial appointment as well as later
promotion. The _Jagir_ holders or nobles constituted

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48.   Singhi, N.K., Op.cit., page 13.

a distinct ruling class though entry into
it was not closed and fresh recruitment was
regularly made from both within and without
the country. It was moreover, an urbanized
class, a factor which further promoted the
conversion of its share of the agrarian
surplus into cash. At the same time, as a
class it was subordinated to royal power".[49]

Britishers initially came with motive
of trade and profit. Later on, fragile poli-
tical situation, lucrative business profits
and vast territory tempted them to colonialize
the country. Bipin Chandra quotes Karl Marx
for his views on the British Rule in India -
"England has to fulfil a double mission in
India: one destructive, the other regenerat-
ing - the annihilation of the old Asiatic
Society, and the laying of the material

49.   Bipin Chandra: "Karl Marx, His Theories
       of Asian Societies and Colonial Rule" -
       (Mimeograph) Centre of Historical
       Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University,
       New Delhi, page 91.

foundations of Western Society in Asia."[50]

"It is important to note at the outset
that this mission is not dual in the sense of
being composed of positive and negative aspects.
Both aspects of the double mission are seen to
be positive. The destructive is also positive
for by "the annihilation of the old Asiatic
Society" it clears the way for the generating
aspects. Both were essential and complementary;
the first was a prerequisite of the second as
we shall see later, according to Marx the nega-
tive features of colonialism lie very much in
its impact on the lines of people in the same
way in which the negative features of capita-
lism do. The double mission, thus has two
positive aspects. One aspect is linked to the
stagnation and immutability of the pre-colonial
society and the other to the capitalist chara-
cter of the colonialising society which would

50.   Marx, K. Engels, F.: "The Future Results
       of the British Rule in India", from
       On colonialism, Moscow, Foreign Language
       Publishing House, n.d. page 77, quoted
       from Bipin Chandra, Op.cit., page 30.

reproduce this character in the colony."[51]

In the articles and letters of 1853,
destruction of the pre-colonial society order
and its changelessness and stagnation is seen
by Marx as the most important aspect of the
role of British rule in India.[52]

For this an efficient and modern admini-
strative structure and institutions was needed
which not only enabled the structuring of colo-
nialism and colonial exploitation, but also made
possible oppression and exploitation of the
peasantry by the non-capitalist landlords,
usurers, merchants and the lower bureaucracy.
In colonial India, a large part of the economic
surplus generated in the economy was appropriated
by the colonial state which spent almost all of

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51. Bipin Chandra, Op.cit., page 31.

52. In fact, Engels has put forward this view
first in "Principles of Communism" in
1847. Through English imports of modern
industrial products, "countries which had
stagnated for millenia, India for example,
were revolutionized from top to base and
even China is now marching towards a
revolution". Marx K. and Engels, F.:
Selected Works, vol. I, Moscow, Progress
Publishers, 1969, page 85, from Bipin
Chandra, Ibid, page 31.

it on the army, administration and the enforce-
ment of law and order. The colonial rule intro-
duced modern methods of commercial, financial
and industrial organization; it introduced an
efficient modern state and administrative
structure including a modern bureaucracy, judicial
system army and machinery for enforcement of
law and order.[53]

The East India Company was established
in 1608. The administrative character of the
company was fixed by the act of Parliament of
1773 which gave the Governor-General and Council
authority to frame, rules and regulations. A
more rational organization of civil service
developed because of the concern of the politi-
cians in Britain to control the possibilities
of accumulation of wealth by the Company's
servants so that "the cornucopia of Indian
patronage should not become the means of dominat-
ing the politics of England.[54] As a result,

53.   Bipin Chandra; Ibid., page 118-124.
54.   Hugh Tinker, "Structure of the British
       Imperial Heritage", ed. Ralph Braibanti,
       Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from
       the British Imperial Tradition, Durham:
       Duke University Press, 1966, page. 54.

Pitt's India Act of 1784 was enacted to provide
for definite scale of pay and other service
rules etc. In 1793, the higher civil positions
were reserved for the 'covenanted' civil service
under the renewed charter of the company. This
was rechristianed as Indian Civil Service and
was regularized by the Indian Civil Service Act
of 1861. These services were once again renamed
as Indian Administrative Services after India got
independence.

The colonial bureaucratic set-up in
India was assigned with task of maintenance of
Law and Order, collection of taxes, formulation
of common law and better exploitation of Indian
resources. The administrators maintained a
supreme elitist attitude. It was an organiza-
tion of stable traditions, exciting work and
high status.[55] The policies were not intended
to encourage development rather to make the
administration more effective. Railways, Post

55. Richard P. Taub, "Bureaucrats Under
Stress", Berkeley: University of
California Press, 1969, page. 14.

and Telegraphs and the spread of education was
also part of their policy meant to administer
more effectively. This led to emergence of a
new culture among newly formed middle class
which was urban, educated and inclined to
western style of life. Certain institutional
changes and formal innovations do bring, in
their processes of operation, consequences which
are not intended. These consequences can gene-
rate new hopes and aspirations which the inno-
vators could have not wished or anticipated.[56]
After independence, the bureaucracy in India
further underwent changes, as the bureaucratic
organization developed by the colonial regime
was found inadequate for carrying out several
tasks of developmental change in the post-inde-
pendent India.

BUREAUCRACY IN RAJASTHAN:

Rajasthan has a history and a socio-
cultural pattern of life which makes it distinct
from other states. The present Rajasthan is

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56.   Singhi - op. cit., page 19.

formed by union of twenty-two principalities
in 1948-49 following India's independence. No
part of the state was under direct British rule
excepting Ajmer. The different regions were
ruled by princely rulers who were, in turn, under
the surveillance of the British Agent.[57]

Rajasthan is located on the north-western
border of India and lies between $22^o3'$ and $33^o12'$
north latitude and $69^o33'$ and $78^o18'$ east longi-
tude. It is the second largest state of the
country with an area of 1,32,147 square miles and
a population of some 20 millions.[58] Administra-
tively, the state is divided into 26 districts,
83 sub-divisions and 195 tehsils. There are
232 Panchayat Samities, 7,272 village Panchayats
and 1,368 Nyaya Panchayats covering 32,241
villages.[59]

57. Lawrence L. Shader, "Rajasthan" in Myron
Weiner, State Politics in India, Princeton,
New Jersey: Princeton University Press,
1968, p. 321-322.

58. Ibid. page 322.

59. Govt. of Rajasthan, Basic Statistics
(Jaipur: Directorate Econ. Stat., 1969),
(a) p. 155; (b) pp. 30-31; (c) p. 177.

The administration of small principalities functioned on the basis of heriditary kinship. Normally the ruler had a Diwan (Chief Minister) who assisted him in day-to-day administration. The source of legitimacy of the power of the ruler was based on (a) conquest in the battles; (b) the principle of primogeniture in succession alongwith the family line. The ruler ruled over his territory in two ways: (i) by direct control and involvement in the administration or delegation of his authority to officials, and (ii) allocation of responsibility and authority to the Jagirdars who, in turn, exercised control over the people within their fixed territory. The source of legitimation of the Jagir authority was based on: (a) succession in family line; (b) grant of the estate by the ruler, formalized ceremoniously in lieu of the recognition of exceptional services rendered.[60]

The administrative structure of each state was indigenous. The British did not take over the

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60. Singhi, Op.cit., page 24.

states for administration, excepting a few on
the grounds of maladministration, but exercised
control over them. 552 of the Indian states
were in different stages of social, political
and economic development.[61] There was great
heterogeneity and disparity in size, revenue,
nature of administration and general socio-poli-
tical awareness. By 1820, all the princes had
been enmeshed in the web of British Paramountry.
The policy of British government towards Indian
states was that of non-interference.

After independence, these states were
merged. Some states thought of regional fede-
ration, some wanted dominion status by declaring
themselves independent. This was emphatically
negatived by then Governor General, Lord Mount-
batten.[62] The Government of India, through
the tactful handling of Sardar Patel and Menon,

61. Ashok Chanda, Indian Administration,
     London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.,
     1960, page. 13.

62. V.P. Menon, The Story of Integration of
     the Indian States, Calcutta: Orient
     Longman, 1956, pp. 76-80.

were able to get the Instrument of Accession and
stanstill Agreement accepted with the Indian
States. The integration of the various states
of Rajasthan was accomplished in 5 stages. The
first was the formation of the Matsya Union in
which the formation on of the Matsya Union in
which the states of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur
and Karauli were included. The second was the
formation of the first Rajasthan Union with
Banswara, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jhalawar, Kishangarh,
Kotah, Pratapgarh, and Tonk. The third was the
inclusion of Udaipur in the above Union. In the
fourth stage, the remaining states of Jaipur,
Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer were included and
the fifth stage was the incorporation of the
Matsya Union with the Greater Rajasthan.[63] It
was on 1st November, 1956 that finally Ajmer,
the centrally administered part 'C' state, Abu
a part of erstwhile Sirohi state, and Sunel
Tappa were integrated with Rajasthan following the
recommendations of States Reorganization Commission.[64]

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63.   Menon, Op.cit., page 251.
64.   Report of the Administrative Reforms Commi-
       ttee, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur: Govt. of
       Rajasthan, 1963, page 7.

