P R E F A C E

The Indian Council of Social Science Research must be thanked for encouraging and implementing extensive surveys of research carried out in the various disciplines of Social Sciences. As of to-day, such surveys were carried out ~~to at~~ points of time 1970s and 1980s which have brought out voluminous material pertaining to the various disciplines like Economics, Sociology, Political Science, Public Administration etc. The rich material provided by these surveys has not only emphasized the ~~set of~~ state of studies of the various disciplines at the two points of time, but has also very rightly pin-pointed attention on the gaps in the research and publications available so far. Apart from highlighting certain topics for further investigation and research, what comes out time and again is the woeful gap of coherent and conceptual framework. In fact, one major finding of these surveys has been the purely descriptive nature of the various researches carried out in most of the disciplines.

Moreover, due to the publication of these surveys, another fact, which is forcefully brought to one's attention, is the importance of drawing from sister disciplines certain important topics, particularly that of Bureaucracy, which has been very rightly studied by ~~the~~ students of Sociology, Political Science, Public Administration and also Economics. The term 'Bureaucracy' is generally used in a pejorative sense and sometimes effort is made to the condemning ~~commitment~~ of a

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Bureaucracy for all lacunae in Social, Economic and Political
Development, since bureaucracy is looked upon as a major
obstacle to the required kind of transformation of society.
In all new nations but old societies, there is no denying
the fact that considerable reliance has been placed on
bureaucracy for formulating, initiating and implementing
the desired and desirable kind of transformation of society,
right from economic development and prosperity to distri-
butive justice and social, structural change, so that the
fruits of development would be made available to everyone.
Without defining development, it can be said that what is
implied by the concept of development is the ready accessi-
bility to all the good things of life, both material and
non-material to every single citizen irrespective of differ-
ences of sex, age, generation, caste, ethnicity, class,
religion, region etc.

Inspite of the fact that much reliance is placed on
Bureaucracy to implement such transformation, one cannot be
mindful of/ the traditional role of bureaucracy particularly
the maintenance of law and order. To this role, has, ofcourse,
been added the extremely significant role of management of
both development and change, as mentioned above, which
certainly attaches maximum importance to rationality and
as such the capacity to effectively depart from traditional

modes of thinking and working. However, there is a catch
here, in the sense that management of development and change
and emphasis on rationality does result in management of
people for whom this whole laudable objective and goal of
development is intended, by treating them willy-nilly as
objects rather than people. Further, it would also mean
working for the people in order to 'deliver the goods',
though not with the people, leave aside ensuring implemen-
tation of the various experiments and programmes of such
development with the help of the participation/at all stages.
of the people
On the other hand, the democratic polity and dissemination
of democratic values emphasize the importance of Government
of the people, by the people and for the people. It is
indeed well-known that any Government, where a large popula-
tion is involved, has to work through the representatives of
the people rather than allowing the people to directly
participate in Government. Moreover, apart from the people's
representatives, who are in the final analysis, some kind of
elites, there is also large scale of, administrative and
implementing machinery manned by persons specially selected
'to do the job'. Apart from the complication introduced
by the elite nature of people's representatives, old
governmental machinery is used to administer programmes of
development and change, a further complication is inevitably
introduced in the sense that personnel manning such govern-
mental machinery is also further removed from common people,

partly because of tradition and partly because of its

expertise and demands made on them for impartiality in

the discharge of their duties.

Built in contradiction

Bureaucracy and Public Administration have been a necessary

adjunct of industrial revolution, economic development and

transformation of society from status to contract. Max

Weber in his seminal discussion on various types of

authority, naturally has emphasized the role of bureaucracy

in all its ramifications to particularly consider the importanc

of legal rational authority and its efficacy in maintaining

economic prosperity, scientific and industrial development,

democratic framework etc. Ofcourse, Max Weber had also main-

tained that every modern society would have to utilize

com

bureaucracy to manage its complex complicated affairs, even through

social experiments, leave aside socialist state that had not come

into being then. While relying on Max Weber's formulations

for providing a starting point for the analysis of bureaucracy

both theory and practice, it should be mentioned in the same

breath that in view of the changed conditions and new

expectations regarding the role which the bureaucracy is

expected to play, it will be extremely important to look for

appropriate conceptual modifications in the theory of

bureaucracy in order to understand its practice as of to-day.

R.K.Merton, Peter Blau, Selznick, Michael Crozier and several

others have contributed significantly to such conceptual

modifications necessary for understanding the functioning
of bureaucracy, even in western societies where it is not
so directly harnessed for implementing development and
social structural transformation so avowedly. In the case
of Indian Society, where a great deal of reliance has been
placed on the utilization of bureaucracy for comprehensive
development and societal transformation, the problem of
providing modifications in the traditional conceptual
framework acquires all the greater importance. However,
as mentioned above, I.C.S.S.R. surveys have brought out
the woeful neglect of any conceptual framework and analysis
as reflected in the various studies undertaken by different
scholars, Naturally, the study of bureaucracy is no exception
to these observations. It is precisely because of this, that
the present work is addressed to work out a conceptual frame-
work for the study of bureaucracy, particularly when it is
used as a very important instrument of development and trans-
formation. Naturally, instead of undertaking field investi-
gation and generating primary data, emphasis is placed on
the utilization of the existing material in order to provide
a hopefully meaningful conceptual framework. It was felt
that no particular-purpose would be served in by undertaking
fresh empirical investigation with the help of such concep-
tual framework, because again, it would be a very limited
exercise confined to a very specific area of study and, there-
fore, recourse has been taken to the analysis of data generated
by the various studies of bureaucracy mainly by sociologists
and also by students of public administration, political
science as well as economics.

Bureaucracy : Theory and Practice in the
context of Development : Y.B.Damle

Chapter - I

In Search of Theory

Introduction :

"For comprehending social reality, it is necessary
to have appropriate conceptual tools since without definite
conceptual ideas, it is not possible to understand reality
and much less to control it and shape it according to the
prevailing values. According to Whitehead(1959)1,'The
secret of progress is the speculative interest in abstract
schemes of morphology'. With the help of cosmology, aberr-
ations of the more undisciplinedimagination are restrained
and the stable factors in experience can be emphasised.
Since experience is based on a system of ideas, it is nece-
ssary to develop a meaningful system of ideas in a rigorous
manner. This can be done only byfollowing rigorous methodo-
logy and logical procedure. In short, one has to employ
theory which is a system of interrelated definitions and hypo-
theses. A theorttical framework comprises of more or less
inter-related concepts and their definitions as well as
propositions linking up different concepts. There are two
ways of comprehending reality, namely, describing reality
and verifying reality in terms of conceptual formulations.

As a matter of fact, one cannot describe reality without the use of analytical constructs. There are two types of theories: (1) the inclusive and the miniature; (2) or the grandiose and middle-range theories. Nevertheless, one cannot do without some theorization to comprehend social reality. As is well-known, theory is both tested and enriched by empirical enquiry. However, one has to remember that adhoc empiricism would not lead one anywhere. It is necessary to have theoretical framework for the analysis of any social phenomena. It is to be remembered that theoretical framework is to be tested and verified and as such, it has to be tentative rather than dogmatic. Theory has to be tested in the light of the concrete practical problems and in fact due to such testing on the one hand practical problems can be better comprehended and in the bargain theory is also enriched. "...... definitions in the sphere of the social sciences are substantively tied up with the shift in practical problems and take the guise of a critique to concept construction."[2] (Max Weber. The Methodology of the Social Sciences).

Theory of Bureaucracy

1. ### Weber's Theory of Bureaucracy :

It would be difficult to bypass Weber's formulations regarding bureaucracy in undertaking any systematic review of theory of bureaucracy. There are several authors both

foreign and Indian who have joined issues with Weber's formulations and yet there can be no denying that for worthwhile exposition and formulation of theory of bureaucracy, one had to make reference to Weber's formulations, even though to criticise it and suggest modifications and even to reject some of his formulations. It can be very rightly said that Weber provides a point of departure. In the discussion of various theories of bureaucracy one has to start with Weber's formulations and also mention at the same time the various critiques of his formulations. Weber indicated himself in the discussion of bureaudracy in the context of his analysis of legal rational authority as representing a social system type. Bureaucracy is discussed by Weber in the context of legal rational authority and he says that because of the legality of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands that authority is vested in. Legal authority can be ensured only because of appointment of bureaucratic administrative staff. There are several inter-related propositions which Weber makes about bureaucracy. These propositions can be briefly described in the following way :

The whole administrative staff under the supreme authority then consists, in the purest type, of individual officials who are appointed and function according to the following criteria :

"(1) They are personally free and subject to authority
only with respect to their impersonal official obligations.

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

not in practise

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

(4) The office is filled by a free contractual relationship.
Thus, in principle, there is a free selection.

(5) Candidates are selected on the basis of technical quali-
fications. In the most rational case, this is tested by
examination or guaranteed by diplomas certifying tech-
nical training, or both. They are appointed, not elected.

(6) They are remunerated by fixed salaries in money, for the
most part with a right to pensions. Only under certain
circumstances does the employing authority, especially
in private organisations, have a right to terminate the
appointment, but the official is always free to resign.
The salary scale is primarily graded according to rank
of hierarchy; but in addition to this criterion, the
responsibility of the position and the requirements of
the incumbent's social status may be taken into account.

(7) The office is treated as the sole, or at least the
primary, occupation of the incumbent.

(8) It constitutes ~ career. There is a system of
"promotion" according to seniority or to achievement.
Promotion is dependent on the judgement of superiors.

(9) The official work is entirely separated from ownership
of the means of administration and without appropria-
tion of his position.

(10) He is subject to strict and systematic discipline and
controling the conduct of the office".3

Weber's formulation about bureaucracy thus typified the
essence of legal rational authority and also laid down pre-
requisites for large-scale industrializations as well as
modernization. According to Weber, bureaucracy is a must for
modern society which is characterised by complex organisations.
As a matter of fact, Parsons and Etzioni emphasise the impor-
tance of complex organisations rather than that his deline-
ation of three types of authorities were 'ideal types' and
that no given society would completely approximate to such
'ideal types'. Moreover, Weber had in view the highly evolved
model of capitalistic economy which he wanted to explicate
in terms of both economic, political and socio-cultural
development. Of course, Weber was mindful of the fact that
an advanced economic system would require a highly devdoped
and efficient system of bureaucracy whether that system was
capitalist or socialist. However, Weber had not possibly

welfare state of some hue

foreseen the possibility of political and administrative

authority being combined into one. Similarly, Weber had

not foreseen the possibility of the bureaucrats being

called upon to perform the task of providing leadership

for social transformation, as is evinced by the demands

made on the democracy in the third world. As a matter of

fact, some of the criticisms of Weberian model stem from

these circumstances.

2. Critique of Weber :

In his desire to highlight the importance of bureau-

cracy for facilitating legal rational authority, Weber

tended to regard bureaucracy as more or less omniscient

and omnipotent. Friedrich says such emphasis on the part of

Weber would almost smack of authoritarian notions which make

possible imperative control. Friedrich says that only an

army, a business concern without any sort of employee or

labor participation in management, a totalitarian party and

its bureaucractic administration would come nearest to

Weberian model of bureaucacy.4 The authoritatian tendency

may be further encouraged by over-emphasis on pattern main-

tenance by bureaucracy in their endeavour to stabilize legal

rational authority. Over emphasis on rules and regulations

gives rise to displacementof goals according to Merton.5

Peter M.Blau describes bureaucrats as ritualists and explains

their ritualism in terms of their fear of the superior and

feeling of insecurity.6 Lipset observes, in his discussion

of bureaucracy and social change, the nature of vested interests

which the bureaucrats ~~are places~~ have in the existing legal

order and that therefore, bureaucrats, ~~comes~~ are averse to change[s] at a in for criticism

as an impediment both to democracy and particularly to change.

Modern democratic society faces the dilemma of making exten-

sive grants of power without at the same time abdicating the

right of the democratic constituency to change the policies

and the personnel of the bureaucracy. Merton further observes

that the governing policy is no doubt set by bureaucracy, and

adds that the twin goals of civil service are self-preserva-

tion and efficiency. The social background of bureaucrats also

adds to the difficulties in the implementation of any policy

of social change. Thus the fact that bureaucrats are generally

& economic philosophy

trained in the tradition of laissezfaire government and belong-

ing to conservative groups contribute significantly to the

social interia which blunts the changes which a new radical

government wants to make. Due to the delay in initiating

reforms, the new government becomes absorbed in the process of

operating the old institutions. Even a socialist state which

has as its goal a reintegration of societal values, giving

priority of government services to groups that had
been neglected and securing a large part of Govt.
control may fail, in its objectives, if it leaves
administrative powers in the hands of men whose social
background and previous training prevent a sympathetic
appreciation of the objectives of the new government.
In this context must also be mentioned the existing
stratification on the basis of power, economic, political
and social. Merton has also remarked that there is a
tendency on the part of bureaucrat to act, irrespective
of his position in the hierarchy, as representive of the
power and prestige of the entire structure viz. government.
This leads to domineering attitude on the part of the
bureaucrats. Merton further adds that while theoretically
the government personnel are held to be servants of the
people, in fact they are usually superordinate. Merton
emphasises rationality and a structural source of conflict
between bureaucrats and their clients due to the fact that
while bureaucracy emphasises rationality and secondary
group, the clients who are to be served by bureaucracy
want to establish primary group relationship with the
bureaucrats in order that they can get things done. Thus
there is an incompatibility between the structural demands
of a secondary group and the intrusion by primary group.
This is bound to happen, particularly in cases where

bureaucracy will be called upon to develop mass contact and work not only for the people but with the people. Another drawback of bureaucracy lies in the fact that burecracy is amorphous and that it is very difficult to pin down responsibility on any particular individual. On the other hand bureaucracy cán balk down any programme of reform by refusing to act speedily. when it does not accept the programme of change thinking that it is wrong. Bureaucracy tries to guard its interest and thereby tries to slow down or kill any action in favour of reforms which it regards either as incorrect or antithetical to its interests.

The imperatives of real situation necessitate certain modifications in the theory of bureaucracy. There is no denying that commitments are enforced by uniquely organizational imperatives, but they are also enforced by the social character of the personnel.8(Ibid,Phillips Selznick 'A Theory of Organizational Commitments' pp. 194-201)-It is also equally true that commitments are enforced by institutionaligation appropriate to values and goals. More important still is the fact that commitments are enforced by the social and cultural environments. When there is a change in the values and goals and ideologies, there is bound to be pressure exerted on bureaucrats to at least verbalize the new values and goals as well as styles of interaction. The control of bureaucracy by public opinion

and vigilence assumes great significance in the period of transition. Blau has castigated bureaucracy for unduly concentrating power and thus being responsible for under-mining democracy9 (Blau op.cit.) When bureaucracy is entrusted with the task of development and initiating change, the usual theory of bureaucracy needs to be modified. It has been very rightly asserted by Lipset that the theory of Civil Service neutrality breaks down when the total goals of state change. Normally one asso-ciates a law and order and revenue mentality with bureau-cracy. But when bureaucrats are required to sell change in all its ramifications to its clients, a different kind of mental framework is expected and desired of the bureau-crats. It is necessary to separate the analysis of bureau-cracy in its office setting from its field setting. When a bureaucrat has to deal with files and base his decisions on file work, he is insulated by and large from public pressure. But when he has to work in field situation he is continuously subjected to all manners of demands, influences and pressures. Dr.V.A.Pai Panandikar(10) and S.S.Kshirsagar in their study "Bureaucracy in India: An Empirical Study", emphasise this point and maintain that the structural and behavioural characteristics of bureaucracy are only moderately related because the functional content of bureaucracy and the type of office and its level of skill composition has a significant bearing on the behavioural characteristics.

Bureaucracy is not a static phenomenon but is a dynamic phenomenon in which its functional content, mass contact inherent in its objectives and several other factors influence its behavioural characteristics. "The present study suggests propositions like (a) bureaucracies involved in developmental tasks at the field level, such as in agriculture, necessitating mass contact and participation and with more skilled personnel, tend to be less structured and behaviourally more flexible than secretariat-based, more remote bureaucracies. Implied is the proposition that (b) bureacracies essentially in the regulatory and other non-developmental agencies will tend to be structurally more rigid and behaviourally less flexible. In between these would be a whole range of intermediate positions". The authors further suggest a modification in the bureau-cratic model and emphasise the distinction between deve-lopmental bureaucracy which involves mass contact of achi-evement of its objectives andthe secretarial type with relatively little mass contact. Damle   in some other contexts had emphasised the importance of the inter-rela-tionship between the programme, the personnel andthe people in the sense of community for which a particular programme is intended.11 On the basis of certain field studies which have been carried out by other Indian scholars, certain criticisms of Weberian model emerge. Thus it was pointed

out that in Bihar12 bureaucrats fail to inculcate new
notions of status based on achievement and only emphasised
conformity to rules and regulations. In a study of bureau-
cracy at district level in Rajasthan, it has been found
that the legal rational norms have become largely inoper-
ative, due to the fact that in democracy, bureaucracy has
to perform many other roles. In another study of bureaucracy
in Rajasthan, it has been pointed out that Weber's emphasis
on structural aspects gives rise to the neglect on his part
of behavioural aspects of bureaucracy. The formal aspect of
bureaucracy is over-emphasised giving rise to the neglect
of the informal aspects. In my Study of Bureaucracy15 and
Agricultural Development, I have pointed out as to how
Weber's emphasis on formal aspects of bureaucracy is mis-
leading and that in field situation it is necessary to
equally emphasise informal organization. Some of the cri-
tiques presented above point out the necessity of modifi-
cation of the Weberian model of bureaucracy particularly
in the context of development situation.

3. Technocracy and Bureaucracy

James Burnham and several others have propounded the
thesis that bureaucracy will be increasingly manned by
technocrats and that there would be a rule of the experts.
Such a rule will be efficient and as such it would be able
to deliver the goods and therefore, people will not have
much to complain about. Of course, implied in such a

a formulation is the elitist concept of bureaucracy. The domination of the elite is legitimated by efficiency and as such the elite domination is inevitable. Such a view emphasises vesting of authority in bureaucracy. Of course, it is also claimed that becuase of the emphasis on efficiency and technical competence everybody will have a change to be recruited to bureaucracy. In reality, however, one finds that the technocratic model of bureaucracy puts a premium on privileges arising out of socio-economic background. In fact, even the Soviet Union has not been able to completely do away with such privileges facilitating recruitment to higher technocratic positions.

4. Russian Model of Bureaucracy

In Soviet Russia after the revolution, a great necessity was felt to speed up industrial and technological development. As a consequence of such keen desire, sustained efforts were made to ensure efficient functioning of bureaucracy by not only emphasising technical excellence but also by empha- sising the central value system, namely, the socialist ideology. It was felt that it was not enough to have technical efficiency but technical efficiency had to be matched by inculcation and internalisation of socialist idology. In fact bureaucracy attained a new significance after the revolution.

"It did not organise the sphere of power of traditional political force (as, for instance, Prussian bureaucracy served the feudal power of Prussia); it was itself part of

a new ideology. The sheer survival of the ideological
concept (for example, of Bolshevism in Russia) depended
on the functioning of this newly established bureaucracy
and of the authoritarian supervisory organs which, however,
emerged from its own ranks. This development was the
stepping stone for bureaucracy and gave the figures in key
political positions in the administrative of the country,
the decisive increase in power which they managed to extend
in spite of all setbacks. The leading ideologies are at
the same time the leading bureaucrats. Often there is no
clear distinction between policies and administration.16
Bureaucracy was used in Russia to foster development and
change. It was necessary to introduce a new industrial
culture and to have new industrial culture heroes, which
was also done by the Soviet units. The entire S takhanov
movement and the system of awarding special prizes and
medals for enhanced industrial production bear testimony
to this new culture of the heroes who were applauded for
their performance.

"In a positive sense, the success of the Soviet indus-
trialisation drive was insured by its massive investment
in the expansion of elementary and higher education, in the
emphasis whicheducational institutionsikxkd laid on the
training of engineers, technicians, and scientists to serve
expanding industry, in the reorganisation of the incentive
system to attract and reward the crucial skills necessary
for the effective operation of industry, and in the

prestigious place accorded to the new industrialising
elite inSoviet society. These measures transformed the
Soviet bureaucracy into an effective instrument for
technical modernisation, and they made the Soviet populace
receptive to the values of industrialisation." 17 Thus we
find that according to the Russian model, politics and
administration converge into one unit and as such bureau-
cracy is completely mereged with the political machine.

5. Democracy and Bureaucratic Model

While it may be expeditnet to merge politics and
administration and have bureaucracy merge its identity
with the political machine, it may not be so possible or
even desirable in a democratic set up. In a democratic set
up, governancee issupposed to be by the people of the
peopleaand for thepeople, and a s a matter of fact one has
to add that governance has to be done with the people. It
would not be desirable, therefore, to have a technocratic
rule in a democracy, particularly when modernisation and
social change are the desired goals. Democratic process
requires that people are involved in the new changes in all
walks of life and as such apart from the fact that the
bureaucrats have to supply the relevant services and
facilitate the production of goods and commodities, they
also have to educate the people with a view to change their
erstwhile mental attitudes. It is absolutely necessary that
in a country democracy, a bureaucrat will have to play a

role over and above that a mere technocrat. It is
because of this that the formalistic model of bureaucracy
would not be of much avail and informal groupings will
have to be reckoned with by bureaucrats in their day-today
working with the people. Bureaucracy in a democratic
framework will have to be much more sensitive to peoples'
aspirations and criticisms to develop a two-way process
of communication with built-in feedback mechanism. There
should be a continuous dialogue between bureaucracy and
its clients and it means that rules and regulations will
also have to have a certain measure of flexibility. The
bureaucratic model under these conditions will be much
more open and cannot enjoy the insulation. This will
necessitate different personality types as well as the
requisite culture which will facilitate effective perfor-
mance on the part of the bureaucrats so asto meet the
new demands of their role. Amenability to change and
elasticity would thus characterise the bureaucratic model
in a democracy.

18

18. Y.B.Damle - A Framework for the Study
of Bureaucracy pp.9-30 in Public Service
and Social Responsibility ... 17
Edited by S.C.Dube - Indian Institute
of Advanced Study, Vikas Publishers
House New Delhi 1979

We have already presented a critique of Weber's theory and similar stand-point is adopted by Michel Crozier in his study on " Bureaucratic Phenomenon " (Tavistock Publications, London, EC 4, 1964). Crozier, while calling it a functional study, tries to examine the bureaucratic phenomenon within the context of human activities. In doing so, he emphasizes the importance of the theory of organisations as well as that of cultural systems, in the context of which, bureaucracy functions. Scientific definition of a phenomenon constitutes theory. Initially, the bureaucracy was mainly a concept used in Political Sciences so as to imply the realm of law and order, while Max Weber emphasized bureaucratisation as rationalisation of collective activities. The study of bureaucracy in action in various ~~fission~~ situations provides an arbitrary understanding rather than Weber's emphasis on construction of ideal types which makes the study unrealistic. Crozier is very conscious of the fact that " all theory ofcourse, originates in a partial and insufficient contact with reality" (p.5). That is why he attaches importance to the study of Bureaucracy in the context of a general

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theory of organisations and general theory of cultural systems. Theory of organisation is based on the assumptions of rationality, certainty and control, whereas human beings do not like to be treated as means and that is why certain problems arise. As a matter of fact, bureaucratic routine, existence and delays are in clear response to the dehumanised goals and aims of scientific organisation. In order to understand " Pathology of organisation, cultural analysis becomes an indispensable tool which terms the delimitation of the global theory and its application in different cultural context.' (p.8) Looked at from this point of view, the study of bureaucratic phenomenon, is not only the means of social control used within different cultural systems to arrive at ends but also the structural and structured inconsistency not to say contradictions inherent in the implementation of the programmes of any formal organisation. This is so because it is very difficult to modify values, much less the basic personality. ' It is only through action that
is by acting through institutions and/by modifying these institutions themselves that a society can transform itself. Sociology of organisation and sociology of cultural systems are thus equally necessary to a general theory of action and the study of the bureaucratic phenomenon makes a

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valuable contribution to both. (P.8). While using the functionalist method, Crozier does not accept the functionalist philosophy and tries to emphasize the problem of change, although the kind of change which he has in mind whether of a linear type or of a mutational type is not very clear. Even then, Crozier points out that employees in an organisation are not necessarily interested in the purposes and functioning of their organisation and they feel completely neglected. Crozier is not even very optimistic about the purpose and functioning of Trade Union Organisation as far as actually reality goes. Crozier regards power as the new central problem of the theory of organisation and also points out that the early realistic theory of organisation continued to ignore the problem of power, because it believed ' that mankind had to shift from the government of men to the administration of things. (p. 146). He further mentions that by ignoring the subordinates' claims to freedom, they immediately create among them fear of being manipulated ' (p. 150).The presence of fear is certainly dysfunctioning to any rational organisation. A clear-cut hierarchy cannot help people get rid of their fear of being manipulated. Even in the case of an organisation, which is monopolistic, and as such, is in a relatively stronger position to define the rules of

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behaviour in rather narrow terms. Ofcourse, it must be
conceded that monopolistic situation is an example of
an unduly stable equillibrium. On the other hand, undue
faith in the superiority of the bureaucratic rationality
can have threatening implications in the domain of human
values. Michel, rightly emphasized that bureaucratic
  Crozier
organisation is destructive of democratic values (p.176).
This is not to suggest that human relations approach will
be wholely a substitute to rationalist approach, particu-
larly as far as the technical efficiency and the attendant
hierarchy is concerned. Even then, all bureaucrats tend
to reduce the tensions that are due to the differences
of values amongst groups and also due to the problems of
communication. Values and sentiments make it difficult
for a bureaucratic model to function automatically. In
a modern adaptive society, a bureaucratic system also
has to change to become efficient and effective. By and
large, power to innovate becomes a preserve of those
occupying superior positions in the bureaucratic hierarchy.
Their capacity to innovate further necessitates ritualistic
acquiescence by the petty officials and also the submissive-
ness of the employees and the officials. In reality, ' power
of discretion, finally, is so exceptional that it must be
far removed from face to face relationships and surrounded

.. 5.

by an aura of awe and submissiveness. We ~~are~~ now confronted
with the new ~~myths~~ images of the bureaucrat, the self-satisfied
~~clearance~~ glorious innovator, the submissive assistant and the
~~rituals and~~ ritualist sub-altern. This set of roles ~~respond~~ corresponds
to regular hierarchical arrangement within a very active
and powerful agency.' (p.202). Crozier further observes
that whenever change and power are present, we find more
and greater involvement and deeper feeling. We cannot
help feeling that this also is a kind of an ideal type,
because it postulates the role set between conformists
and innovators. On the other hand, co-operation means
participation in decision making, and if for any reason
such participation is denied, asymmetrical but stable
relationship implied in a role set may not be forthcoming.
It is further well-known that rules protect people who
submit to them. Achievement of flexibility would diminish
the lure for rules and stability inherent in bureaucratic
system. Likewise, achievement orientation would also
threaten any ascriptive basis of status consciously or
otherwise implied in a system of bureaucratic hierarchy.
There can be no escape from the fact that bureaucratic
world is an arbitrary world and as such exposes itself
to threats from the surrounding culture, questioning its
arbitrariness.

.. 6.