Sardar Patel inaugurated the Greater
Rajasthan Union on 30th March 1949 by swearing
in the Rajpramukh and the premier. The admini-
stration of the Matsya Union was transferred to
Rajasthan on 15th May, 1949. Sirohi was the
last state to be merged with Rajasthan.

One can find following aspects of feudal
bureaucracy in Rajasthan prior to independence:[65]

1.   The nature of administration was largely
personal and paternal: Administration in general
was based on oral communications and unwritten
laws. It was based more on personal and perso-
nalized form having several features:

(a)   the kingship was based on heriditary
       principles;

(b)   the recruitment of officials was based on
       familial and caste considerations. The
       officials were appointed according to
       whim, tempered by custom, status and
       personal influence of many kinds. The

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65.   Singhi, Op.cit., pp. 26-28.

rulers selected whom they selected or
confided their patronage, as such powers
of appointment were called to be a rela-
tion. Some official psoitions ran in
certain specific families. The process
of recruitment was divided in two cate-
gories: (i) on combat work, and (ii) on
non-combat work.[66]

(c)   The process of decision-making was based
on officers' own understanding and inter-
pretation of rules. Personality of
officials and ruler largely influenced
the nature of decision. A more or less
personal knowledge of subjects was implied
in administration. This became possible
since the size of the state was small.

(d)   Tenure of officials was not fixed. Offi-
cials remained in office on the pleasure

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66.   G.S. Kewal Ramani - Feudal Bureaucracy:
        A Sociological Study of a former state
        of Rajasthan - unpublished M.A. Disserta-
        tion - 1969-70, Dept. of Sociology, Univ.
        of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

of the ruler. Quite often, the set of
officials changed with the change of
ruler in power.

(e)   The officials were required to look after
personal comforts of ruler and his family.

2.   Administration was power-oriented, autho-
ritarian, strictly pro-status quo and based on
sacred elements. The power structure of the state
was authoritarian and power was totally concen-
trated in the hands of the ruler. Due to power-
concentration and its unguided and unrestrained
use in the absence of good or evil, great stress
was laid on acceptance of order and obediance.
There was no appeal against the ruler. The
rebel individuals were left with only choice, i.e.
to leave the state. This led to exploitation and
tyranny in many cases and benevolence in a few.

3.   Administration had sacred elements: Each
state had its deity which the ruler worshipped
and revered.

4.   Personal life of king was characterized
by luxurious living: The king, being the
supreme élite, patronized art and music. Sera-
glio or "Harem" was a common feature linked
with royal life.

5.   High sense of status-consciousness
of ruler was reflected through various status-
symbols: The crown had the right to regulate
the salutes of the rulers and the right to confer
titles and decorations on them.[67]

6.   The movement for independence was suppre-
ssed by the rulers: Rulers and their officials
opposed and tried to crush the movement for
independence. The participants in the movement
for independence, known as 'Praja-Mandal', had
to undergo great personal sufferings.

7.   Developmental activities and items of
modernity were neglected: The rulers, with
some exceptions, did not attach any importance
to the activities of development. They resented
modernization and innovations. Few of them

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67.   Menon, Op.cit., page.11.

resisted installation of railways in their territory. States in Rajasthan were economically and politically backward as compared to areas under British control. There were no adequate means of transport and communication, no major industry, constant food shortages, an archaic land tenure system and a population whose literacy was less than 10 per cent. Before formation of Rajasthan state, its economy was one of the least developed in India.

The social structure of feudal society largely speaking was based on three fundamental characteristics: i) The social structure was hierarchical and authoritarian; ii) It was ascriptive, particularistic; iii) It had traditional Agricultural Characters.

With the achievement of independence by India in 1947, the feudal bureaucratic system vanished. Really it is the during this post-independence era that the pace of change was set forth through planned induced changes. The nation gave herself a constitution, embodying

the basic values and aspirations of the Indian
society. It aimed at changing the paternali-
stic and agrarian Indian society into a modern
rational technological industrial and democratic
socialistic society.

The principal changes introduced during
the post-independence era can be summarised as
follows- 1. Establishment of democracy. 2. Demo-
cratic socialism. 3. Secularism. 4. Establish-
ment of the welfare state. 5. Five year plans.
6. Industrialisation and urbanization. 7. Demo-
cratic decentralization and community development.

In this way, the growth and development of
the present democratic system of India aims at
breaking the paternal control of bureaucracy
decentralizing administration and fostering
the growth of responsible leadership at the
grass-root level.

THE PRESENT STUDY -

After discussing the concept of bureau-
cracy and its nature and form in India and
Rajasthan, the attempt is being made to discuss
the focus and orientation of the present study.
Some of the major methodological issues shall
also be discussed here.

One comes across ample historical lite-
rature and works in the field of economics which
deal with the growth and working of the system
of governmental administration in various periods
of Indian history. But it has a different pers-
pective and lacks a sociological interpretation.
In fact, very few have attempted to study this
phenomenon from sociological point of view in
Indian context. The present study intends to
review from a sociological point of view various
works done in this field. In order to keep
the scope limited for the present study, case of
Rajasthan state was considered. Rajasthan as
a state came into existence only after indepen-
dence, that too quite later than that. Therefore,

in this study all those empirical studies are
undertaken for review which have be.n done on
the bureaucrat c organization in Rajasthan,
after independence. Disappointingly, it was
found that very few scholars and students have
worked on it. However, whatever material was
found, has been subjected to review. To give
an insight to the study a detailed review of
feudal bureaucracy has been undertaken already
in the preceding chapter. Rajasthan is an ideal
case where feudal system operated till before
independence. One could clearly see the clear
differences between the simultaneously functioning
feudal bureaucratic organization and the colonial
bureaucratic set up which was largely based on
Weberian model. One also visualizes the confli-
cting and overlapping aspects of feudal bureau-
cracy and colonial bureaucratic organization.

In the present study, it has been attem-
pted to analyse the structural differences,
peculiarities and functioning of feudal, colonial
and post-independence modern bureaucratic

organization. One of the major focal points
is the difference of pursuits of these three
forms of bureaucracies. Finally, it has been
tried to analyse and develop a theoretical
formulation for a bureaucratic system that is
committed to development, not merely to main-
tenance of law and order alike or feudal or
colonial bureaucratic set-up.

METHODOLOGY: -

Before proceeding to review the available
literature, it is important to discuss and
clarify the methodological issues. In this
study, empirical works on bureaucracy in
Rajasthan are taken. Three of these empirical
studies are published in book form and two are
edited books containing articles. Apart from
these books, two articles published in journals
and three unpublished dissertations are also
taken.

The aforesaid works shall be reviewed
under the following scheme - (i) concept; (ii)
approach and methodology; (iii) scope - macro/
micro; (iv) area; (v) analyses and conclusions.

These empirical studies are analysed in
the wake of concepts used in them. Because this
is the function of all conceptual schemes: to
specify the factors that must be taken into con-
sideration in investigations and to define them
clearly.[68] Alongwith it what approach and

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68. Blau: Bureaucracy in Modern Society,
Op.cit., p. 34.

methodology has been adopted in these works
becomes another important aspect for review.
At the level of Scope and area, too, it is tried
to analyse the attempt made in these empirical
studies. Finally, the analyses and conclusions
are reviewed and analysed. An attempt is made
to review each work distinctively as well as
comparatively so as to understand a cumulative
picture of bureaucracy in Rajasthan without loos-
ing insights offered by each individual effort.
New areas for further research and limitations
of these studies have been pointed out. At the
end, a theoretical formulation and possibilities
of a bureaucracy committed to development are
explored.

All these studies have used structural
functional approach and excepting two of them
all have used macrolevel research techniques.
The two studies are studied at microlevel through
case-study method. Areas of these studies,
obviously was Rajasthan. The studies of Mathur
and H.R. Chaturvedi have dealt with the admini-
stration at district and block level. The

empirical studies in the form of articles of
Iqbal Narain and T.N. Chaturvedi also deal with
the Panchayati Raj and block level administra-
tion. The two edited books contain articles on
tribal administration and the problem of elite
and development. Kewalaramani's micro study is
a case study of feudal bureaucracy in a erst-
while princely state of Rajasthan (now a district).
Agrawal's study deals with the public image of
bureaucrats in a district of Rajasthan whereas
the study of Menon discusses the problem of
promotions and demotions in an administrative
organization over a certain period.

Following the methodological discussions,
the present review will deal with the analyses
and conclusions of the aforesaid empirical studies.
These analyses and conclusions are discussed in
the following scheme: 1) The social background
of bureaucrats. 2) The formal structure. 3) The
social structure (dealing with the relationships
of bureaucrats with bureaucrats and that of
bureaucrats with politicians). 4) Cultural
structure. 5) Perceptions of bureaucracy (this

includes perceptions, role structure, job satisfaction, job commitment and value-orientations of bureaucrats). 6) Dysfunctions and constraints of bureaucratic organization. This is followed by analyses and conclusions of the present analysis.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF BUREAUCRATS:-

Social background of any individual is responsible for its perception, attitudes, values and behaviour. Every individual undergoes the process of socialization and the process of socialization can be partly understood by analysing the social background of an individual. Hence, for the full understanding of the working of an organization, it would be helpful to know the personal attributes and socio-economic background of the individuals, who form its integral part. Analysis of social background may not be very much significant in the studies conducted in the west, where relatively greater equality of opportunity, social and occupational mobility,

and resources exist. But in a society like
India, it becomes all the more sociologically
significant where forces of caste and kinship
operate in social life and acute disparity in
standard of living and subculture among various
groups and regions exist.