Any bureaucratic structure contains elitisism, because power and decision making is vested in bureaucracy. In a certain sense, even in the ascriptive basis, elitisism cannot be wished away. Thus, inspite of open competition and recruitment, higher echelons of bureaucracy tend to derive benefits from ascriptive status. Moreover, such links get further strengthened because of linkage of bureaucracy with institutional patterns e.g. education. It is not necessary to labour the point that acquiring education in certain institutions of higher learning lend a tremendous prestige and leeway to its recipients and as such are placed high above the rest of the strata in any system of bureaucratic hierarchy. It is indeed a common place of sociology of education that the system of education reflects the leverage of mobility with society's social system and at the same time is also the main force perpetuating it. Thus, the educational background for bureaucrats acquires great significance in respect of their status, privilege and power or its absence. Normally it is expected that labour movement, which is institutionalised, would do away with hierarchical system. However, working of labour movement would disabuse one's mind in the sense that it is the leaders of the labour movement who matter and not the rank and file. Crozier's observation is very trenchant " Thus, finally, the labour movement itself can be viewed

.. 7.

as a reflection of our French model -- authoritarian and
absolute in its radical beliefs, weak and bureaucratic
in day to-day routine operations, avoiding face to face
relationships, isolated from other social groups, not
very cohesive itself, more ready for negative expressions
of position than for constructive, co-operative leadership,
preferring finally to submit to impersonal rules and to
appeal to superior authority than to fight and to compromise
in its own right. On the other hand, it should also be
taken into account that it is a powerful reinforcing
force for the French bureaucratic model. Because of
its radicalism, because of the threat of uncontrolable
explosion which it maintains, it is very difficult for
the employers and for the State to relinquish their tight
and inefficient patterns of social control -- without
which they have some ground to fear, chaos would develop.
(p.251).'Thus the administrative sub-system reflects a
generalised fear of overlapping which is a characteristic
paralysing feature of French administration -- and on the
other hand by calling for an overall supra-organisational
centralisation'.(p.253). One cannot but think of the parallel
example of Indian bureaucracy. Eventually, this results in
the lack of communication between the various strata in
bureaucracy and imposes remoteness from the field of
decision making. Right in duty of making decisions and to

promote new policies that is to ^{permit} adjustment to
change is delegated to deliberative bodies and political
figures and ofcourse the bureaucratic elite. The culture
of differentiation, isolation and exercise of authority
cannot but be reflected in both in a bureaucratic system
and a political system where utmost importance is accorded
to the leaders of opinion and action. Speaking of the
dominance of the bourgeois class in the political system
and the overall French social system, Crozier observes:
" the combination of strong administrative system with
unstable policy making system ensured, in the smoothest
possible way, the introduction of the exact amount of change
that was tolerable without endangering the bourgeois equi-
llibrium. Even at this period, however, it had three far-
reaching draw-backs : (1) it allows citizens to participate
only in a very remote and indirect way; (2) it deliberately
excluded whole groups from any actual possibility of
participation; and (3) it slowed down considerably the
rhythm of economic and social change. (p.258). He further
points out that it is only the myth of revolution which
holds labour class together and ensures their partici-
pation though ofcourse temporarily. Ofcourse, the French
colonial system e.g. the way it worked in Canada, is
characterised by undue passion for rationality -- the
desire to achieve order, symmetry and harmony, which is

.. 9.

the hallmark of bureaucratic endeavour,' (p.265), and
yet, as everyone knows that the bureaucratic centralisation
was not really effective. This was so because of the
systematic incompatibility between feudal structure
and the new rationalistic structure imposed by the
French rulers. It would be useful here to mention
Macaulay's theory of filteration as Enunciated in the Indian
context. Further, as very rightly observed by Crozier,
' the assimilation ज्ञानलेख denied the existence of an
autonomous personality to the native population . This
provided a good rationale for direct administrative methods
and for refusing face to face relationship outside the
teaching situation. But, in doing so, the colonising society
was imposing a fradulent world and a fradulent language
of which it was also itself a prisoner -- of the natives.
It was not amenable to discussion and, therefore, to change.
(p.268). The colonial system of administration provided
an impetus to the native Bourgeois class to going in for
innovation in the field of commerce and industry by lending
to it the legitimacy provided by nationalist ferver. This
is how one can account for innovation in the industry and
commerce field amongst the colonies, which became a
bullwark of nationalist struggle. Ofcourse, after attainment
of independence, there is no denying the fact that the local
bourgeois class tend to lose their credibility. Then again,

bureaucratic administration is always confronted with the problem of change. However, revolutionary utterances tend to have only a symbolic value and they suffer a constant erosion. Bureaucracy further reflects the will to order and equalise because of egalitarian pressure. Similarly, intellectual creditability amongst bureaucrats is also responsible for the maintenance of hierarchy within the system e.g. the old Indian Civil Servants in India. Ofcourse, intellectuals can create courses and it may not change any modes and philosophy of bureaucratic organisation by insistence on the dependence of the individual per se. Revolutionary pressure of individuals and also to some extent by the example of foreign countries emphasizes the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy. 'At the same time, this same dysfunction ensures the permanence of model of change and adjustment to change and thus giving the individuals the protection they require.' (p.292) Because it would be wrong to imagine any society being permanently bound by the existence of cultural pattern. 'It learns constantly through the different organisational experiences to which its members resort to reach its general ends and their own particular ones.' (p. 292). The process of adjustment between the business leaders and higher civil servants would reduce the process of change.

.. 11.

Bureaucratic Phenomenon as part of the overall Development of Industrial Society :

Even though Crozier is mainly explicating his theory with reference to the French society by making special studies of its clerical agency and industrial monopoly in the context of bureaucracy as an organisational system and bureaucracy as a cultural phenomenon, with reference to the French society, he has thrown up ideas which can be seriously considered in the understanding of any society, which wants to follow the path of industrial development or overall economic development in general where industrial and technological development will have to necessarily play an important part as in the case of India, where heavy reliance was rightly placed on the development of heavy industries in the first two Five Year Plans. Crozier has very rightly emphasized his concern for understanding and analysing the functioning of bureaucratic phenomenon without subscribing to 'functionalist philosophy', because maintenance of stable pattern of inter-relations does not mean insensitivity to the necessity for change. Every rational organisation in particular, has to change in response to the demands of the changing society and bureaucracy which has been properly regarded as an adjunct of legal rational authority

by Weber, has to be even more open to change and modi-
fication, although there are limits of its capacity to
change due to the inter-twining of the organisational
complex and cultural system, particularly the latter
which cannot be changed overnight. In a way, it can be
stated that the inter-relationship suggested by Crozier
between formal rational organisation and the cultural
system is reminiscent of Weber's insistence on pivotal
role played by values in shaping economic development.
At the same time, rational organisations have a logic
of their own which both compels them and enables them
to look for new objectives and be sensitive to the sanc-
tions imposed by the changing reality so as to subserve
the basic goal of rationality, paying due attention to
the forces from within which counterpose elements of
rationality. Crozier makes a very important point in this con-
nection that while initial   changes in formal organisa-
tions arise out of practical necessity, these changes
are transformed into values and as such get integrated
in the system. In short, there is a balance between
practical necessity and the change in the values. As
such 'there is no point in looking for the linear growth
of uni-dimensional rationality.' (p.296). Therefore,
'in this final perspective, our models will appear
no longer as ends in themselves but has so many stages ne-
cessary both for understanding the general orientation of
this evolution and for setting the problems in their

.. 13.

proper context.' (In short lack of determinateness).
(p.296). There is mutual supporting relationship between
increasing rationality of formal organisations and indi-
viduals autonomy and independence. Increase in the
in-put of rationality would also transform the cultural
system though a bit later, reducing the traditional
rigidity of rules and regulations. In a way, rational
individualism will have to be matched by moral indivi-
dualism. There is thus an analogy between Weber's thesis
of protestant ethics and moral responsibility and the
proposition put forward by Crozier. All the same, there
is no gain-saying the fact that history is replete with
hero model which makes it difficult for participants
in the formal organisation particularly in the lower
echelons to avoid any responsibility (moral) and still
no transformation would be really possible without a
minimum inculcation of such responsibility. Standardisa-
tion and liberalisation are not thus pole or opposites
they were assumed to be. ' Neither the logic of standar-
disation nor the logic of liberalisation is applicable
alone if one tries to envisage the total picture. Both
are valid at that level. Man seems to derive the logic
of standardisation with his goals of efficiency as much
as successes of the logic of liberalisation will permit him.

.. 14.

New equillibrium are constantly formed in place of the older ones. They give man both the advantages and the burdens of greater sophistication and more complex entanglements.' (p.299). Even though it seems paradoxical, decentralisation of authority would be the ultimate outcome of such bureaucratisation. Any bureaucratic system cannot be impervious of the external system. Even in its internal system, there has to be a continuous re-evaluation of the role and authority of technocrats and experts. The automation for instance insists re-ordering of the system of stratification within an industrial organisation. Those at the helm of affairs have to per necessity develop humanistic attitudes in order to avoid head on confrontation. While bureaucratic organisations have to be characterised by openness, opportunity to deviate from
the laden path $\underset{\text{i.e.}}{/}$ rules and regulations and openness and the capacity to innovate, one cannot altogether deny the role of charishma, which is also attached to expertise. In fact, while traditionally bureaucracy is characterised by rationalisation and routinisation because of rules and regulations, innovations and charishma as well as the responsiveness to the external system opens out dynamic possibilities. It had been experienced that centralisation is not conducive to the requirements of efficient modern industrial society. Co-operation,

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co-ordination and decentralisation seem to be much
more conducive to the efficiency of modern rational
organisation. ' This convergence makes it possible to
meet the two basic conditions for successful change :
urgent necessity and material and moral responsibility
of adjusting to it.' (p. 301). Even though Crozier has
made these observations with special reference to French
society, they have relevance for any society which wants to
develop, because ' planned growth implies greater stress
in human motivation, fostering initiative at all levels,
more co-operation between individuals and more compe-
titon between groups. ' (p.304). Stratification had
earlier made it possible to safeguard equality while
centralisation made the consequences traditionally
impossible and accept hierarchy. However, with break-
down of the old hierarchical order, greater emphasis
will be placed on direct inter-personal contacts, since
due to the diminition of the rigidity of stratification
such inter-personal contacts would be less threatening
that before. Using the anology of short-run and long
run analysis annals, Crozier realistically points out that in
the short run ' higher civil servants who want to initiate
reform must resort to authoritarian show of 'force', in
the end, defeats its own purpose and reinforces the whole
system. In the long run, however, the diffusion of a
reformist spirit among most of the higher civil servants
must have decisive consequences. When the breaking point

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is reached, it will no longer be possible to maintain the bureaucratic faith in the middle ranks while the upper ranks disown it.' (p.310). Ofcourse, openness in recruitment to higher positions in the bureaucracy is also an urgent necessity. However, if for any reason there are fewer candidates for many competitive examinations than there are jobs offered, openness of recruitment will lose its meaning. If bureaucracy is mainly constituted of those holding inferior jobs, bureaucracy will lose its capacity to influence the system and in fact, it will be influenced by the external system. This is very reminiscent of the Indian situation, particularly when we take into account the lower echelons of bureaucracy operating at various levels. In any society which really wants to develop and stabilise its progress, if not enhance it, rational organisation must be matched by developing a new humanism, which August Comte had in mind when he proposed sociology as a new religion for industrial society.

Importance of Bureaucracy and dependence of Administration for implementing policies and programmes of development :

A great deal has been written about old societies and 'New Nations' and the extra-ordinary and special problems faced by them particularly in respect of

ensuring economic prosperity consistent with social
justice. There is no denying the fact that 'New Nations'
are not a homogeneous lot, because each one of them has
had a different history and have had differing infra-
structures such as well developed or otherwise, system
of communication and transport, trained manpower
avail ability or otherwise of natural resources and most of
all a well-trained administrative personnel. Even if
there has been availability of well-trained adminis-
trative personnel, there can be no denying the fact that
duties and functions which such personnel are called
upon to perform are significantly different after
a society has attained nationhood. Ofcourse, another
major difference to be mentioned in this context, is the
variety of political set-up and framework ranging from
authoritarian regime to a democratic system. Consequently
differential demands would be made on the administrative
personnel in respect of formulation and implementation
of pgogrammes and policies for development e.g. in the
case of an authoritarian regime, utmost importance
would be attached to the maintenance of law and order
and to quell any kind of unrest, which might eventually
develop into rebellion and over-throw of the regime;
whereas in the case of a democratic regime atleast theore-
tically and philosophically, even in practice, considerable

importance would be attached to the formulation and
implementation of policies and programmes by taking
into account the aspirations and views of the people --
Ofcourse, their duly elected representatives. Professor
Wriggins in his thought provoking book " Ruler's
Imperative " (Columbia University, Press 1969   has
very correctly emphasized the importance of power as
a concept of central importance for these new nations
in particular as far as ruler's are concerned. This
is not to deny the importance of power for well esta-
blished nations and their rulers, but for fledgling nation$
it is very crucial that ruler   acquire and maintain
his/her power, so that he/she can not only hold the
nation together but also effect improvement in the
conditions of the people. One of the most important
areas where where improvement is needed in such nation
is ofcourse economic development. Even though one may
reject out of hand the traditional concept of'straggler'
as far as these underdeveloped or developed nations are
concerned, one cannot afford to be unmindful of urgent
pressures which are exerted on the rulers to initiate
and speed up the process of economic development. At
the same time, it must also be remembered that while
expressing a very keen desire to increase the size of

the cake, emphasis on distribution of the cake in a
more or less egalitarian and acceptable manner is also
not lost sight of. It is indeed well-known that most
of these 'New Nations' which were colonial regimes had
not experienced industrial, technological and economic
development with the inevitable result of the impoverish-
ment of large masses of people. The non-availability of
various facilities like education, health, housing,
employment and so on are indeed large as far as the cir-
cumstances in which these nations have been placed. There-
fore, there is a very ardent and persistent clamouring
for making available/some of these very vital facilities
for the people at large. All the same, the rulers, parti-
cularly in a democratic regime, are called upon to resort
to proper programme and policy formulation so as to
impress upon the people about their bonafide intentions
and action, though in a halting manner. ' Rulers are
beset with anguishing challenge comprising into decades,
the changes which took centuries to accomplish elsewhere.
They must achieve a productive and flexible economy, one
capable of meeting challenge of repeatedly growing demands
and changing opportunities for comparative advantage.
Increasingly large proportion of the people can no longer
be excluded from some form of political participation.