Incidentally, the studies of social
background of bureaucrats in Indian have been
confined to the higher civil service. Trivedi
and Rao were the first to make such systematic
study of the social background of the IAS
trainees.[69]

Empirical study by Singhi[70] shows that
bureaucracy is dominated by the urban educated
officials whose fathers have had administrative
background. Administrative background of
fathers implies lack of generational mobility
in the pattern of career. Urban background

69.   Trivedi, R.K. and D.N. Rao, "Regular
       Recruits to the IAS - A Study", in Journal
       of National Academy of Administration,
       Mussoorie, V-3, 1960, quoted in Singhi,
       Op.cit. page 57.

60.   Singhi, N.K. Op.cit., pp. 55-100.

implies ignorance about rural problems and
lack of understanding about the developmental
work in rural areas which would have accrued
to them, had their early socialization taken
place in that environment. As one of the pre-
conditions for recruitment all bureaucrats have
university degree. More than half of the bureau-
crats were brought up in joint families. Offi-
cials in public bureaucracy in upper rank belong
to higher age-group as promotions are based on
seniority and experience. This implies that
after working for a long period in a particular
way, it may be difficult for the officials to
change their functioning or be receptive to
innovations. Whereas, in private bureaucracy
officials belong to younger age-group compara-
tively. Very few women are found in public
bureaucracy due to prevailing social norms
which still do not reflect equality of sex.
In private bureaucracy, women have not started
taking up jobs. Regional language of Rajasthan
being Hindi, almost every bureaucrat understands
Hindi.

Officials in bureaucratic organizations in Rajasthan belong to different parts of the country, though the number of officials from outside Rajasthan is higher in private bureaucracy. This shows lack of socio-economic development and proper spread of education.

Various studies have revealed that people from lower-middle class have been achieving high positions in administration. According to Bhambhri, entry into the top-line service cadres from lower income groups has led to erosion of socio-economic inequalities.[71] According to Braibanti, the large number of recruits at the upper level from the income group in recent years is a sign of levelling in the service.[72]

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71. Bhambhri, C.P.: Bureaucracy and Politics in India, Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1971, pp. 266-267.

72. Braibanti, "Reflections as Bureaucratic Reform in India", in Braibanti and Spengler (eds.) Op.cit., page 54.

Mathur,[73] who studied Block Development Officers (BDO) of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, found that most of BDOs were in the age-group of thirty. They came from rural background and most of them are from higher castes. Inspite of this rural orientation, they have an urban bias in their aspirations of the future. This shows their indifference or lack of commitment for rural areas. Their fathers came mostly from rural occupations and do not exhibit great contact with the urban areas. They are all educated in Hindi medium inexpensive schools. There does not reflect any sign of elitism in their character. This is how one can understand the difference of social background between higher civil officials and Block Development officers.

In his study, Chaturvedi[74] points out that the fathers of officials were educated and were engaged in white collar jobs. In his study of district and block level officials, he also

73.   Mathur, K. Op.cit., pp. 65-75.
74.   Chaturvedi, H.R., Op.cit., pp. 51-68.

confirms the Mathur's conclusions that district
officials came from better off families compa-
red to block level officials. Most of the offi-
cials were young and sixty per cent of them
belonged to higher castes. The district officials
were much exposed to city life as compared to
their block counterparts.

The individuals actors are called upon
to perform in situations defined institutionally
but the role performance depends much on how the
roles are perceived. This perception of role is
by and large related to the social background of
the individuals.

FORMAL STRUCTURE -

The formal organizational structure of
any organization provides the basic framework
of norms and values within which the role incum-
bents have to interact to achieve the desired
goals. It defines the roles of the various actors
lays down the normative behaviour standards and
mechanism for enforcing them through the system

of reward and punishment. It directs the dis-
tribution of functions and interrelations between
the different segments; complements the decision-
making procedures and, prescribes the limits
within which the administrative organization, its
components and sub-structures are to function.

In order to understand the formal structure
of bureaucracy in Rajasthan, it would enhance the
insights, if its form is viewed in pre-British
India and British India. During pre-British days
and British days, in the princely states the
state apparatus was divided into: 1. Judiciary,
2. Army, 3. Police and Police and revenue depart-
ment. There was no well developed judiciary
system marked by the absence of specific codi-
fied law. The judicial decisions much depended
upon arbitrary, discretionary functioning of the
officials. Therefore, it varied from person to
person. Army and police were not a singular,
developed department in that state in pre-British
period. The troops were maintained by the nobles
or 'Jagirdars' and in case of emergency these
were supplied to the king. Revenue was one of

the responsibilities of Jagirdars.   The taxes
were mainly land tax and land produce tax.[75]

In modern, rational form of bureaucra-
tic organization, the bureaucrats are personally
free and subject to authority only with respect
to their impersonal official obligations but in
the princely states the officials were not perso-
nally free.   In contrast to Weberian formal,
rational-legal authority it was the person who
enjoyed the authority not the office.   The recru-
itment in the feudal bureaucracy was largely
based on two bases: 1) Combat Service; 2) Non-
Combat Service.   The recruitment was dependent
on the familial and caste considerations, although
some evidences are found that during Mughal
period the officials were not recruited on
heriditary basis.[76]   Nevertheless, most of the
recruitments were made on ascriptive particula-
ristic considerations.   In that period, the
remuneration to the officials was not made strictly

75.   Kewalramani, G.S., Op.cit.
76.   Bipin Chandra, Op.cit.

in cash but also in kind, land and other valuables. Quite often, it was not fixed. There was no fixed scheme of promotions, rewards and punishment, rather it used to vary from time to time, person to person and according to superior officials' mood. There was no general, regular promotion scheme rather it was on the pleasure of the king. The state used to have sacred features like state deity, state religion and state idols etc.

After independence, the administrative organization was restructured. In October 1946, it was decided to constitute the Indian Administrative Services. Recruitment to Indian Administrative and Allied Services is based on competitive examinations conducted by Union Public Service Commission. The IAS Officials top state and central administrative set-up. On the same lines, Rajasthan Administrative and allied services was set up. The recruitment takes place through competitive examinations conducted by Rajasthan Public Service Commission. According to the Rajasthan Civil Service Rules, 1950, the various

services in Rajasthan have been classified
into four categories: (1) State services;
(2) Subordinate Services; (3) Ministerial Ser-
vices; (4) Class IV services. The candidates
for aforesaid examinations must be minimum
graduates. In almost all services there is
a provision for appointment by way of promotion.
This is done on the basis of merit and partly
on merit-cum-seniority criterion. The promotion
quota varies from one service to another.

There are thirty five pay scales in the
Government of Rajasthan. Every employee gets
a basic salary along with a dearness allowance
which is linked with the index number.[77] This
basic salary runs in a pay-scale and has annual
increments. A government servant retires at the
age of 55 years and in case of IAS officers, it
is 58 years.

The State Capital is the main headquarter
of the administrative organization. The district
is the main field unit, where the collector

77.   Rajasthan Pay Commission Report, Jaipur;
       Cabinet Secretariat, Govt. of Rajasthan.

plays an important administrative role.[78]

The file seems to be the unit of work in all government offices. Heads of Departments usually issue directions and guidelines to the subordinate officials. The government delegates powers to the heads of the Departments in respect of administrative and financial matters. Accounts are annually audited.[79]

Chaturvedi in his study of district and block level officials in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh points out that there are three broad categories of functions of Panchayats:[80]

1.   They must provide municipal services such as repair, maintenance and cleaning of roads, public wells, ponds, tanks and drains, drinking water, street lights, health and educational facilities.

2.   They must manage and undertake the promo- tional, and the developmental functions (initially

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78.   Ibid.

79.   Singhi, N.K., Op.cit., pp. 37-54.

80.   Chaturvedi, H.R., Op.cit., pp. 69-85.

they were part for the community development
programme, and mainly prepared and executed
production plans).

3.   They must carry out certain ad-hoc tasks
allotted by the state government from time to
time, which may include assistance in census which
operations, collection of statistics etc.

        Panchayat elects the Chief, the Sarpanch.
He is an ex-officio member of the Panchayat
Samiti. The Panchayat Secretary and the Gram
Sevak assist the Sarpanch in administration.
Panchayat secretary is appointed on part-time
basis, by Panchayats to do clerical work. The
Gram Sewak is the multi-purpose worker, who serves
all the development departments by carrying out
their programmes to the villages, and communicat-
ing the needs of the people and their responses
to the various programmes. He is accountable
to sarpanch on the one hand and to the Block
Development Officer and Extension Officer. On
the other, at the Samiti level. He belongs to
Rajasthan Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad
Services.

The Panchayat Samiti consists of all the Sarpanchas, who are ex-officio members, members of the State Legislative Assembly (MLAs) and co-opted members, which have a tenure of 3 years. It has Panchayats under its control and is the main executive body and is responsible for implementing community development and production programmes. The President of the Panchayat Samiti is called the Pradhan. He is elected by an electoral College consisting of all the members of the Panchayat Samiti and all the Panchas of the gram and Nagar Panchayats falling within the area. Besides, the Pradhan, the college also elects a deputy pradhan or Up-Pradhan. The Pradhan has administrative control over the BDO and his admi staff and approves the confidential reports submitted by the BDO before sending to the collector.

To help the Panchayat Samiti, three Committees are statutarily prescribed in the Act:[81]

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81. Ibid., page 73.

1)   Production Programmes - including agri-
culture, animal husbandry, irrigation, coopera-
tion, cottage industries;

2)   Social Services - including rural water
supply, health, sanitation, education, gramdan
and communication, and

3)   Finance, Taxation and Administration.

The Block Development Officer is the
officer in-charge of the Panchayat Samiti. Now
he is called Vikas Adhikari. RAS Officers are
sent as BDOs.

The following is the formal structure of
the Panchayati Raj.[82] At the top there is
District Collector and next to him is Deputy
District Development Officer and then there are
District Level Departmental Officers. Following
district there is a Block level set of officials.
At block level there are Vikas Adhikaris (RAS
Cadre) and to assist them there are Extension
Officers, specialists in different fields
(Agriculture, education, public works etc.).

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82.   Chaturvedi, T.N.: Op.cit.

Below the block level there follows the Panchayat level and there are Gram Sewaks and Gram Sewikas, and other staff members of the Panchayat. At political level to coordinate the officials there is a set of political leaders – at district level there is a Zila Parishad where Zila Pramukh presides it. The Zila Pramukh are elected by Pradhans of various Panchayat Samities. At Block level, there is a Pradhan and at Panchayat level there is a Sarpanch who is elected by Panchas.