The task is made harder because the yardstick -- by
which they are judged and tend to judge themselves --
is usually 'foreign make', derived from different
historical experiences and cultural traditions.' (p.6 & 7).
Power is certainly needed to not only maintain unity
of the nation, but even more so to discharge multifarious
and unending demands made on the rulers, which also
means incessant pressure on the rulers to perform so
as to satisfy the people's demands. As mentioned earlier,
the persistent demands to increase the size of the cake,
places rulers in a dilemna, which they try to solve by
pumping in resources and facilities to those sections
which are already fairly well developed and competent,
so that they can accelerate the process and progress
of economy and industrial -- agricultural development.
Inevitably, this enhances the already existing imbalances
and inequalities in the system. It is indeed a tight rope
walking for the rulers of these nations to simultaneously
enhance economic prosperity and also take steps to redress
in a more or less austensible manner, inequalities and
injustice with which the nation is laden. That is all the
more   the pressure to perform becomes very great.
Problems are complicated when the machinery for implement-

ing the various programmes and policies is said to be
sluggish as well as insensitive to the new demands. Stereo-
types about bureaucratic and administrative machinery can
be a 'self-fulfilling prophesy'. Nevertheless, there is
no escaping the fact that rulers will have to utilise
the existing administrative and bureaucratic machinery
for formulation of new policies and programmes and even
more so for their implementation insofaras it is feasible.
This requires enhancing the capability of the existing
machinery and also reorienting it for the performance of
an altogether different kinds of tasks and responsibilities,
while at the same time reposing the required measure of
trust and faith in their (a) capability and (b)bonafide.
Otherwise, there will be a loss of morale and self-confi-
dence in such machinery will xk certainly have disastrous
consequences. ' While on the one hand, bureaucracies were
dynamic instruments for promoting economic development,
despite the ideological preferences, many leaders had to
expand the economy primarily through governmental initia-
tives.' (p.18). The problem is further complicated by
persistence of two parallel structures at the same time.
'Since the transfer of power involves little change in
the social and economic structure,in the main, those who
had been prominent before independence continued to be so
afterwards.' (p.19). Naturally and inevitably the domination

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of the western educated elite as political rulers and
even much more so as important bureaucrats and adminis-
trators, has given rise to a hietus between the rulers,
administrators and the common people, which has to be
somehow bridged. Many a study of western educated elites
and intellectuals -- administrators and bureaucrats have
pointedly brought out the gap between the administrators
and the common people. It is here that Wriggins emphasizes
the importance of popularity, to which rulers have to take
a recourse. There is no denying the fact that contribution
made to the nationalist movement and attainment of inde-
pendence by erstwhile political leaders affords them
give a measure of charismatic popularity which they would
like to hold too in the post-independence period. Ideolo-
gical stances, pronouncements not to say gimmics can help
these rulers to enjoy a measure of popularity, which in
the short run can be a substitute for relatively inadequate
and poor performance and enable them to hold on to their
power. However, in the long run, these rulers will have
to equip themselves only through performance, for which
they have to increasingly depend on the bureaucratic and
administrative machinery and personnel. There is a built-in
ambivalence about the role of bureaucratic and administra-
tive machinery and personnel, because in popular parlance

bureaucracy has to be condemned for all the inadequacies of performance and they have to be criticised for their incapability, insensitivity and so on, at the same time making increasing, even impossible, demands on their performance. It should be remembered that not much is generally done to enhance their capability and to provide systematically the required quality and quantity of orientation so as to meet ever increasing challenges.

Concept and Philosophy of Development and Planning for it

Historical specificity of development in the West has not only defined the concept of development in a particular way but has also been mainly responsible for imposing that concept including a linear progression in respect of development on the under-developed or developing societies. We have already noted as to how developing societies have been branded or stamped as stragglers and as such made to feel incompetent and guilty. However, the 1975 Dag Hammarskjoid Report makes it very clear ' in the final analysis, crisis are the result of system and exploitation which provides a power structured base largely in the industrial world, although not without annexes in the Third World; ruling 'elites' of most countries are both accomplice and rivals at the same time '. (p.5). There is a very peculiar relationship

of collusion between the dominating and the very small
section of the dominated, which further aggravates the crisis .
Looking at the world as a whole, the Report further observes:
'that existing 'order' is coming part, and rightly so,
since it has failed to meet the needs of the vast majority
of peoples and reserve its benefits for privileged
minority'. (p.6). Thus, therefore, 'development should mean
'development' of every man and woman -- of the whole
man and woman -- and not just the growth of things, which
means the development to the satisfaction of needs beginning
with the basic needs of the poor who constitute world's
majority; at the same time, develop to ensure humanisation
of man by the satisfaction of his needs for expression,
creativity, conviviality and for deciding his own destiny.
Development is a whole; it is an integral, value-led,
cultural process; it encompasses the natural environment,
social relations, education, production, consumption and
well-being. The development is indogeneous; it springs
from the heart of each society, which relies first on its
own strength and resources and advance in sovereignity,
the vision of its future, co-operating with societies,
sharing its problems and aspirations : they depend upon
the technologies employed and the relationship between
social and natural systems, on the way human societies
organise themselves and on the values they adopt. The true
limits of mankind in our time are not primarily physical but
social and political.' (p.7). Ofcourse as mentioned earlier,

Ofcourse, as mentioned earlier, integration of the
dominating and the dominated brought about false and
immoral kind of integration which perpetuated the
dependence of the dominated on the dominating. The goals
of development as stated in the Report are as follows :

1) Place the satisfaction of needs -- beginning with
   the eradication of poverty -- at the focal point
   of the development process.

2) Strengthen Third World capacity for self-reliant
   development.

3) Transform social, economic and political structures.

4) Increase the availability of, and access to, foodstuffs.

5) Orient science and technology towards another
   development

6) Improve public information.

7) Redefine the policies of international resource
   transfers and ensure their automatic financing.

8) Establish a world authority to manage mankind's
   common heritage.

9) Adapt the United Nation's system to new requirements.

10) The need to be able to appeal

                                                      (p.13)

In the Third World, concrete programmes are required
to satisfy, as matter of urgency, the basic needs. They
imply the establishment of targets related to special
social groups. First and foremost choice would be whose
situation is most critical viz, no children whose full
development is jeopardised by mal-nutrition and the poorest

groups, landless peasants, small farmers and un-employed
or under-employed in the towns.'(p.13). 'What is intended
is improvement in the quality of life by reducing even
stopping wasteful consumption, which would necessarily
mean transformation of socio-economic and political
structures, which includes agrarian reforms, urban
reforms, reforms of the commercial and financial control,
redistribution of wealth and means of production as well as
redesigning of political institutions. There is no doubt
that this is a very tall order, but unless an overall
and comprehensive effort is made, development which
generally takes place cannot be of much use to the tradi-
tionally deprived and disprivileged sections. This means
stupendous effort on the part of both the State and the
society, because it has been very poignantly pointed out
by Marx that State is nothing but reflection of the
monopoly of power exercised by certain sections of
society. To attain the idealised, not to say the idolised
goal of comprehensive development, it is necessary to
ensure freedom to people. That is, just as men have
right to food, they also have a social right to speak, to
know, to understand meaning of their work, to take part
in public affairs and to define their beliefs. The right
to education, to expression, to information and to the

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management of production are all rights which articulate the same need of socialisation.' (p.27). On the other hand, when scientific research is subject to profit and education itself becomes a commodity to be purchased in the market, majority of the people will be bereft of this most important humanising facility. Involvement of peasants and workers and duly respecting ecology and environment, is also a must for ensuring this kind of development, because otherwise as mentioned above, collusion between the dominating and the dominated (a very small minority) will endanger environment and render any development worst than useless for majority of the people. In order to do this, immediate action is both necessary and possible. Because otherwise, future of mankind will be mortgaged beyond repair.

It may be argued that this is too an idealised a picture of development, but it could not be denied that this is one of the clearest and boldest statements about the complexities of development and the importance of radical steps which have to be taken in order even to make any progress in the desired direction, since any cosmic effort will not help. In this context, it is important to mention : '. the colonial powers tended to have administration without policy; the newly independent countries

tend to have policies (i.e. plans), without efficient administration to implement them '. (Paul P.Streeten : Notes on Development Planning : Problems and Solutions : (p.1) International Journal of Development Planning Literature Vol. 1, No.1, Jan.March, 1986, Jan Tinbergen, Institute for Development Planning, Rohtak, India)[2]. Streeten has naturally emphasized the importance of co-ordination and asserts that with proper co-ordination, the problem of scarcity of resources can be got over and emphasizes the need for participation of regional and sub-regional and sectoral level. ' It is worth sacrificing ' efficiency ' (in a static sense), to get political support for the plan by (perhaps) locating a certain project in a region where it is not justified on purely short term economic grounds. Therefore, the plan should be both politically and economically realistic . . . . a planning must be more than just a finan-cial and fiscal planning. It must include skills, material plans: and non-economic variables such as population control and the system of land tenancy, administration, education, nutrition. It is important to plan conditions for the human, cultural and social variables which are generally neglected.' (Ibid. p. p.18). In order to make planning for development effective, utmost importance will have to be attached to changing the existing criteria (ascriptive) of division of labour, access to facilities

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and the resultant inequality and power. In respect of
accepting various social mechanisms and institutions
governing social interaction and relationships as given
or being lorded from without, efforts should be made
to diagnose the ills of the social framework from within
so as to change them. To repeat whatwas mentioned in
passing earlier, increasing emphasis has been now placed
on the theory of the State as a reflection of the power
structure which springs from economic and social domina-
tion. There has also been an increasing awareness even
amongst economists regarding cultural and institutional
variables which according to them affect the working
of economy. ' Institutional reform is appropriately
viewed more as a response to the new opportunities
for the productive use of human and material resources
opened up by advances in technology than as a pre-condition
for agricultural development.' (Ruttan p.258).('Agricul-
tural Development' an International Perspective : Baltimore
John Hopkins University Press, 1971).²³· As very rightly
emphasized in the Hammarskjold Report, what is at stake
is social relations between people. Therefore, the dis-
functional aspects of the prevailing economy and political
arrangements create a legitimacy crisis and this is a
phenomenon commonly experienced by the new States.

Thus, developing planning models tend to bridge the 'gap between the highly esoteric theoretical and technical developments and the practical needs and possibilities of the policy planners.' (Bhagwan Dahia : Some Reflections on the Methodological Evolution on Development Planning Models ' : (p.72): International Journal of Development Planning Literature, Vol.1, No.1, Jan-Mar.1986 Rohtak, India).

Considerable thinking has been devoted to the analysis of the role of the State in developing countries and it has been very rightly emphasized that this should be treated as a very vital object of social science report. (Rolf Hanisch and Rainer Tetzlaff in their Article on " The State in Developing Countries as object of Social Science Report in the Journal of 'Law and State' Vol.27: Pps.59 to 91: Ed. by the Institute for Scientific Co-operation, Tubingen, 1983). Because there is no denying the fact that rulers of the new States have to willy-nilly give a good account of themselves in terms of performances at least to minimal extent in order to retain their power. As seen earlier, even in order to acquit themselves of the responsibility reposed in them, they must continue to maintain their power, for which a certain degree of reliance can be placed on popularity but performance cannot be

neglected altogether. Due to the complex blending of
the traditional habits of thinking and dependence, people
at large look upon the State as not only responsible but
also efficient and competent to resolve their pent up
problems which are truly of a structural nature. That
is why, rulers of new States have to face very critical
problem and as such are more often than not placed in
an unenviable situation. In his Article on ' Political
System and Planning in Developing Countries', (Vol.26,
p.110-135 : Law and State, Ed. Institute for Scientific
Co-operation, Tubingen, 1982), Jurgen Wolff advances
the actor model of economic and social planning and
stresses the importance of the pluralism model of planning
which takes into account the spheres of values and aspi-
rations and as such has to be always concerned with
social crisis, philosophical and ideological factors,
cultural norms of society. Similarly, there are several
structural determinants of planning which point out
the basic limitations of opportunities for political
action. Mobilisation Function of the State has to
necessarily take into account the administrative process
i.e. bureaucracy, without neglecting participation con-
sensus and control. The author also critically mentions
the world-wide failure of participation in the planning
process. He further emphasizes the relationship between

bureaucracy administered citizen and the problem of parti-
cipation, wherein personal attitudes of the Civil Servants
and contradiction between central bureaucratic planning
and broad participation in decision making have to be
thought of. Thus, the political system particularly in
developing countries is compelled to resort to planning
by utilising the administrative and bureaucratic structure,
inspite of ⌃the attendant problems of the relationship between
those who administer and those who are administered.

   The development theory, thus, is organically linked
with practical action: ⸴ a point   very rightly put forward
by Horst Buscher in his Article " Developing Theory: Orien-
tation towards Practical Action : Exploitations of Social
References Groups and Epeistomological Progress " (Vol.25,
p.51-87: Law and State, Ed. Institute for Scientific Co-
operation, Tubingen, 1982) The author very rightly ques-
tions the theory of the colonial period and the rise of
the development theories, modernisation theories, theories
of imperialism and takes into account the attack on the
modernisation paradigm and also emphasises the theory of
the satisfaction of basic needs. Thus, development is not
a homogeneous problem or an entity, although its
main purpose is to satisfy the basic needs of the people
at large. Reinhard Bodemeyer in his Article " Administra-

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tion and Development directed towards Basic Needs : Example

of Zambia " (Vol. 30, p. 146-159: Law and State, Ed.Insti-

tute for Scientific Co-operation, Tubingen, 1984), [28] reiterates

the same important point. In this Article, he emphasises

the importance of de-centralisation of the administration

as a strategy for improving the implementation capacity,

while at the same time is aware of the restrictions upon

decentralisation. In the same fashion, Jurgen Oestereich

in his Article " What is Regional Planning in the Third

World and whom it is to be served ? " (Vol.25, p.102-115,

Law and State, Ed. Institute for Scientific Co-operation,

Tubingen, 1984), [29] states that the top-down concept is not

altogether discarded, perpetuating colonial or authoritarian

problem and very rightly introduces the bottom-up concept,

which must take into account the style of decision making,

communication and interaction between planners, adminis-

trators, implementors and the common man. There is thus

a great deal of serious thinking devoted to the complexities

on the problems of development and thereby emphasising

impossibility of a unified theory of development. At the

same time, the most vital point which has emerged from thinking

about development is the supreme important of administrative

bureaucratic machinery and the need to harness it for deve-

lopment under the changed context of needs, aspirations,

values and demands for participation and interactional

(two way) process.

In an altogether different context, parallel think-
ing and philosophy has been vindicated. Thus in a symposium
on " Public Policy and Policy Analysis in India " (Sage
Publications,New Delhi, Beverley Hills,London, 1985),
several scholars have strongly recommended a critical review
of erstwhile theories of planning and development,while
discussing the problems pertaining to policy analysis and
research. Historical importance to policy analysis and
research can be traced to the failure of policies to
tackle some of the major social problems as exemplified
by two Great Wars as well as Vietnam War. Pointed atten-
tion has been drawn by Klitgaard'of this failure to a gap
between bureaucrats and politicians on the one hand and
social scientists on the other. While the former failed
to comprehend the complexities of unethical techniques
later were unfamiliar with the politics of policy making.
(p.14). Similarly importance of social structural factors
has also brought up again and again in both the formula-
tion of policy and its implementation. Policy formula-
tion and particularly its implementation is naturally
regarded as the major task and responsibility of the
administrative and bureaucratic machinery. However, what
is even more pertinent is the involvement of this machinery
in the philosophy underlying the programmes of development,

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which necessarily requires interaction between them and the people at large -- giving a go-bye to the concept of impersonality. It is obvious that formulation of policies and programmes are not enough. The point which has been stressed again and again is the supreme necessity of participation and involvement in programmes and policies of the common man through appropriate social and political mechanisms so as to push the pace of 'development' (as adumbrated in the Hammarskjoid Report. This is not to deny that the concept and philosophy of development, as suggested in this report, is normative and not factual.