Hierarchy in Public Bureaucracy (Non-Technical)₽
Secretariat[83]

```
                    Chief Minister──────────────┐
                    (Political Head)         Minister
                                             Minister for State
                                             Deputy Minister
                    Chief Secretary
          ┌───────────────┼──────────────┬──────────────┐
   Commissioner      Secretary      Secretary      Secretary
   or Secretary

   Special
   Secretary
                   ┌──────────────────────┐
             Deputy Secretary        Deputy Secretary

      ┌──────────────┐
   Asstt. Secretary      Asstt. Secretary

   Section Officer

   Assistant or UDC

   L D C
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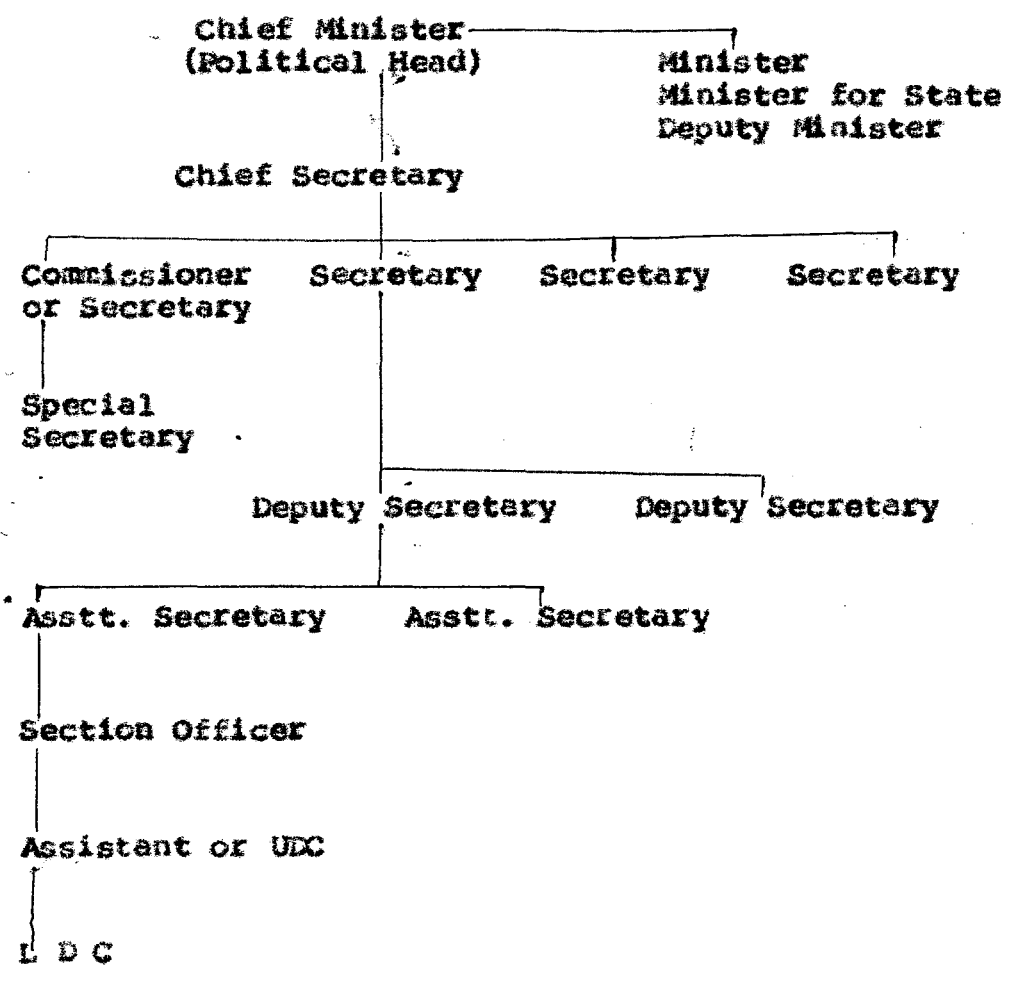
83.   Singhi, N.K., Op.cit., page 51.

Hierarchy in Public Bureaucracy (Technical):
Two Technical Departments.[84]

Agriculture Department
            Director

Joint Director   Joint Director

Dy. Director   Dy. Director

District Officers.

                    Public Works Department
                        Chief Engineer

                    Additional Chief Engineer

        Supttg. Engineer   Supttg. Engineer

        Executive Engineer

        Assistant Engineer

        Junior Engineer

        Overseer

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84.   Singhi, N.K. Op.cit., page 52.
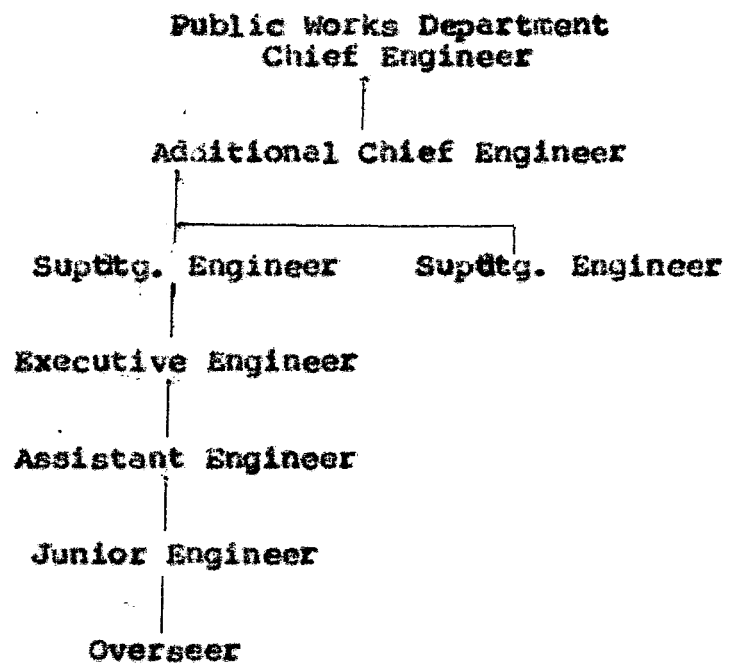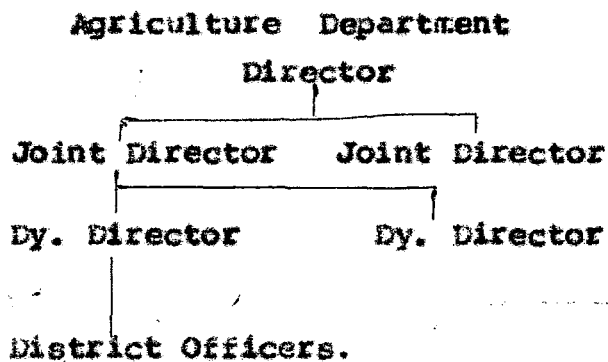
SOCIAL STRUCTURE (Official-Official and

Official-Politician Relationships) -

The pattern of interaction and communi-

cation between bureaucrats is based on well

formulated and defined rules which are meant for

realization of non-personal goals. However,

personalized relationships often develop within

office which are not based or regulated by the

official norms. In fact, Webers' theoretical

analysis has been criticized for dealing with

the formal characteristics of bureaucracy while

not taking care of the informal relations and

groupings which occur in actual practice.[85]

According to Moore, formal structure itself

provides sufficient conditions for the develop-

ment of certain informal behaviour patterns.[86]

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85.   P.M. Blau, "The Hierarchy of Authority in
        Organizations", The American Journal of
        Sociology, vol. 73, No. 4, Jan. 1968,
        pp. 453-454.

86.   Wilbert E. Moore,   Industrial Relations
        and the Social Order, New York: MacMillan,
        1951, pp. 273-293.

Social relationship, based on informal pattern
of interaction, is inevitable in any formal orga-
nization. Recently studies in bureaucracy have
given adequate importance to the aspects of
informal relationships.[87] Informal relationship
emerges due to a variety of reasons and performs
certain functions. Certain types of informal
relationships may be either functional or dys-
functional to the bureaucratic organization.

Since the present study is an attempt
towards understanding the case of bureaucracy
in Rajasthan, therefore, in various empirical
studies shall be analysed here. Starting with
the social structure in princely states prior
to British days,[88] it is found that the king
used to be the most powerful authority in the
state and next to him in the power structure
stood the 'Diwan' (Prime Minister). The social
relationships in the princely state used to have

87.   Gouldner, Op.cit.

88.   Kewalramani, G.S.; Feudal Bureaucracy:
       A Sociological Study of a former State of
       Rajasthan - Unpublished M.A. Dissertation.
       Dept. of Sociology, University of Rajasthan,
       Jaipur, 1969-70.

mainly four types of social relationships in
the political administrative structure of the
State: (1) There used to exist a relationship
between the king and the nobles. This was
marked by the land-holdings of nobles and their
familial, kinship ties. (2) The other relation-
ship existed between various nobles, again
this, too, was influenced by the relative honour
given by the king to the nobles and the socio-
economic statuses. At this level informal
relationship was visible. (3) There existed
a relationship between the king and the officials.
This was largely based on personal likings
and disliking of the king towards his officials.
This was also marked by their nature of work and
hierarchical positions in the administrative
structure of the state. Those who enjoyed the
confidence of the king could be seen having
informal relationship with the king at some or
the other level. (4) This was the relationships
of the king, feudal lords, bureaucrats with the
masses. This varied with the personality of each
person and a few prominent relationships could be
found between these people.

In the case of post-independent bureau-
cratic system informal relationships have been
found operating both within the official situa-
tion and outside the official situation. The
informal relationships are facilitated due to
high particularistic nature of Indian Society.
Identities are sought for, on the basis of
kinship, caste, community, region, religion
and friendship. Reciprocity of relationship
is high among officials of equal status. The
closest friends of bureaucrats were found among
their colleagues. They have highest extent of
paying social visits amongst themselves. Within
the office, informal relationship were found to
provide cathectic satisfaction to the bureau-
crats, which was to be revealed through the nature
of conversation they had. These informal rela-
tionships were found helpful in achieving personal
and non-personal official goals within an admini-
strative organization. Quite often it was found
that informal relationships influenced their
efficiency positively at upper and middle level
of bureaucratic hierarchy. A large number of

officials desired personal-affective relation-
ships among their colleagues. This was quite
often noticed that officials visit other depart-
ments or sections to gets the matters expedited
as informal dealings cut the red-tapism and
procedural complications.[89]

Chaturvedi in his study found that offi-
cials tend to show 'upward deference'. Most
of them did not wish to displease their senior
officials. They were keen to keep seniors
pleased as their relationships with seniors mattered
a lot for their future.[90] In Menon's study it
was found that in an industrial organizations
factors responsible for promotions and demo-
tions of officials depended largely on personal,
social factors. There were quite a few instances
of favouritism and nepptism. Quite often offi-
cials were given promotions out of the way.[91]

89.   Singhi, N.K., Oplcit., pp. 329-330.

90.   Chaturvedi, H.R. Bureaucracy and Local
        Community: Dynamics of Rural Development,
        Delhi, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1971,
        pp. 148-149.

91.   Menon, T., Krishna Das: Promotions and
        Demotions in an Administrative Unit: A
        Sociological Analysis - unpublished M.A.
        Dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, Univer-
        sity of Rajasthan, Japur.

But this was the case with a particular orga-
nization studied over a period. T.N. Chaturvedi
in his empirical study concluded that the Block
Development Officers (BDO) used discretionary
powers and had no direct control or relationship
with the staff of Panchayat Samiti, despite the
fact that he was the head of it. But for these
various political reasons were found responsible
which will be dealt in detail, under the title
of bureaucrat - politician relationships.[92] It
will be pertinent to mention that Mathur's
empirical study keeps silent on official-official
relationships.[93]

In nutshell, it can be said that bureau-
cracy is a sub-system within a larger social
system and is thus influenced by it. The societal
approach of the bureaucracy is grounded in the
twin observation that individuals do not enter

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92.   Chaturvedi, T.N. "Tensions in Panchayati
      Raj: Relations between Officials and non-
      Officials." in _Economic Weekly_, vol. XVI,
      No. 22.

93.   Mathur, Kuldeep: Bureaucratic Response to
      Development, Delhi, National Publishing
      House, 1972.

Organizations divested of life conditions and
that organizations reflect the primary social
forces embodied in the demands of communal
life.[94]

Official-Non-Official (Politician) Relationship-

After independence, hitherto freedom
fighters assumed the role of politicians and
these politicians wanted to expedite schemes of
welfare and development, and break the rigidity
of administration. To achieve aforesaid pursuits
the politicians had to work in close relationship
with bureaucrats. The process of adjustment
between politicians and administrators does not
reflect the realization of appreciative points of
each other. Politicians have become adept in
the intricacies of administration owing to long
and continuous experience in office. Bureaucrats
have realized this and have accepted the superior
legal authority of politicians. There is a
heteromorphic relationship between the two.

94.   Singhi, N.K., Op.cit., page 330.

Political leaders and administrators have a
very low image of each other, this fact shows
that the adjustment is not natural and is not
based on the universalistic goals for colle-
ctivity.[95]   According to Riggs, the extent of
bureaucrat.c involvement in politics is too high
in developing nations.[96]

Bureaucrats consider political inter-
ference to high and negative. The upper and
middle bureaucrats have negative perception of
political interference. They are under great
constraints to accept the interference of the
politicians which operates maximally at these
levels.*

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95.   See, Shanti Kothari and Ramashray Roy:
        Relation between Politicians and Admini-
        strators at the District Level, New
        Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Admi-
        nistration, 1969.

96.   Riggs, F.W.: "Bureaucrats and Political
        Development: A Paradoxical View", in
        Joseph La Palombora (ed.), Bureaucracy
        and Political Development, Princeton,
        New Jersey: Princeton University Press,
        1967, page 121.

*   Singhi, Op.cit., page 327.

Mathur in his empirical study[97] mentions
that the general suspicion of the environment
and intense hostility towards politicians is
marked by a high regard. The bureaucrats do
their level best to get along with their poli-
tical leaders. Except this, this study does not
reflect anything on bureaucrats - politicians
relationships. Chaturvedi in his study points
out that officials and political leaders have
tense relationship, as they have not been able
to identify common areas of work relationship
and to conform to the institutionally prescribed
norms. The ethos and norms aof the participatory
system has yet not been accepted and internalized
by the two sets of actors. Therefore, bureaucrat
and politician both try to work for personal
gains rather than for institutional goals. In-
stead of working in coordination, they consider
each other as impediments in their way of personal
gratifications and in this way become rivals for
gains and opportunities.[98]

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97.   Mathur, K., Op.cit., pp. 92-93.
98.   Chaturvedi, H.R.: Opcit, pp. 144-152.

T.N. Chaturvedi in his article[99] mentions
that officials try to adjust with politicians
for their own career sake, because transfers,
appointments and promotions are generally made on
the basis of group loyalties. Quite often
tensions are noticed between Pradhan (village
chief) and Block Development Officers. These
tensions are caused due to two reasons: 1) Vague-
ness in the demarcation of spheres of action;
2) due to personality factors. Iqbal Narain[100]
has noted that the state level politicians appear
inclined to harass the Panchayati Raj officials
sympathesizing with opposite political parties
than the ruling party sympathizer officials.
Local politics has aggravated factionalism and
has left the Panchayati Raj executives with no
time to devote to developmental role.

Bureaucracy in India, however, is not in-
volved in political policies or the process of
political development but of course, to a certain
extent it is helping elected politicians to retain
their power.

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99.   Chaturvedi, T.N., Op.cit.
100.   Iqbal Narain: "The Administrative Challenge
        to Panchayati Raj", in Indian Journal of
        Public Administration, vol. 12, 1962.

CULTURAL STRUCTURE:

Bureaucracy constitutes a lifelong career and provides certain privileges and powers. Working in an administrative organization has become an occupation, a distinct career which has led to a distinctive pattern of culture and style of life among the bureaucrats. It is believed that an individual's occupation to a great extent determines his way of life.[101] It-is-believed-t This particular category or group has developed a distinct way of life. This way of life can also be termed as sub-culture. Sub-culture is the culture of an identifiable segment of a society.

The Indian bureaucracy at the top is the legacy of both feudal and colonial era.[102] Governmental bureaucracy in British India was the colonial instrument to perpetuate the interests

101. Lee Taylor, Occupational Sociology, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 87.

102. Singhi, N.K.: "The Elite Phenomenon with Reference to the Bureaucratic Elite" in Sachchidanand & A.K. Lal (ed.), Elite and Development, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1980, page 64.

oriented towards continuation of British rule in India and the exaggerated self interests of bureaucrats. Bureaucrats were the real rulers since they were far away from Britain. This reflected in the exclusiveness in character and aristocracy in life style of I.C.S. officials in British India. After independence, I.C.S. was transformed in I.A.S., but not much change could take place in the attitude and structure of Indian bureaucracy. Therefore, this is the reason to find a peculiar sub-culture of bureaucrats in India. The sub-culture of bureaucrats is not that of masses but it belongs to new urban upper middle class. Prior to Independence, I.C.S. officials use to live in palatial houses almost like feudal lords. Membership of clubs, dinner party, and a whole army of servants used to be the status symbols. After independence, I.A.S. officials and other bureaucrats adopted certain aspects of specific items of culture and style of life. These items have been divided into the following categories:[103] (i) Material possession;

103.   Singhi, N.K., Op.cit., p. 235.

(ii) Communication and literacy orientation;
(iii) Recreational activities; (iv) Personal
style of life. Material possessions included
urban land, house, luxury items of household
and autovehicles. Communication and literary
orientation dealt with the language spoken and
type of books and magazines read. Recreational
activities included club going, parties, movies
and other hobbies. Personal style of life
included dress, domestic servants, drinking
and smoking etc.[104]

Empirical study conducted by Agrawal
points out that there is a direct relation of
order of hierarchy of bureaucrat with his stand-
ard of living and inverse relation regarding
religious sentiments. The forms of recreation
adopted by bureaucrats have been regarded as
ostentatious,[105] and deviating from the prevail-
ing social norms.[105] Mathur's and Chaturvedi's

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104.   Ibid, pp. 233-280.

105.   Agrawal, Bhagat Raj: The Public Image of
        Bureaucrats: A Sociological Study in
        Alwar City. Unpublished M.A. disserta-
        tion, Dept. of Sociology, University of
        Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1968-69.

study do not deal with the this dimension of bureaucracy.[106,107]

PERCEPTION OF BUREAUCRACY - (Perception, Role Structure, Job-Satisfaction, Job Commitment and Value-Orientations of bureaucrats) -

It is important to study the individual perceptions in an organization in order to know the extent of the personality adjustment with the organizational requirements. Individual perceptions, if flexible, tend to be amenable to development as development is the capacity to perceive new ways of life. The value-orientations undergo change in the process of developments. Therefore, it becomes necessary to evaluate the extent of absorption of new values. In this chapter, perceptions of bureaucrats in terms of role-perception, role-structure job-orientations are undertaken for the study.

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106. Mathur, K.: Op.cit.
107. Chaturvedi, H.R.: Op.cit.

Bureaucrats do perceive formation of
a typical personality as a result of long and
continuous work within bureaucratic organiza-
tion. In Singhi's[108] empirical study, it is
reflected that stress on formatism and authori-
tarianism in bureaucracy leads to desire for
personal-affective qualities from colleagues.
More than half bureaucrats showed satisfaction
out of their relationship with their colleagues
whereas, only half of the bureaucrats revealed
of job-satisfaction. Job satisfaction was found
higher amongst the upper bureaucrats and non-
technical bureaucrats. There was high satisfa-
ction regarding the nature of work, prestige and
power, whereas there was low satisfaction regard-
ing salary and promotion chances. The upper
bureaucrats found it very satisfactory. Dis-
satisfaction with the nature of work was found
to associated with structural factors. Satis-
faction and dissatisfaction were largely associa-
ted with job-oriented factors and satisfaction

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108.   Singhi, N.K.:   Op.cit., pp. 139-182 and
        281-318.

and dissatisfaction of power were related to
factor of executive efficiency. Greater dis-
satisfaction and deprivation was found amongst
lower officials.

Conservative orientation of bureaucrats
to political values is likely to affect adversely
the functioning of bureaucracy. The bureaucrats
orientation is in contradiction to the goals of
government. Bureaucrats have shown high univer-
salistic orientation with regard to conscious and
ethical self. At the level of projective self
they reveal high particularism. The social values
of a majority of bureaucrats are near modernity,
universalism and achievement orientation.[109]

Mathur's[110] study is concerned with the
self-identification and self-images of the bureau-
crats. It revealed bureaucrats' aspirations
having an urban bias. Bureaucrats showed a
lack of trust in departmental justice and inhi-
bitions within the hierarchy. The officials viewed

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109.   Ibid.
110.   Mathur, K., Op.cit., pp. 65-75.

common people as being parochial and particu-
laristic. Hostility, disregard was found in
their perception of political leaders. The
officials were found indifferent towards demo-
cratic, socialistic values.

Chaturvedi's[111] study revealed a role
conflict, role confusion, low morale, motivation,
lack of initiative and commitment among officials.
Their attitude towards political system and
functioning of political leaders was that of
indifference. They manifested positive, affe-
ctional attitude towards their colleagues. They
were found to be most concerned with their perso-
nal interests rather than with impersonal inte-
rests. Iqbal Narain[112] points out that official
had negative perception of rural life. They
found politicians as the cause of trouble and
inefficiency in bureaucratic functioning.
Their was mal-adjustment between officials and
politicians. Role alienation among officials

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111.   Chaturvedi, H.R., Op.cit., pp. 86-107.
112.   Iqbal Narain, Op.cit.

was also apparent. Agrawal's[113] study points
out that the officials were status-conscious,
power-hungry, corrupt and non-committed to jobs.

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113.   Agrawal, B.R., Op.cit.

DYSFUNCTIONS AND CONSTRAINTS OF BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

Red tapism and bureaucratic inefficiency has almost become so much known that the word 'bureaucracy' has started carrying a negative connotation for the layman. There is hardly any scientific sociological study on dysfunctions of bureaucracy in India.The emphasis on the study of dysfunctions assumes greater significance in relation to the role of bureaucracy in planned social change.The dysfunctions of bureaucracy find expression in varied forms.

Corruption is one of the significant manifestations of dysfunctions of bureaucratic functioning.The empirical The study of Singhi[114] deals with corruption and dysfunctions of bureaucratic organization in Rajasthan. The department of Police,Public Works and taxation were considered to be more corrupt.The department which deals with public tend to be more corrupt.Corrupt practises are considered to be the technically expedient means to cumbersome bureaucratic procedures.Corruption ranges from taking undesirable advantage of the office for personal motives to accepting bribes.

Another aspect of dysfunctions of bureaucracy relates to perception of inefficiency in relation to various factors responsible for it.These factors have been grouped into three types: (a) factors related to personality in which we have included lack of initiative

114.Singhi.N.K. op. cit. pp183-232.

and lack of competence, (b)administrative factors in-
cluding bad human relations,groupism,communalism and pol-
itical interfemence.

Structural deviant factors in relation to dys-
functions of bureaucracy revealed that favouritism,group-
ism and non-rational factors in promotion have a higher
perception.It is supported by the studies of T.N.Chaturvedi[115]
and Agrawal[116].

Chaturvedi[117]in his study mentions that the sub-
structures vis.,the cooperative network,the Panchayat,
the revenue,the agriculture and the cooperative depart-
ments are not fully interrelated and their activity are
not properly coordinated resulting into a situation of
role confusion and rendering certain roles dysfunctional
for the operation of the entire system.Panchayati Raj
has not developed into an autonomous system.Bureaucratic
compulsions of target fulfilment have oriented administr-
ators to pay primary attention to targets than to promote
and foster popular participation in decision making.There
is role confusion and lack of coordination among political
leaders.Certain bureaucratic procedures are unsupportive
to efficiency and there is no ~~initiative~~ incentive for
initiative and efficiency.There is over emphasis on
routinization.The relationship between official and
political leaders is marked by tensions as they have
not been able to identify common areas of work relationship

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115. Chaturvedi,T.N., op. cit.
116. Agrawal,B.R., op. cit.
117. Chaturvedi,H.R., op. cit. pp.144-153

and to conform to the institutionally proscribed norms.

Kuldeep Mathur[118] study found that political
interference is a big impediment in the achievement of
bureaucratic goals. The BDOs have not imbibed the public
service or the democratic exhortations of the political