In fact, the task of the present work is to critically look at the classical (Weberian) theory of bureaucracy, which was ofcourse developed in the context of analysis of legal rational authority -- a stage which was reached by Western developed societies. On the other hand, in societies like India, which are struggling, rightly or wrongly, to follow this path, what are the difficulties created (a) in the pursuit of such path and (b) particularly the requirements of atleast a modified and revised, if not, a different theory of bureaucracy when the same is harnessed for development?

Chapter II

Administrative Experience, Bureaucracy and Impediments to its functioning -- lack of adequate theoretical understanding of the problem.

Every society, however simple or complex it may be, needs to be administered in order that the various needs and demands of the people are satisfied in an orderly manner. Even in a family, which is essentially a primary group and based on face to face interaction, creation and vesting of authority is needed to ensure disciplined functioning of that unit, so that the desired goals are realised. Talcott Parsons has very correctly emphasized polity as a sub-system which is entrusted with the task of goal attainment. In order to attain the goals, there is a continuous process of creation and vesting of power and authority, which is absolutely essential for providing effective normative guidelines for day-to-day action. As mentioned earlier, acquisition and maintenance of power is Ruler's imperative, without any exception, no matter the type of society and the kinds of rulers. We have also noted that power cannot be retained without measure of performance which really means employing administrative machinery to attain the goals and objectives, however simple they may be. As a

matter of fact, even to maintain power, use of administrative and bureaucratic mechanism is very vital such as maintenance of law and order, collection of revenue and taxes for undertaking various productive and distributive functions. It may seem paradoxical, but even to maintain popularity and use it as a mere substitute for 'adequate performance', rulers have to utilise administrative mechanisms, for instance management of public opinion by the use of appropriate media: oral, written, technological and so on. According to the types of society, where authority is based on tradition or legal rational consideration, relevant type of administrative machinery is devised and used. In a society where authority is rooted in tradition i.e. historicity, administrative mechanism would be guided by ascriptive considerations and as such the composition of bureaucracy is likely to be arbitrary in nature. On the other hand, in a society, which is essentially based on legal rational criteria, recruitment into bureaucracy would depend on basic qualification, training, capacity to deliver the goods etc. Therefore, rulers insofaras they belong to these two different types of society, have necessarily to evolve and depend on appropriate administrative machinery and bureaucracy. It has

been noted in history that even if a great deal of charishma is attributed to $\overset{\curlywedge}{\underset{\wedge}{}}$ruler, eventually routinisation of charisma takes place with the result that necessary administrative machinery is evolved and deployed. In his characteristic manner, Max Weber devised three models of society guided by principles which determine authority in (a) traditional authority, legal rational authority and charismatic authority, while at the same time being very conscious of the fact that these types might overlap and not be so distinct and set apart from each other in their day-to-day working, and that is why he categorises these three types of authorities as ideal types rather than substantive reality. There is no denying the fact that pressures from people at large Impinge upon the rulers to evolve appropriate administrative and bureaucratic frameworks.

Administrative History of India

In his comprehensive work on "Administrative History of India from 1834 to 1947", (B.B.Misra (Oxford University Press, Bombay 1970), has very rightly pointed out that existence and utilisation of administrative machinery very much dates back to pre-British period and also speaks of the special characteristics of the Mughal administration. Similarly he also points out the distinctive characteristics of administration and bureaucracy emanating from the colonial

regime. Similarly, the economic philosophy of Laissez Faire imparted special duties and characteristics to bureaucracy, on the one hand facilitating forces of mobility and ensuring the maintenance of law and order to facilitate the implementation of the economic philosophy. While it is conceded that Laissez Faire contributed to the progress of liberalisation, education and economic development, it also simultaneously perpetuated impoverishment. Professor Misra also points out as to how the emergence of Congress and the independence movement in general had also lost the ~~basis~~ bearing in the sense that it wanted to protect the interest of the educated and business class. Colonial rule further necessitated development of communication, transport and also various administrative mechanisms right from the capital to the remotest village, so as to ensure direct control over all the people. There is no doubt that the British rulers imposed their administrative system of India, at the same time taking care not to introduce certain features like the provision of free legislature, system of education which would enable everyone to develop skills so as to be conducive to one's own and the country's economic development and making allowance for the free play of laissez faire so as to more or less destroy traditional handicrafts and industries. In fact, as a result of the impoverishment

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of the people, British rulers had also to undertake certain

activities of construction like building of roads, canals,

dams etc. Prof. Misra very pertinently points out ' the

gap that often remained between the statutory provisions

of the Constitution and the practice that had to take into

account the exigencies of social economic and political

developments' (p.7). Similarly he points out the differences

between the convented civil servants and unconvanted pro-

vincial servants and the various regional imbalances, and

the Governments. In the evolution of administrative mecha-

nisms which derived their inspiration from western liberal

thinking and experience, the British rulers were careful

to make sure that the executive authority reigned supreme

over any other kind of authority, thus impairing the basic

liberal philosophy underlying western thinking and experience.

' The Pre-British Mughal system had a highly bureau-

cratised hierarchical officials and yet it was not contra-

ctual but personal in nature. The Officer did not possess

any specified sphere of competence and where competence

obedience

was due, not so much would allow to the impersonal order of

to the law or

status

the officer but to the State's structure to which he belonged.

Nor were there any fixed rules for recruitment, qualifications

or for service conditions. Everything depended upon the

whims of the King.' (p.639). As such there was no separation

between private and official property. Even if the British

depended on conquest or constituting the ultimate source

of legitimacy of their authority, in order that bureaucracy

could function and enforce authority, introduction of elements

of rationality in its organisation, fairness of the
competent system, specified conditions of service, rule-
bound official functions, respect shown to law and the
impersonal character of public officers etc. distinguished
pre-British bureaucracy from bureaucracy under the British.
The rules and regulations could not be changed fast enough
probably mainly because of the lack of backing of the
general will of the people at large who were either ignorant
or incompetent to air their views and aspirations. Under
these circumstances ' administrative change was bound to
be slow, independent of the urgency of any political demand '
(p.645). Even though the application of law to village
economy seriously impaired the traditional pattern of rural
leadership, in real life situation, common people had to
look up to such leaders. As in England, the educated middle
class tended to acquire economic competence and power
through its recruitment into the portals of bureaucracy.
This class of urban educated people claimed to represent
                           all
the interests of/classes and yet the British Rulers tried
to provide a semblance of local self government, mainly at the
District and Taluka level. As a result of their education
under bureaucratic authority, there was a tendency to
develop absentee landlords, which only impoverished the
agrarian structure to create rift between the rural and

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the urban structure. ~~Revolution~~ *Reforms movement* and persistence of
Indian bureaucracy during the British rule heightened
the cleevage between the urban and the rural, educated
and the illiterate and as such concentrated structural
contradictions in society, which post-independence
Government of India took upon itself to redress.
Professor Misra has also drawn our attention to the
fact of the impact of Bolshevik revolution and the
development of the concept of welfare State, which
has provided a frame of reference to our rulers.

Philosophy of Economic Planning : Russian Revolution
brought to the fore the importance, necessity and practi-
cability of the concerted economic planning so as to
attain the objectives of development of the nation, parti-
cularly economic, industrial, scientific and technolo-
gical development consistent with egalitarian goal. Classi-
cal and neo-classical economic theory started looking at
the Russian experiment with great interest, although it
was also characterised by ambivalance. Free play of market
forces and the philosophy of laissez faire received a jolt,
particularly because of the great depression of 1929. It
has been documented that even in the U.S.A.,which is
regarded as the citadel of free enterprise, President Roosevelt
thought it fit and advisable to undertake a great deal
of developmental activity through the efforts of the State

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so as to tackle problem of unemployment and glut in the
market. The operation of Five Year Plans of economic
development in Soviet Russia resulted in sensitizing
people at the helm of affairs that the economic system can
and needs to be controlled so that it can deliver the
goods and serve society and polity rather than being
its temperamental and unpredictable master. Economic
planning certainly affords control over a proper deve-
lopment, utilisation and distribution of resources so
that the so-called equillibrium is maintained, if not
a higher equillibrium is attained. Morass in which the
western economic system had got itself into, naturally
drew pointed attention to the necessity of some sort
of economic planning even though it was not so vocally
accepted or acceptable. In India, under the chairmanship
of Jawaharlal Nehru, even during the pre-independence
period, a Planning Committee was set up so as to formulate
a futuristic plan for proper development of Indian economy.
Further, economic planning also emphasized the importance
of distributive justice consistently with economic
development and prosperity or to put it in more realistic
terms, Soviet economic planning paid special attention
to the development of Soviet industry, science and technology,

at the same time making sure that everybody was offered
the minimum necessities of life. There is no denying the
fact that the message of economic planning was two-fold
viz., acquiring control over the economy and also laying
emphasis on making available minimum facilities for living
to everyone by reducing inequalities. This is not to
suggest that two kinds of emphasis which was a distinct
contribution of economic planning were necessarily imple-
mented intoto, but it gave rise to both optimism about the
potential capacity to control and keep in check economic
forces and also to assert the great significance of distri-
butive justice.

Even before the Second World War, Lord William Beverıdge
had prepared a copious report on Welfare measures to be
taken to rehabilitate and resuscitate British economy and
there was considerable thinking devoted to problems posed
by transition of the economy and State from war to peace
Ofcourse, as we know, Pigou had written on welfare economics
much before the Second World War and Lord ~~Kanes~~ had ~~located~~ Keynes focussed
his attention in his study General Theory of Interest, Money
~~the study~~ again to revive economy which was in doledrums and Employment
due to the great depression transferring off resources by
the State to the needy and the poor by providing them with
employment had become an accepted economic philosophy and
maxim which acquired considerable impetus after the war.

Keynesian

Kansian thinking came to be regarded as Kanasan *Keynesian* revolution

and inspite of the fact that there has been a great deal

of thinking about critical appraisal of this description
Keynes
not to say prescription, propositions put forward by Kanes

in his book ' General Theory of Interest, Employment and

Money ' came to stay. It would not be wrong to say that
Keynesian
Kansian economics and the subsequent development in economic

thinking and philosophy accepted the principle of necessity

of mixed economy instead of relying on the philosophy of

Laissez Faire or competition and unbridled operation of

market forces. In India also we have adopted the model

of mixed economy, although putting considerable emphasis on

public enterprises so as to reduce hegemony and domination
                                    With
of private enterprise./every Five Year Plan, there has been

proliferation of more and more public enterprises and the

State is undertaking the responsibility of production specially

in heavy industries, fertilizers, petroleum, gas, electricity

and so on. By resorting to economic planning which has

emphasized heavy industries as well as making significant

inputs in production of various public utilities, On the

one hand, the problem of employment has been tackled, but

on the other hand, appropriate orientation of manpower which

is employed in these various public enterprises and utili-

ties has not been accorded sanction sufficient importance

and attention. Even then, there has been rather an abrupt

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utilisation of manpower right from the highest to the lowest level to take care of the various programmes of development including heavy industries, public utilities, fertilizers, irrigation, electricity and so on. Direct and abrupt utilisation of the manpower in all the projects of development and transformation has taken place in the context of their vaguely verbalised and idolised philosophy of development without making any preparation for the alteration of either the structure, behaviour and personnel involved in the task of development and transformation. It would not at all be wrong to say that such utilisation has been more or less of an adhoc nature and undertaken as an expediency without long term policy or thinking. On the one hand, the existing administrative machinery and personnel have been entrusted with the tasks and responsibilities with which they were not familiar and on the other hand they were expected to deliver the goods. It is here that supreme importance of proper theoretical and analytical understanding of the problems and issues involved in such transfer of administrative bureaucratic personnel from one set of task to another acquires urgent attention. A proper theory enables us to conceptualise and clarify the complex situation. The purpose of theory is to illuminate our understanding of

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the reality. Merton has very rightly emphasized the
significance of unanticipated consequences already in
action and speaks about latent function (Robert K.
Merton, " Social Theory and Social Structure " Free
Press, Glenco, Illinois, 1957). The purpose of any
theory atleast in Social Sciences is to put the whole
problem in a proper context so as to unravel the complex
variables and their interaction and impact. If, however,
there is no awareness of the complexities involved and
the capacity or otherwise of the persistent utilization
of traditionally trained manpower for attending to new
objects and tasks, what is really needed is a theoretical
perspective which would take into account the demands of
the changing situation in its entirety. It is not suggested
that any theory can offer solution to any concrete problem
on a platter, yet relevant action and interference would be
rendered possible by such understanding. Now-a-days it has
been suggested particularly with reference to research
in public policy, that the job of a policy analyst does
not stop at mere analysis but should really be extended
to appropriate intervention and action on his part and
yet there can be denying the importance of appropriate
theoretical and analytical understanding of the complexi-
ties of the situation which ensue as a result of the
immense task of transforming society and economy not to

say polity. We have already pointed out the hazards of
employing the classical model of bureaucracy which was
based on the specificities of industrial and economic
development in the west. What is really needed is a proper
examination of the analytical concepts for understanding
the new situation entailing new structures and behavioural
patterns and personnel training and policies.

Several studies, as mentioned earlier, carried out
in the field of public administration and ofcourse
bureaucracy, point out the hurdles inherent in the structural
setting of India in respect of utilization of adminis-
trative and bureaucratic personnel for undertaking and
ensuring the stupendous task of transformation. In fact,
most of the scholars in the field of Public Administration
and Bureaucracy have been content in merely listing such
structural hurdles and have made sweeping suggestions about
'reforming' bureaucracy, if not dispensing with it altogether
without bothering to provide any conceptual framework.
It may be argued that understanding of structural hurdles
which have impaired the capacity and efficiency of the
bureaucracy to deliver the goods -- that the intended and
expected quantity as well as quality of transformation
which emphasizes both economic prosperity and social
justice -- that is structural change of society, is

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very necessary but not sufficient. This is reflected
in " Survey of Research in Public Administration : "
Two Volumes published by Indian Council of Social Science
Research, New Delhi, (1975) and in Article by Hans
Christoph Rieger on ' Socio and Political Aspects of
Economic Development Planning in India, in " Economic
and Social Aspects of Indian Development " Ed. Peter
Meyer Dohm, Horst Erdmann Verlag Tubingen Basel. "Shakuntala
Publishing House, Bombay 1975" and ofcourse in numerous
books and papers pertaining to development administration
on Bureaucracy. In his both famous and controversial
work " Asian Drama ", Gunnar Myrdal also discusses this
problem.