leaders.Their commitment to the whole ideology is weak.
The BDOs are not job committed.The study points out to
the corruption and lack of inefficiency in the bureaucracy.
It was also found that there is a role ambiguity and
lack of motivation and lack of initiative in the bureaucrats.
Iqbal Narain's [119] points out that the bureaucrats find
rural surroundings discomforting paricularily owing to
the lack of physical and educational facilities.Over
politicization at grass root level has demoralized
and alienated the auministration at the block level.There
is a lack of coordination betweenBDOs and extension
officers.T.N.Chaturvedi's sudy[120] reveals that the

administration at block level and Panchayat level is
overstaffed leading to inefficiency.Misuse of public
money is found.The areas of actions are vaguely demarcated
among block and Panchayat level officials causing corru-
ption to creep in.

118.Mathur,K. op. cit. pp.89-95.
119.Iqbal Narain, op. cit.
120.Chaturvedi,T.N. op. cit.

ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS

The social background of the bureaucrats reveals that
though there are certain universalistic features,predomi-
nantly a certain type of background is homogeneous in
throwing up bureaucrats.Bureaucracy at the top levels
tend to be influenced by the predominance of urban,middle
class,educated officials whose fathers have had admini-
strative background.This reflects that they lack under-
standing of rural problems and rural life.The lower officials
come from the semi-urban and rural background but they
showed a strong urban bias for future aspirations which
implied their indifference and non-commitment towards
rural development and rural reconstruction.Quite a few
of them were brought up in joint families which implies
a strong influence of traditional forces and a sense of
familial obligations has a potential of particularism
in administrative functioning.

Due to merit cum seniority formula for promotion
in public bureaucracy,most top bureaucrats were in the
middle-age group,which means more rigid and routinized
structure of bureaucracy,as long experience of same
procedures render them unreceptive to innovations.Almost
every bureaucrat new Hindi.No corelation was found
between public school and English medium schooling and
selection of officials in top administrative services.

Lack of identification of the bureaucrats with the
rural and illeterate masses and with the common man,
along with a heightenend sense of social and positional
superiority by upper bureaucrats,tends to thwart the
affective implementation of the plane and its various
goals.

As far as formal structure of bureaucracy is concerned one has to see the evolution of the institution of bureaucracy.This has been dealt with in the chapter of formal structure that how bureaucracy has grown from pre-British days to post independent form of organization.One can sum up the growth of bureaucracy :" Bureaucracy came into being when more people were subject to the direction of the leader than can fall within his personal span of control --- as an organization grows in size,it becomes imperitive that some of the tasks of direction be delegated -----.This is the first condition for the rise of bureaucracy,the body of functionaries who play the administrative role."[121] There are plenty of other theories about the sources of bureaucratic growth,some of them are as follows:-

1. Organizational and Legal:+The growth of large armies and large governmental apparatuses lead to hierarchies. These hierarchies tend to specialize,to institutionalize, to formalize,to become bureaucracies.

2. Rationalization and Specialization:- The division of labour and the development of the machinery leads to impersonalize lines of authority and communication.The technical specialists develop procedures and systems then hang on to them as ends in themselves.

3. Psychological and cultural:-The desire for security and orderliness causes individuals to develop or encourage bureaucratic tendencies.

121. Dubin,Robert: Human Relations in Administration.
(2nd Edition) Englewood Cliff's,NewJersey,Prentice-Hall Inc. 1961,pp143

Whatever the biological,psychological or cultural
urges may be,a bureaucracy cannot flourish unless certain
requirements exist.The following have been mentioned and
appear justifiable:(i) Money and taxes. As Weber points out
bureaucration presupposes the existence of a steady
income for the maintenance of the administrative
apparatus.This,ofcourse,requires a stable system of taxation.
Blau has also said that money economy is one of the
prerequisites of bureaucracy. (ii) Law and Order- People
will not obey the rules and the procedures of a bureaucracy
unless they respect law and order.The society must be
a law-abiding one,otherwise it will neither support nor
produce bureaucrats.

In the pre-British and British India the administr-
ation of small principalities functioned on the basis
of hereditary kingship.Normally the ruler had a Diwan
(Chief Minister) who assisted him in day to day admini-
stration.There were a few other officials who were appointed
by the ruler and served during his pleasure.The source
of legitimacy of the power of the ruler was based on
(a)the principle of primogeniture in succession along with
the family lives.The ruler ruled over his territory in
two ways (i) by direct control and involvement in the
administration or delegation of his authority to officials
and (ii)allocation of responsibility and authority to the
Jagirdars who,inturn,excercised control over the people
within their fixed territory.The source of legetimation of
Jagir authority was based on (1) Succession in family
lives (2) Grant of the estate by the ruler,formalized
ceremoniously in lieu of the recognition of exceptional
service rendered.(b) Conquest in battles.

After independence,bureaucracy was restructured to
some extent.The bureaucracy existed at three levels.
I.All India level 2. The State level 3. The Lower levels.
The upper level bureaucracy is exclusive in itself and
entry into upper level of bureaucracy from the lower
level is extremely difficult.Crossing the level of
hierarchy through promotionshas limited possibilities as
the number in promotion quotas is very small.Recruitment
to generalist public services,both at the All India level
and the State level,is based on competiⱷtion.This means
recruitment is based on universalistic,achievment basis.

The rural administration has the district authority
on the top and the Panchayat at the bottom,the middle
functionary is the Block Level authority.A parallel body
of political institutions in the form of elected represen-
tatives run along the bureaucratic line of rural admini-
stration.This some times leads to lack of coordination
between the two,which hampers the process of fulfilling
the developmental requirements.

Among the princely states the relationship among
officials were personal,authoritarian and based on kinship
ties.But in the case of modern bureaucratic organization
it was found that informal relations are prevalent among
bureaucrats.Bureaucrats in post independent India,perceive
that informal relations improve the efficiency.The informal
relationships were found to provide cathectic satisfaction
to the bureaucrats, Personal-effective relationship was
expected from the colleagues.Upper level officials
showed more satisfaction out of colleaguel relationships
than lower level officials. The lower officials tend to show

upward deference.

The relationships with political leaders was not
found to be smooth.Bureaucrats and politicians saw each
other with negative perceptions.The relationship was het-
eromorphic.However the bureaucrats have started adjusting
to the political leadership.At rural level,quite often
lack of coordination was found due to poor relationship
and lack of understanding between the officials and polit-
ical leaders.

The style of life and material possesions of
bureaucrats reflect upon the upper middle class of urban
culture.However,the culture of bureaucrats in India does
not reflect the mass culture.The sub-culture of bureau-
crats has been submerged in the new urban culture.The gap
between masses and bureaucrats continues to persist.This
gap is wider at the upper level of bureaucracy as compared
to the lower level.The bureaucrats at the upperl level
show high job satisfaction and their social values are
near modernity,universalism and achievement orientation.
But at lower levels there is job dissatisfaction and the
officials lack initiative,motivation and commitment.This
is probably due to absence of any proper mechanism for
incentives and rewards.

The lower officials also reflected role ambiguity,
role alienation and frustration.They were found to be
more sore about political intervention.This has led to
syclophancy,favouritism and factionalism.The officials
showed indifference towards the ideology of development
and democracy.They stood for power centralization in

bureaucracy so that the development could take place without hinderances. All bureaucrats revealed an urban bias in their aspirations and showed indifference towards rural life. This meant detachment from rural problems and rural welfare.

The dysfunctions of bureaucracy have been found to be of two types. The over bureaucratization which limits the efficiency. The other is the bureaucratic ills, line nepotism, favouritism, corruption etc. Departments with public dealings were found to be more corrupt, viz., Police Public Works and Taxation. Use of official positions and property for personal use was found high among officials. Groupism, favouritism, political maneouvering are some common evils attached to bureaucratic functioning.

LIMITATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.

After analysing the emperical studies on bureau-
cracy in Rajasthan,it was found that very little work
has been done on it.Much work needs to be done in this
direction.

1. No study has been done from a point of view that will
discuss an organization comitted to development.
2. Very little importance has been given to the inter-
relationship between bureaucracy and political system.
3. The studies have been conducted at the top level or
at the grass root level.But the amount of work done is
insufficient,it needs more excercise to know the prob-
lem at both the levels.No study has been conducted at
the middle level of bureaucracy.
4. There could be a study of political change and bur-
eaucratic organization in the wake of two big political
changes at the center in 1977 and 1980.This would have
given an insight about how best to prevent the adverse
impact of political changes on developmental programmes.
5. There are various fields were bureaucracy pperates,
they need to be explored.eg.educational bureaucracy,
bureaucracy in sports,organization in trade unions,
hospitals and private sectors.
6. Only one study dealt with private bureaucracy.In-
fact,much work has to be done,looking to the fact that
all top capitalists in India hail from Rajasthan.An
exploration in the private bureaucracy could possibly
reveal regarding their reluctance to invest in their
own state.
7. There needs to be a lot of empirical work to be done
specially in fields of development of programmes,eg.
national Adult Educational Programme,Antyodaya Yojana,

Panchayati Raj, Food for work etc.

8. An emperical study can be undertaken showing the co-
relation between these variables in any bureaucratic org-
anization :

I) Aspiration level and achievement; this further related
with the amount of efforts put in to achieve the aspired
goal.(II) Amount of efforts for the aspiration in relation
to achievement.(III)Achievement in relation to job satis-
faction and finally (IV) the job satisfaction in relation