Structural Setting and the hurdles it poses for effective functioning of bureaucracy to ensure development :

In our discussion of development, sufficient importance
has been attached to the reduction of inequality and high
rate of consumption on the part of the affluent in order
to make development possible or a worthwhile activity for
the common man to participate in it. After independence,
while the ruling political party and its organisational
structure has been entrusted with the task of policy formu-
lation instead of development and ofcourse its implementation

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through a proper utilization of the administrative
machinery i.e. bureaucracy. In the pre-independence
period, the composition of the higher echelons of bureau-
cracy and their distancing themselves from the common man
has been taken due note of. Even as far as the supporting
provincial services were concerned, alienation of the
urban based educated middle class bureaucrats from the
common man and its problems has also been suitably
mentioned. As of to-day, simultaneously one finds that
bureaucracy is not a homogeneous phenomenon or entity but
operates at different levels starting from the village
and going upto the cabinet secretariate level where deci-
sions about policies and programmes are usually taken
and to a large extent imposed on remote areas. This can
be said even about the functioning of bureaucracy at the
State level insofaras there is a separation both in terms
of spatial set up, hierarchy, power, authority, prestige,
status etc. and that operating at the village level. In a
survey of research in the area of Public Administration
undertaken by the Indian Council of Social Science Research,
majority of the authors point out that there is a gap
between the organisation of bureaucracy, the pattern of its
behaviour and culture and expectations made of bureaucracy
in order that they can communicate, facilitate and expedite

the developmental process./As mentioned earlier, developmental activity cannot take place without involving people and ensuring their participation. On the other hand, pressure to meet targets particularly in terms of expenditure incurred on various schemes of development also tempts the officials to spend money on schemes which really make the rich richer or to spend money of eradication of poverty on those very people who were really never below the poverty line, which has been substantiated in several Studies. (Report on Economic Assessment of Poverty, eradication and rural unemployment, alleviation programmes and their prospects, by the Institute for Financial Management and Research, Madras, (1934)? The possession or otherwise of political or economic power has also affected the functioning of bureaucracy in its task of developmental activities. The relationships between Ministers and Civil Servants as well as leaders of political parties particularly ruling party and bureaucrat officials belonging to the lower echelons has also created obstacles in their functioning. The overall process of planning, budgetary and financial control, district administration, administration of urban areas, physical administration, public personnel administration, administration of development programmes in agriculture and community development, administration of non-agricultural development and rural areas and development of small industries in urban areas, administration of science and technology, administration of law and order

administration of social service and welfare, industrial regulations, administration of public enterprises and so on emphasize time and again the importance of structural factors like power, prestige, authority, caste, class, kinship etc. in the actual operation of bureaucracy at various levels. While economic planning is really supposed to transfer resources from advanced to the backward areas and regions, in reality this has not taken place, because of the pressure to perform and show results in respect of various kinds of development. Ofcourse, the problem of inequality and how far it can be reduced by developmental activity has been discussed umpteen times, yet inequalities of various types : socio-cultural, economic, political, regional, sub-regional etc. are a fact of life to be reckoned with and have as such resulted in the concentration of developmental efforts and activities in areas which were already developed, which has been substantiated by many a field studies. Social and Political aspects of the economic development planning in India has been duly emphasized. Thus economic development brings about changes in the social set-up and aggravates social problems or social resistence may frustrate efforts at economic development. After independence ' Government is admitting impulses on the administration to the client system with the express purpose of bringing about social and economic change.

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In this sense bureaucracy functions as a link in an open
loop, chain of command, not only does it have to transmit
the impulses from the Government system into the impulses
it emits to the client system. It is also expected to react to
the client systems unexpected reactions in accordance with
the Government preference functions. 'Bureaucracy is no
exception to the rule that machines built for one purpose
are not always easily adaptable to another." (p.102):
(Hans Christoph Rieger on 'Socio-Political Aspects of
Economic Development Planning in India', in "Economic and
Social Aspects of Indian Development" Ed. Peter Meyer Dohm,
Horst Erdmann Verlag Tubingen Basel, 'Shakuntala Publishing
House," Bombay,1975.). The functioning of bureaucracy at
various levels right from the capital of the country to the
village with its attendant system of hierarchy and control
posed further problems for implementation of the plans
by the bureaucracy. In order to attain the results in
the short run planning tends to be technocratic in nature
rather than substantive, so that ideology of planning,
equality in democracy, concepts and practice of socialism,
optional controls over the private sector and so on exist
more on the statutes instead of being reflected in the
implementation. Even while mentioning various kinds of
structural constraints both historical and present, very

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little attempt is made to provide a conceptual framework
for the analysis of the distinctive nature of development
bureaucracy and the deficiencies in the functioning of the
bureaucracy arising out the structural factors mentioned
above which necessitate evolving of fresh conceptual
framework. The next chapter will devote attention to the
review of existing material from the point of view of
concepts and frameworks pertaining to development bureau-
cracy and whether or not such concepts and frameworks are
having developed at all in the various studies.

Practically all the experts in the field of Public
Administration and Bureaucracy have very pointedly drawn
our attention to the fact of lack of a coherent conceptual
framework for understanding of the functioning of adminis-
trative machinery and bureaucracy, particularly insofaras
it is harnessed for development. On the one hand, bureaucracy
is expected to function as a change agent and on the other
appropriate conceptual apparatus to understand the challenges
of the new situation and the dilemna it has posed for
bureaucracy, political parties and rulers and ofcourse
common people, have not been explicitly studied in terms
of theoretical concepts. On the other hand, there have been
numerous studies which deal with the problems faced by
the bureaucrats, politicians and rulers as well as the people
arising out of this new role which is imposed on bureaucracy.
We have already mentioned about the discussion of structural

constraints which do not allow bureaucracy to perform the new role effectively. Some of the important constraints emphasized practically by every author are the nature of stratification of Indian Society in terms of caste, class and political power, the socio-economic cultural background of bureaucrats, the image of bureaucrats both in their own minds and in the minds of their clientale, derisive attitude towards bureaucracy, lack of proper orientation of bureaucracy to perform the new tasks and functions entrusted to them viz., that of working as an agent of change and development, the dimensions of social and geographical subjects, participation and involvement of common people in the policies and programmes of development or lack of it and so on. Indirectly one might say that by discussing the factors which impeded the working of bureaucracy as an agent of change in an effective and efficient manner, certain pre-requisites have been hinted at though in a negative manner which can be and ought to be used for formulation of appropriate concepts and theory of development bureaucracy. A great deal has been written about the incongruence and the resulting conflict between the two roles and cultures by bureaucracy viz., pre-independence role characterised by emphasis on law and order and the post-independence role particularly after undertaking planning activity, the role

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of bureaucracy as change agent. Apart from this conflict, the inability or incapacity of the majority of the clientele to demand the acceptance of new role by bureaucracy, should also be taken note of. It would not be wrong to say that there is a tri-partite interaction and relationship between the bureaucrats, politicians and the people i.e. the community and as such all these three components have not only to be understood and analysed but what is even more necessary is appropriate orientation and socialisation of all these three components involved, to the demands of the changing situation. It is indeed gratifying that the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, initiated the studies on Bureaucracy taking into account all these components viz., the bureaucrats and politicians, bureaucrats and citizens and so on. It would not at all be wrong to say that bureaucracy is sandwitched between the people and their aspirations and expectations and the politicians who have to maintain their power   by for performance, ofcourse by proxy, (through the utilization of the existing administrative and bureaucratic machinery) and by maintaining their popular image in the minds of the people. It would also be not out of place here to mention that practically all the studies of bureaucracy have possessed a great deal of normative content as to the proper role and

functioning of bureaucracy in the changing context and is
full of suggestions both positive and negative as to the
kind of interaction and relationship which is desired and
regarded as desirable between the three components mentioned
above. In a way, therefore, by implication, suggestions are
made as to the required concepts, theory and development
bureaucracy. In an indirect manner, this has set the task
for the present study viz., to evolve a more or less coherent
conceptual framework and theory of bureaucracy, when it is
used as an agent of change and development.

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Chapter III

Concepts which have emerged from the existing literature particularly those specifically in respect of highlighting of structural constraints and suggestions of normative nature.

I have been raising the problem time and again viz., whether formulation of theory is and can be always explicit, particularly whenever researcher is confronted with a dynamic and changing situation. It is a common sense of research methodology that observation and understanding of a new phenomenon and process necessitates improvisation initially of new concepts and frameworks which can become meaningful hypothesis to be tested rigourously rather than starting with a given framework and trying to fit the changing reality into such framework. It is not at all uncommon experience in the field of social science in particular and even in natural sciences to contain rudiments of concepts and theoretical framework which gradually evolve into meaningful scientific and rigorous entities but are relatively fluid and undefined for a fairly long period of time. But awareness displayed about the structural constraints impeding the functioning of baaucracy as an agent of change and also the copious suggestions of a normative character are a case in point. Out of such a critical mention of

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negative aspects and normative suggestions made as to how
to make the functioning of ~~beaucracy~~ _bureaucracy_ effective for the
developmental goal, which have been imposed upon it, one
can nevertheless get a clue to underlying concepts and
would as such be useful to the construction of a conceptual
theoretical framework.

There is indeed a voluminous literature pointing out
negative aspects of the existing ~~beaucracy~~ _bureau_ in terms of its
culture, personality, type and structure, which is regarded
as dysfunctional to the task of development entrusted to it
particularly insofaras the question of transfer of original
resources and facilities to weaker and poorer sections are
concerned. Similarly a great deal of importance has been
attached to the lack of innovative spirit on the part of
~~beauerats~~ _bureaucrats_ and their incapacity to take firm decisions and
action as and when required. Likewise, a gap in the socio-
economic cultural background of those manning ~~beaucracy~~ _bureaucracy_
and the common people has also been brought up time and
again. It is not necessary to quote everyone and every
article or paper which contain such criticism of the nega-
tive aspects of ~~beaucracy~~ _bureaucracy_ as it functions to-day, because
it is indeed a common running thread in respect of practically
all the writing about ~~beaucracy~~ _bureaucracy_. Even in the pre-independence
days, stalwarts of the nationalist movement like Pt.Jawaharlal

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Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhashchandra Bose,
Chittaranjan Das and others have more or less provided
a blue-print for proper civic administration while pointing
out the negative features of civic administration. Pt.
Jawaharlal Nehru, when he was Chairman of the Allahabad
Municipality, mentioned :   whatever the reasons, the fact
remains that our local bodies as rulers, are the shining
examples of success and efficiency, though they might even
so, compare with some municipalities in advanced democratic
countries. They are not usually corrupt, they are just
inefficient and their weak point is nepotism and their
perceptions are all wrong.   All this, is natural enough;
for, democracy to be successful, must have a background
of informed public opinion and a sense of responsibility.
Instead, we have all prevailing atmosphere of authoritarian
regime and the accomplishments of democracy are lacking.
There is no proper educational system, no effort to build
up public opinion based on knowledge. Inevitably,public
attention turns to personal or communal on petty issues.'
Deshbandhu C.R.Das also stated: " those in-charge of civic
administration to provide education, health service, safe
water, milk to the poorer sections in order to serve the
Daridrinarayan and criticise the existing administration
in respect of neglecting its duty.' Even in the post-
independence days, failure of the municipal authorities

to perform their duties towards the poorer sections of
the people, has been castigated. Ofcourse, S.K.Dey, who
was responsible for the creation of 'Nilokheri' points
out that a significant innovation tried out in the greater
rehabilitation faded away as fast as it came into existence.
He contributed the fading away of innovation to the rein-
statement and over-emphasis on underlying discussions and
paper-work. The great difficulty experienced in enlisting
an administrator with exceptional qualities, capacity,
propensity and the desire to sacrifice has been pointed out.
In the post-independence era, the refusal by the State
Governments to accord freedom and flexibility to local self
authorities has also been a negative feature of administrative
policy and practice. Paucity of resources and administrative
and technical staff have also been responsible for inefficient
administration, not to mention inertia or even corruption

The enthusiasm created by the Five Year Plans tended
to vanish in the early sixties because of the dissatisfaction
with economic and administrative institutions of Government
and as such demand was made for major re-organization of the
Indian Administrative system. Even in the fifties, the need
to re-orient the administrative and beaucratic personnel
to new tasks and values was given expression to and doubts
were expressed about the existing administrative apparatus

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for its suitability for development. It has been mentioned
time and again as to how far the existing _bureau_cratic values
are conducive to administrative performance and similarly
the existence of elitism and the corresponding _bureaucratic_
culture can deliver the goods. While raising such doubts
in a way, the negative dimensions of bureaucracy have
been stressed. Insensitivity of _bureaucracy_ to public response
to redress citizens' grievances and problem of corruption
and lack of integration on the part of bureaucrats
has also been mentioned as negative feature of bureaucracy
by several authors. Elitist basis and tendency among the
bureaucrats is also common for a great deal of criticism.
The process of planning, Union-State relations, budgetary
and financial control, fiscal administration, Head-quarter's
Organization of Government/and District Administration have
been described and discussed and even in these discussions
negative aspects of the functioning of bureaucracy have come
to the fore time and again. Thus lack of consultation between
Union and the States has been regarded as responsible for
inefficient administration. Development Planning requires
a new re-orientation of administrative ethos, which is
lacking, has been again pointed out. Lack of communication
between various Ministries and Departments at the Head-
quarters has also been criticized and the unwillingness
and incapacity of persons in authority to delegate powers

has come in for severe criticism. Methods and procedures of work which involve dilatory referencing *in* and submission of cases and excessive and irrelevant noting has also come under fire. The problem of accommodation and equipment, office procedure and training and personnel in general has been specially mentioned as being responsible for inefficient functioning of government at the Headquarters. As for planning, inadequacies of development planning have been noted and State level planning has also come in for criticism. Centre-State relations as well as the State and District relations have also come in for criticism for inadequacies of planning and naturally ensuing inadequate administration. Budgeting and financial control as well as, fiscal control have also been held responsible for gaps in administration of policies and programmes. Administrative relationships and bureaucratic behaviour including bureaucratic values, attitudes and motivations have also been pointed as negative aspects of the functioning of administration. Inspite of *the* philosophy and policy of decentralization, District administration has not sufficiently reflected the underlying philosophy of decentralization and is as such responsible for the inadequacies of administration to meet the tasks of development.