to the job commitment of any official.This is the possible
scale which can be used also relating the rewards and
incentive mechanism with job satisfaction and job commitment.

BUREAUCRACY FOR DEVELOPMENT : A PROPOSAL

Traditional societies cannot accomodate social structures, institutions or values of western societies in their totality. Therefore, the bureaucracy should be transformed according to indigenous culture and needs. Besides this a system may be useful at one point of time in history, from a point of view but it may become inadaptive at a different point when different goals emerge and are emphasized, for example - the bureaucratic organizations developed by the Britishers was mainly responsible for mantainance of law and order and collection of revenue. Such type of administrative structure was inappropriate to deliver goods to the independent India which had a gigantic task of development and nation - building. Continuation of the old structure leads to structural lag wherein the structure of a sub-system lags behind, while new goals and new aspirations multiply. Such structural lag can be considered as dysfunctional to the goals of development and nation building.

To introduce deliberate social innovations on a large scale depends on bureaucratic methods of administration.[122] The western model of bureaucracy is inadequate , the need of the hour is the bureaucracy committed to development. Bureaucratic system is a wider system within which one can have a bureaucratic sub-system meant to encourage and fulfill developmental task. It is not possible to reject the bureaucratic organization based on the weberian analysis, as such. Because to administrate large, complex and mass society, bureaucatic

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122. Blau,P.M. : Bureaucracy in Modern Society,op.cit, p.92.

organization is indispensable.However,one can seek to
find out the required elements for a development orient-
ed bureaucracy.It is discussed here at two levels ,one
is at the theorётical level,seeking to analyse these
characterёstics which differe(in the case of developmental
bureaucracy) from Weberёan analysis.Othereis at the level
where the bureaucratic decisions ,plans are executed.
This will largely include the concrete suggestions
for a bureaucracy for development.

In order to develop a theoretical analysis
for developmental bureaucracy,it becomes pertinent to
discuss the Maoist analysis of bureaucracy.[123]He empha-
sizedea participatory type of involvement. According to
him,the Webarian superior-subordinate relationship in
a hierarchically patterened bureaucratic organization
leaves the lower ranks without any initiative, This only
makes them habitual to mechanically follow the instructions
from the top. The hierarchy and careerism orients
individuals to sychophancy and personalized loyalities
instead of creating organizational cohesion,commitment
towards their roles and elimination of sense of elitism.
Mao suggests comradeship,diffused,collective and parti-
cipatory authority.According to him the superiors must
work together with their hands along side their sub-
ordinates everyday for some scheduled time. Mao seems
to be concerned to eliminate,routinization,red tapism
elitism,role alienation and individualism.

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123. Whyte,Martin King: " Bureaucracy and Modernization in

China : The Maoist Critique ", American Sociological
Review , Vol.38,No2,April 1973

A comparative framework delineated below will
help in understanding the nature of difference between
the weberian and Maoist models.[124]

Characteristics	Weberian Model	Maoist Model
Allocation of Personnel	Technical competence	Political,Technical and humane competence
Authority	Legal-Formal	Diffused add participative
Nature of relations	Formalistic impersonal	Comradeship
Nature of rewards	Differentiated	Differential rewards de-emphasized
Nature of involvemnt	Detached	Political zeal encouraged
Job-orientation	Job security and career	Career orientation de-emphasized
Decision making	Hierarchical and rigid	Collective and flexible.

Looking to the needs of developing society,like India,
there is need for developing ideal typical characterstics
of bureaucracy which would be in consonance with the

124. Whyte,Martin King: "Bureaucracy and Modernization in
    China: The Maoist Critique," American Sociological
    Review,Vol.38.No2,April 1973,p.157 quoted in
    Singhi,N.K.:"The Elite Phenomenon with Reference To THe
Bureaucratic Elite," in Sachchidananada and A.K.Lal (ed) Elite
and Development,op.cit.pp67-68.

socio-cultural realities of the nation.For this following
conditions have to be kept in mind -
1.The peculiarity of traditional,feudal and colonial
 conditions.
2. The inadequacy of the colonial administrative structure.
3. The new task of development and modernization.
4.The elitist character of the bureaucracy.
5.The structural distinctiveness.
6.The cultural distinctiveness.

The administrative organization can be restructured
at various levels and can be given different dimensions.
An attempt is made to explore the possible changes at
various levels,therefore,few concrete suggestions will
find place here.The problem of a new nation is not so
much of competent bureaucrats at the top but effective
administrators at the bottom.Panchayati Raj and Community
Development programme are bold experiments in bringing
democracy and development to every citizen of India.
Since these programmes operate at district,block and
Panchayat level,therefore,reflections will be made to
improve the bureaucratic machinery at this level.Two
spheres are most important where administration need be
rejuvenated: i.administrative attitude II.stream lining
of administrative procedures.There is a desperate need
for commited leadership and administration,each solemnly
sharing common political values,goals and aspirations
influencing and reinforcing each other.This point has been
very well argued by Clovis Maksond.[125]

125.Clovis Maksond; "The Politics of Commitment," in Political
science Review, Department of Political Science,Univ. of
Rajathan,Jaipur,October 1966.

There is a need of radical orientation and reorganization
of the training programmes which aim at attitude building
for the developmental administration.For streamlining
the pattern of developmental administration under Panchayati
Raj,some sort of reorganization ont the following lines is
necessary.[126]

1. The block administration may be reorganized on the bassis
of twin principles of unity of command and unilinear
responsibility with the Pradhan as the political chief
and the Vikas Adhikari (BDO) as the chief administrative
Officer.The former should be concerned with policy formu-
lation.The latter should be subordinate and responsible to
the former,should act as the chief administrative officer
with complete powers of disciplanory control over the
panchayat Samiti staff. Appeals against the BDOs,misuse of
power and authority should only be heard by the administr-
ative tribunal at the district level.

2.It will be diffult to do away altogether with the duality
of control with regard to the extension services.Perhaps
the situation may be improved,if the District level
officers (DLOs) are also transferred to the Zila Parishad
under the overall supervision of a Development Officer
who may act as the secretary to the Zila Parishad which
may also have to be reorganized to accomodate this chabge.

3.Similarily, it may be difficult to do away with the
distinction of regulatory and developmental administration
in one sweep and yet progressive steps to dovetail the
two and thereby overcoming the posture of negative
competitiveness between them are the imperatives of the

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126. Iqbal Narain,op.cit.

situation and,as such,cannot be avoided for ever.

4.A special cell should be created at the state level to
rationalize the amount of desk work by simplifying
reporting proformae and working procedures and minimizing
the frequency of reports as far as possible,ofcourse,
without compromising with the demands of efficient superv-
ision and control.

5.It is also necessary to rise above the somewhat arid
controversy regarding the autonomy of the cooperative
moveant and evolve a pattern of close linkage between
Panchayati Raj institutions and the Cooperatives so that
they make work as co-partners with equal status in a
common venture which is the planned development of the
country towards the goal of socialism.Infect,one of our
major failures had been regarding reorientation of the
conceptual instiutional models to suit our political values
and commitments.The cooperative movement offers a case
in point which we are trying to develop with a laissez-
faire approach though we expect it to help the growth of
socialism in the country.[127]

Apart from this there can be few more steps towards making
administration oriented to the developmental tasks.
I. Decisions regarding recruitment and training must also
be based on how greater understanding of the political
environment and sympathy for the politicians can be
evoked among the bureaucrats. The officials who have to
work in rural areas must be drawn from the people with
a rural social background so that they are aware of the
rural problems and commited to the rural development

127.Iqbal Narain,ibid.

without having any urban bias and apathy for rural life.

2.The career structure,organizational sanctions and the whole system of rewards and punishment should encourage innovation,initiative and commitment. It should not be a mere bureaucratic routinized feature.[128] The officials have little oppertunity to utilize their own skills and experiences and hence lack the initiative for good work as it is not likely to open up oppertunities for better c career prospects.[129]

3. The local administartive system of Panchayati Raj is formally conceived as the main coordinating unit for the attainment of developmental goals .There were five clearly identifiable autonomous and independent sub- stuctures; the cooperative network,the Panchayat,The revenue,the agriculture,the cooperative departments. These substructures should be fully interrelated and their activities should be properly coordinated,otherwise it create role confusion and inefficiency.

4.Apart from these structural gaps affecting bureaucratic performance the local officials also find the administrative mechanisms to be unsupportive.The support structure/ (both material and psychological) is necessary for efficient and comitted role performance by the officials.

5.Various developmental programmes are brought by a parti- cular political ruling group.It takes sufficient time, before the bureaucratic machinery reaches the level of

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128. Mathur,K.:op. cit. pp.94-95
129.Chaturvedi,H.R.:op.cit. p.152

take off to start implementing the programme. If per chence
the government changes then those plans are shelved,and
new ones are fabricated. Once again bureaucracy prepares
itself for this and by the time it is ready for executing
the programmes,another political upheaval may cancel those
programmes. Therefore, a mechanism is needed which can
provide long term planning and ensure security to it
in case of political upheavals.Some good developmental
programmes which were all set for implementation at full
swing,were shelved are: The twenty point programme,the
National Adult Educational Programme and the Antyodaya
Yojana etc. Therefore,the developmental bureaucracy needs
some protection against political changes also.It should
be comitted to development,not to any political party.

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