In a discussion of concrete situations, several authors have drawn attention to the negative features of bureaucracy and pointed out the gap between planning and implementation. The problem posed by conflict between specialist and generalist and inadequacy of training has been highlighted both with reference to administration of development programmes in agriculture and community development as well as administration of non-agricultural development in rural areas and development of small industries in urban areas. Inadequacies of organization have been again pointed out with reference to administration of science and technology, law and order, external forces, defence, social services, industrial regulations, administration of public enterprise etc. In short, practically all the dimensions of developmental planning and programmes have been discussed from the point of view of the role performance of public administration and bureaucracy. Lack of co-ordination within a given ministry or department and particularly between various departments and ministries has come in for severe criticism. Further it has been pointed out that Government Departments and Ministries do not provide facilities for objective and forthright

investigation and research in respect of their functioning
to outside scholars, probably because of the fear of being
exposed. Thus, there is a tendency to put inadequacies
and inefficiency of various types including organizations
personnel and policy planning under the garb of secrecy so as to save
it from public scrutiny and yet various reports of public
Estimate Committees and other Bodies, sure enough, point
out the big gap between planning and its implementation.
A concern has been voiced about the obsolescence of
bureaucracy and the lack of preparation on its part to
meet the challenge of change. Similarly, time and again,
reference has been made to Indian Administrative Service
its socio-economic and elitist background, which is
one of the major factors in explaining its lack of
responsiveness to public demands. Hamstrung nature of
bureaucracy in policy making and ofcourse in its imple-
mentation has also been commented upon. The problem of
the existing lack of commitment on the part of bureaucrats
has also been voiced time and again. (Survey of Research
in Public Administration, Volumes Two, ICSSR, New Delhi,1975,
'Public Service and Social Responsibility' Ed. by S.C.Dube,
Vikas Publishing House Pvt.Ltd.,New Delhi,1979). Ofcourse,
there is no dearth of literature pointing out negative
features of Indian Bureaucracy such as Appleby Report,
Tottenham Report etc. Mutual image of the bureaucrat and

the clientale is also very important in effecting efficacy,
efficiency and acceptability of the bureaucratic system.
The relationship between bureaucrats and politicians
also acquires
importance since politicians are required to ensure
'performance'.

Normative suggestions to improve performance of bureaucracy :

Mere listing and some discussions about the criticism
of certain negative features of bureaucracy, inevitably
bring forth various normative suggestions as to how to
improve its performance. It would not at all be wrong
to say that these normative suggestions necessarily flow
from the awareness and emphasis on the negative aspects
of bureaucracy and the concern for its improvement so
as to make it an effective instrument of development.
Such suggestions are only the other side of the coin.
Therefore, these suggestions also enable us to understand
the expectations made of bureaucracy regarding its positive
functioning so as to deliver the goods. These suggestions
range from recruitment of bureaucracy to the dispensability
of the erstwhile methodology of recruitment and ofcourse
various suggestions about the organizational structure,
culture, behaviour and so on. In the first place,practically
there seems to be a consensus about making bureaucracy

more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the common people, whom it is expected to serve. This also brings in its train, significant reduction, if not removal of the characteristics in personality of bureaucracy. Similarly, the value neutrality of bureaucrats has come in for significant measure of criticism and as such proper ideological and value commitment of the goals of development and the required interaction and action is very forcefully emphasized. Appropriate socialization of personality and culture of bureaucrats has also been naturally emphasized. Because bureaucracy needs to be sensitized to the changing conditions and requirements. If bureaucracy is to be characterized by rationality, bureaucratic organization also needs a critical scrutiny from time to time and appropriate changes in the same are also needed. Interaction between the officials and non-officials should be a priority requirement for furthering or implementing the goals of development. Secrecy of rules and regulations and procedures has to be eschewed and public opinion needs to be formed by providing inputs of correct information so as to enable common people to both appreciate problems of implementation and to enlist their co-operation in the developmental process.

In the context of developmental organisation what is needed is giving up of the traditional philosophy of trickling down and on the other hand trickling up is recommended

very strongly so as to assure meaningful dialogue
and participation between the bureaucrats, people and
the politicians, so that participation in developmental
activity becomes possible. The Hierarchical, not to say
insulated, structure of organization of bureaucracy at
the Union level, State level, District Level and the
village level needs to be given up and proper rapport
between the various levels of organization has been
recommended so as to (a) ensure co-ordination, (b) two
way communication, (d) mutual understanding and (d) to
have effective functioning of the various levels of
organization. The erstwhile water-tight compartments
between the Centre and the village has come in for very
sharp criticism and that is why the trickle up procedure
has been recommended. The observability of procedures,
rules and regulations by the common people is, time and
again emphasized so that application of rules and
regulations without fear or favour is brought home to
the public. In keeping with the new demands in respect
of problem solving, high level planning and management
capability, efficient communication, skills, elasticity
and pragmatism and direct course of State action is
required. As pointed/in the foregoing a persistent
                    out
emphasis on working with the people is reflected in the

normative suggestions. Challenge of new situation requires appropriate balance between external and the internal system so as to be continuously aware of the necessity of changing. The existing hiatus between generalist and specialist has to be overcome and the contribution of the specialist needs to be properly apprised and rewarded. The bureaucracy has to be both responsive and responsible in order to be more efficient and effective. Innovative activity has to be encouraged instead of penalised and in order to do this; (1) bureaucratic organization has to be diversified, (2) appropriate system of rewards be instituted for innovation in terms of prestige, status and recognition rather than money and meaningful reciprocal relationships between the bureaucrats and the public are very strongly recommended. Overhauling of the existing bureaucratic machinery with all its hierarchy impersonality needs to be taken up. Bureaucrats have to be involved in policy making in tune with the existing philosophy, so that they can implement the policies and programmes more effectively. This means giving up of the traditional concepts of hierarchy, secrecy and necessity of freedom of communication both within the system internally and outside the system externally. The traditional philosophy of Laissez faire has to be substituted by the philosophy of intervention.

Similarly, value neutrality has to be substituted by commitment to the values of development so as to ensure too proper redistribution of the fruits of development. Bureaucracy should be made truly representative and as such needs to be regarded from all the sections of society and also needs to be politicized and at the same time political by representative . Instead of value neutrality, bias in favour of developmental activity and distributive justice is necessary. In order to make bureaucracy more responsive and responsible, the rulers that be, should be given the freedom to pick and chose bureaucrats from outside the traditional system of recruitment. Arbitrary differentiation made on the basis of the level at which the bureaucrat functions such as capital of the country or at the district level or even at village level needs to be given up and mobility of bureaucracy from one level to another would ensure effective functioning through proper sensitization, socialization and increased acceptability to the clientale.

It may be argued that these normative suggestions can be characterised as verging on idealism and therefore unrealistic. However, there is no denying the fact that these suggestions are positive and constructive response should make the functioning of bureaucracy more effective

and efficient for discharging the task of development
which really means transformation of society by transfer-
ring resources from haves and have-nots in a regulated and
peaceful manner. These, suggestions, therefore, appropriately
cover the bureaucratic organization, personality, culture
and its interaction with the people and as such contribute
to the construction of a meaningful conceptual framework.

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Chapter IV

Content of Positive Suggestions affecting reconstruction of the theory of bureaucracy.

Positive suggestions about theory construction, about the changing role of bureaucracy in the context of bureaucratic and egalatarian development must necessarily take cognisance of not only theoretical constructs in the abstract (although based on analysis of rural life situations), but even more so of studies which were theoretically oriented to test certain constructs and formulations. Ofcourse, there is no denying the fact that studies deliberately designed to test theoretical constraints and put forward alternate constructs, models and theories are necessarily few in number, which does not reduce their importance and utility. ' Theory is a system of inter-related definitions and hypothesis ' (Hans L. Zetterberg on 'Theory and Verification in Sociology, Almquest & Wiksill: Stock-holm. The Tressler Press, New York 27, NY.1954). [1] Obviously, this means that a deliberate and systematic effort has to be made to arrive at coherent and consistent definitions of the concepts used. As stated earlier, while the ultimate intention and goal is to arrive at an inclusive theory rather than miniature theory, what is important is orientation towards inclusive theory, even though it is difficult to derive a universal theory. Orientation towards an inclusive theory is an excellent game and yet one finds that in reality it is

difficult to arrive at an inclusive theory due to the differing situations. To take a case in point, development administration is perceived as the motor of social development. However, in reality there are various other forces like the existing power structure which has to be taken into account before treating development administra-, tion as an independent variable. Apart from the power structure prevailing within a given society, it is equally important to be aware of dependency relationship between one State and another. This is one of the reasons why inspite of ' impressive array of case studies, observations by experienced development experts and sensitive individual analysis, there is no (patent) paradigm based on a far reaching consensus to colate these individual details into coherent theoretical structure. What is lacking are projects that incorporate opposite points of view.' (p. 943) (Dietrish Furst and Joachim Jens Hisse on "Bureaucracy and Underdevelopment" in the Journal of Law and State, Vol.29, Ed. by Institute for Scientific Co-operation, Tubingen, (1984). In contrast, the ideal type development for the industrial societies of impersonal, rationally acting, administration oriented to universal values, in developing countries, a more partison administration dominates, one oriented to personalist relations of

patronage and clientalism, aligned with the interest
of office-holders and internalising external interest
(because of cultural value patterns, traditional ties,
feudal normative system, lack of identification with personal
organisations, notions of States etc. economic dependencies
of administration, degree of autonomy is externally low.)
in order to solve most problems , support of private economy
is necessary, political dependency'. (p.44), resorting to
innovative practices is generally carried out with the
backing of foreign institutions, which in itself creates
problems and complete successful innovation becomes instru-
ment of power. There are severe restrictions on recruit-
ment to such administration because the private economy
can bid very high and monopolise skilled manpower. Autonomy
of institutions gets eroded due to dependence of private
economy. Even then, political patronage can be distributed
through such autonomous institutions. Ofcourse, the State
does not normally appreciate parallel structures whexxaxe where
initiative is taken by voluntary bodies. Even the administrators
tend to get more interest in their personal prospects and try
to control masses by means of State organisational power
particularly when the bureaucratic activity and operations
are shrowded in secrecy. Myrdal in his earlier quoted book
'Asian Drama' has also pointed out as to how the administrative

system is restricted by working of the wider system and
the difficulties experienced in implementation of demo-
cratic socialistic ideals and in paying lip elite service
to these ideals x rather than substantively implementing
them in practice. Myrdal has also pointed out as to how
the policies followed by western developed nations do not
really allow for these idels and values to be implemented
in reality by patronising renegade and the reactionary
regimes. This is all the more responsible for reducing
the efficacy of administration in discharging the task of
development.

Illustrations of attempts made to theorise about development bureaucracy :

We have already pointed out as to how the identification
of the negative features of bureaucracy in India, particularly
in the context of development, and a plethora of normative
(may be ideal and unrealistic) suggestions made to improve
its performance, provides sufficient clues to the conceptual
framework of development bureaucracy. Thus, on the one
hand Weberian classical model of bureaucracy has been
severely criticised but on the other hand no explicit
theory of development bureaucracy has been offered as a
substitute. This is not to deny the efforts made to provide
meaningful (optional) concepts and framework. We had
raised a question earlier as to whether there is and

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there can always be a very explicit theoretical formula-
tion and also suggest_ed that particularly in the changing
situation whether new tasks and challenges are _fixed_ or
imposed upon a particular machinery, in this case
bureaucratic machinery, ready-made concepts would neither
be available nor desirable, but efforts to improvisation
would be more welcome. While admitting that a coherent
theoretical structure is not available, Pai Panandikar
observes that '' ultimately the character of bureaucracy
has a theoretical system and as an administrative
institution would depend largely on the behavioural
propensities and characteistics. (p.19).   He further
says that ' the Studies would however indicate that some
interesting adaptations of the behavioural characteristics
tend to take place in a developmental bureaucracy. In parti-
cular, different organisational settings appear to influence
bureaucratic orientations as well as the degree of bureau-
cratisation. More important, the studies suggest that
behavioural adaptations of bureaucracy to meet the needs
of development administration of certain nature tend to
influence the structure of bureaucracy itself.' (p.19-20)
In order to have meaningful theory of developmental
bureaucracy, inter-penetration between theory and practice
is/crucial importance and as such field studies of
of

bureaucracy and its utilisation for developmental purpose
is very useful.   Training of developmental adminis-
tration has been thus/found to be very important and the
implications of development administration   for
policy formulation is also well taken. Pai Pandndikar
                                      have
lists some of the important sub-areas which/a theoretical
impact e.g. (a) Studies in bureaucratic behaviour,
(b) bureaucratic values and administrative performance
(c) Bureaucratic elitist -- studies in attitudes and
motivation (d) bureaucratic culture (p.28). Interface
between those manning the profession of bureaucracy and
the academicians is thus very important in order to
evolve meaningfully conceptual framework. Central importance
of co-ordination and communication in respect of Union-
State relations, Financial and fiscal policy has been
brought out again and again which really has theoretical
significance, because without such co-ordination and communi-
cation, the working of development bureaucracy at various
levels cannot be hoped to be effective. Similarly, ' the
organisational behaviour, social or human relations within
organisation or department, inter-organisational co-ordi
nation, mutual attitudes and behaviour of administrative
organisations and the citizen, process of decision making,
the programme ax and project administration' are regarded

as important for undertaking meaningful researches in
development administration and to evolve a useful theory.
(B.S.Khanna: 'Research on Union and State Administration :
Ibid
p. 142). As mentioned earlier, proper co-ordination bet-
ween head-quarters and field situation has been emphasized
time and again which/has *is* also of theoretical significance.
In his Review of District Administration, Pai Panandikar
observes that ' Role perceptions of the administrators
and the people and of course political leaders are very
important. The expected clear division between the spheres
of work and responsibility, between the politicians and
the officials does not exist but is likely to continue
to be so which also means improvisation of a new concept
of fluid state of affairs under which development bureau-
cracy has to function. Behavioural propensities of
development administration are thus very important. Simi-
larly communication of development bureaucracy with the
politicians and the political process making it favourable
for the functioning of democracy is also very important.
The continuous feed-back between elected non-officials
and the common people is a necessary condition for realising
the goals of development. The entire planning activity
and exercise has to follow maximum trickle upwards rather
than trickle downwards. This further means proper appreciation *of the*

real needs of the common people, views expressed by their

representatives and feasibility of realising the roles.

The re-orientation of the bureaucratic personnel to the

changing needs and situation is regarded as very crucial.

(Survey of Research in Public Administration, Vol.I,

Allied Publishers, New Delhi, ICSSR, 1974). In the analysis

and evaluation of specific areas such as administration

of development programmes in agriculture and community development

or the administration of non-agricultural development

in rural-urban areas, science and technology, administra-

tion of law and order, administration of law and judiciary,

administration of defence, administration of social services

and welfare programmes, administration of public enterprises

as well as industrial revolution,contained in vol.2 of Survey

of Research in Public Administration,published by ICSSR,

New Delhi, several important concepts have been listed which help us to

evolve a suitable conceptual framework. Thus continuous

re-examination of the structure and functioning of the

administrative machinery in regard to its operational set-up

in a given situation has been brought out again and again.

The importance of doing away with arbitrary hierarchy between

generalist and specialist is also a suggestion having

important theoretical significance. Time and again,re-orienta-

tion of bureaucratic personality, development of suitable

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bureaucratic culture, which shows once for all the time-honoured distance between themselves and the people and the openness of bureaucratic structure to public scrutiny as an ongoing process, have been recommended, which also provided necessary modifications to the classical model of bureaucracy. Continuous communication and interaction between bureaucrats and the people is also regarded as a must and utilization of new information and knowledge particularly for scientific and technological field for alleviating the sufferings of common man have been emphasized. Thus, importance of rationality so as to serve public purpose, has been mentioned time and again. Stratification and its dysfunctional aspects have to be got rid of which really means that recruitment to bureaucracy would also be not rigid in order to make it more efficient which is also of theoretical importance. Various kinds of administration including law and order, justice, public enterprise, finance and so on require the manning of bureaucracy infused with new spirit and capabilities. Thus, out of the analysis of negative dimensions of the functioning of bureaucratic machinery and the various normative suggestions, have emerged positive concepts which are of importance to the development of appropriate conceptual framework.

There is a voluminous literature about bureaucracy
in India, although very few Studies have been theoretically
conceived and carried out so as to test the theory and
suggest certain modifications, if necessary. Therefore,
I have decided to select a few studies which have been
theoretically designed and carried out so as to bring
together important theoretical strands particularly
modifications, amendments to the existing theory. In
their study on " Bureaucracy in India : An Empirical Study "
which in itself is a part of the more comprehensive study
entitled "Bureaucracy and Development Administration
in India " completed by the authors Dr.Pai Panandikar and
Dr.S.S.Kshirsagar at the Indian Institute of Public
Administration, Indraprastha Estate, Ring Road,New Delhi,
in 1968-69,(Ps. 187 to 208), reprinted from Indian Journal
of Public Administration, Vol. XVII, No.2, April-June 1971,
have specifically concerned themselves with the analysis
of the working of bureaucracy in India in different setting
so as (to) (a) test Weberian classical theory of bureaucracy
in the context of development experience -- in the sense
that bureaucracy was deliberately used to initiate and
implement the process of development right from the
planning stage at the secretariate level to its implemen-
tation at the field level and (b) to suggest modifications

in the Weberian theory of bureaucracy by emphasizing the
lack of complete correspondence between the structural
and behavioural aspects of bureaucracy. The authors
have very rightly stated in the beginning that whether
or not there is a tacit acceptance and recognition of
the fact that 'bureaucrats' administrators are not only
called upon to implement policies and programmes but for
all practical purposes, are also required to participate
in the making of policies. However, as Paul Appleby and
others have pointed out ' distinction between policy
formulation and implementation is very thin; indeed
policy is made where decision is made '. (Paul H. Appleby :
'Policy in Administration', Albama, University of Albama
Press, 1957 (p.173). Bureaucracy is a necessary adjunct
of the functioning of any modern State whether it be
capitalist or socialist, totalitarian or democratic.
In India, since historical times, the role of bureaucracy
has been well recognized by the State. In the introductory
chapter, we have already stated Weberian theory of bureau
cracy and therefore there is no need to repeat it, although
authors of the present study start naturally by providing
a proper exposition of Weberian theory and model. While
Weber emphasized precision, speedy and emaculate knowledge
of files and procedures, strict sub-ordination, objectivity

and so on (ofcourse by studying ~~Paul~~, other important
characteristics,hierarchy, impersonality and so on),
the present study of the authors has delineated the differ-
entiation between the structural characteristics such as
hierarchy, division of labour, system of rules and the
behavioural characteristics such as impersonality,rationality
and rule orientation. The precise hypothesis which the
authors wanted to examine was (i) the Civil Service in
India is highly bureaucratic indicating that all the
characteristics of bureaucracy are present in it but
equally high degree and since bureaucratic characteristics
are inherently related to one another, the Civil Service
is uniformly bureaucratic along structural and behavioural
dimensions. In order to test this hypothesis,a study
was made of more than seven hundred Civil Servants work-
ing in different developmental agencies. Almost all of
these were more in the nature of secretariate agencies
and one of field agency. Respondents covered all the
officials in class I, II and III,who dealt with develop-
mental work. Ofcourse, as one would imagine, more than
sixty percent of these officers belonged to Class III
and about nineteen percent each belonging to class I
and class II. Apart from the study being empirical,
methodologically also it was sophisticated so as to take

care of methodological rigor required for such study.
Taking into account the differentiation between stru-
ctural and the behavioural dimensions, it has been found
that the first hypothesis viz., that Civil Servants in
India is highly bureaucratic, is not entirely borne
out by the study. Low score of the majority of the res-
pondents on the scale of rationality supports popular
belief that decision making in Government is not nece-
ssarily guided by objective or efficient considerations.
But personal and familiar relations exerted considerable
influence on the performance of the officials. On the
structural side, characteristics of hierarchy and division
of labour were borne out by the study. However, on the
third structural characteristic viz., system of rules,
score of the respondents were not as high as anticipated.
May be that these developmental agencies were very recently
instituted and as such the rules had not as yet acquired
rigidity. Furthere, there was sharp differentiation between
different levels and in the functions of superior officers
from those of their subordinates. Findings of the behavioural
dimensions also suggest important variation, because while
scores of impersonality were quite high, on both rationality
and rule orientation, scores were perceptively low. The
degree of adaptation of rules indicate that the process of

bureaucratisation in the developmental agencies inspite
of their behavioural characteristic indicates different
trend. In short, there is a discrepancy (probably very
functional) between the structural pattern and the beha-
vioural pattern and, therefore, assumption on the part of
bureaucratisation of development administration is only
partially fulfilled. Ofcourse, localewise there are
significant differences even between the dimensions,
because insofaras an agency was block development office
with primary emphasis on agricultural development, there
was naturally a greater emphasis on citizen participation
in its programme of work. Their work involved mass contact
and participation. Therefore, field offices whose per-
formance will depend on citizen participation and mass contact
will tend to be less bureaucratic and conversely headquarters
of secretariat type offices whose performance does not
depend on mass contact or citizen participation will tend
to be more bureaucratic. By and large, it has been found
that in terms of the nature of the development programme
adherence to the system of rules, rationality and rule
orientation tend to be of lower order, particularly as
far as adherence to rule orientation is concerned, it is
significantly low both in the case of agriculture and
industry. The skill of organisation also affects bureau-
cratic characteristics in the sense that larger the orga-
nisation, the higher the emphasis on rule orientation.

Similarly, the higher the level of education, higher the score of rationality and the lower the score of rule orientation, partly because of the capacity to use discretion and discriminate for taking appropriate decision and action. Differences of rural urban background has implications for the proportion of more impersonal and more rational civil servants amongst those having urban background than among those having rural background. In keeping with the variable of education, civil servants brought up in urban environment were generally less rule oriented. Civil servants often tend to be highly rule oriented as they move upwards in the hierarchy which in a way bears out Merton's formulation about observability of norms as they are practised in reality rather than rules and regulations which are prescribed in theory and on paper. Similarly Edward Shills has also very rightly pointed out that access to ⍺ confidential and secret information and knowledge provides greater flexibility, not to say exceptional external capacity to take decisions out of the usual rut and as such be less dominated by the prevailing rules and regulations. The family background also facilitate use of discretion and departure from the rigid rules and regulations. In-service training also had some

impact on adherence to impersonality and rule orientation in the sense that those who were not trained were more prone to impersonality, probably since they lacked self-confidence. Ofcourse the factor of training was not operative in respect of rule orientation which was low in both the cases. Higher class officials include higher proportion of less impersonal, more rational and also less rule oriented civil servants than among class III respondents.

The study thus brings out that Weberian theory of bureaucracy provides a very good starting point for understanding the functioning of bureaucracy in the context of development and yet a clearcut differentiation between structural and behavioural dimension is necessary. Further, bureaucracy is not a static phenomenon but something which is amenable to change, exposed to change and required to change according to the changing circumstances. The structural postulates are not afterall so independent as to build bureaucratic theory around them and therefore, cognisance has to be taken of the lack of correlation between the structural and behavioural dimensions of bureaucracy. In short, some of the theoretical propositions which emerge from the present study are as follows :

(a) functionally, bureaucracy operates from agency to agency.

(b) the degree of mass contact it involves, especially
   to attain its objectives vary, and

(c) still composition, including level of education of
   bureaucracy itself undergoes major alterations bet-
   ween agencies within some governmental apparatus.

Bureaucracies involved in the developmental task at the
field level tend to be less structured and behaviourally
more flexible than secretariat based more remote bureau-
cracies. Likewise, bureaucracies essentially in the
regulatory and other non-developmental agencies will
tend to be structurally more rigid and behaviourally
less flexible and inbetween these would be the whole
range of intermediate positions. As such the traditional
equillibrium bureaucracy in which the structural and
behavioural postulates are relatively balanced needs
modification. Likewise, the logic of situation and locale
also cause modification both to certain extent in the
structural dimension of bureaucracy and much more so in
its behavioural dimension so as to fetch the expected
results. The existing theory, particularly the classical
Weberian theory can be regarded as static whereas when
bureaucracy is used for developmental purpose, particularly
at the field level, it must contain dynamic elements and
as such must be in search of new concepts and formulations.

The study quoted above is a summary statement of a
wider study entitled ' Bureaucracy and Development Adminis-
tration ' undertaken by the authors, V.K. Pai Panandikar and S.S.
Kshirsagar and circulated in a draft form for discussion
in 1976.Without going into the details of the entire material
so provided in the study, a certain reiteration of the pro-
positions forwarded in the earlier study as well as raising
of certain theoretical and policy questions will,however,
be undertaken. In the post-independence period, since
Government took upon itself developmental activity, it
is very clear that inevitably what was implied was the
process of social change, change in the values,attitudes
behaviour and even in the vocabulary of the people. Simi-
larly a greater concurrence between those who administer
and rule and those who are administered and ruled was also
expected and that is why empirical study was designed to
find out structural contradiction or inconsistency,parti-
cularly between the structural characteristics of the bureau-
cracy and its developmental role. Ofcourse, as has already
been mentioned, the authors have suggested a differentiation
between the structural and the behavioural dimensions of
bureaucracy and as such have also suggested the possibility
of bureaucracy being more amenable for performing develop-
mental task. Even then certain questions and dilemnas persist
which pose problems both for theory and policy. As the authors

have rightly pointed out, the characteristics of development
administration are given below :

Firstly, it is essentially change-oriented and,
therefore, there is a moot question as to how far the
administration perceives itself in this new light. Secondly
the development administration is result oriented i.e. it
involves achievement of specific results and, therefore,
how does it come about achieving these results. Thirdly,
though development administration is entrusted with the
task of initiating the programmes and policies of develop-
ment, ultimately it has to depend on the response and
co-operation of the citizens and the people at large and
thus to what extent it has the capacity to do so. Fourthly,
the development administration requires firm commitment
not in the partison sense, but in the administrative sense
to the entire programme of development and whether this
is so or not, is also equally important.

Accepting development administration and bureaucracy
to be an agent of social change and ofcourse prosperity
is a tall order which poses several theoretical and practi-
cal problems : (a) because of the current study of theory
of bureaucracy as mentioned time and again and (b) because
of the difficulties encountered particularly by the bureau-
cratic personnel, not to say people at large, in the
acceptance of the new role. Moreover, bureaucracy and its

utilization for development has to be viewed in the context
in the context of the existing social structure, economic
structure, power structure, cultural stratification and
so on. On the other hand, the very deployment of bureaucracy
for development is also expected to simultaneously undergo
change from within and also ensure change within the wider
or external system so as to be conducive to the aims and
goals of social change in the desired direction.

While accepting special organisational or structural
and behavioural -- personality and cultural characteristics
inherent in development bureaucracy, certain concepts
come to the fore again and again. It is true that because
of bureaucracy being essentially a hand-made of the local
rational authority, there would be a maximum premium put
on technical competence which in its turn would give rise
to domination over clientale whom it is supposed to serve.
As Merton points out, this would mean that instrumental
value becomes a terminal value since there is a displacement
of goals. Further, elitist bias of bureaucracy would render
it incapable of delivering the goods insofaras social change
is expected to do and yet one has to take into account the
existential situation in which development bureaucracy
functions. Thus, in India particularly when it functions
in the rural setting, there are certain features of beha-
vioural type which emerge and which modify the working of

the system of bureaucracy. From the point of view of
the profile of bureaucracy, there are certain characteristics
which are listed below :

That development bureaucracy is generally younger
as compared to the traditional bureaucracy in India as
well as in the more advanced nations, It was also more
rural than of urban. In terms of class and stratification
it was more representative, even though it was more educated
than the traditional bureaucracy. Even though it was more
educated, there was no specific training programme which
it had undergone for performing its special task viz., that
of development.

In terms of bureaucratisation on the structural side,
there were characteristics of hierarchy, division of labour
as well as system of rules, but on the behavioural side
there were quite a few variations, because pronounced
structural feature of well-organized system of rules
is not necessarily followed by behavioural pattern of
rule orientation and as such agricultural development
development sector appears to function in a less bureau-
cratic manner. Even then, it was hierarchical in nature
while organisation was less impersonal than the later. The Higher
class of the Civil Servants, lesser the practice of hierarchy
and technical background seem to make for less rule orientation

than the non-technical ones. Then again, higher/family^{the} background of the bureaucrats, lesser the insistence on rule orientation which can be explained partly in terms of their confidence and sense of security enjoyed by them in respect of administering and ruling over the people. Age also seem to have influenced elasticity in respect of rule orientation because as Merton has very rightly pointed out, as one advances in age and consequent experience and the view from inside, one can afford to be and tends to be more flexible. Likewise, promotion to higher post also ensures flexibility of mind. Even formal training in the performance of developmental task too, results in lesser impersonality in their dealing with citizen clientale than those who have not received any such training.

Thus, on the one hand, while retaining the structural characteristics of bureaucracy due to the variations at the behavioural level, there are significant modifications in the functioning of bureaucray which also impinge upon the structure of bureaucracy. Thus 'bureaucracy is not a linear and static phenomenon; that functional content of the bureaucracy, the type of office, its level of mass contact for meeting its work programme and the level of its skill composition are all factors that have significant bearing on its behavioural characteristics.'

(p.235)

As a matter of fact, newer and newer inputs made into
the system call for an inter-play of new variables, so
that bureaucratic structures continuously create condi-
tions that modify these structures. As such, Weber's
model, as seen earlier, provides a good starting point
but cannot explain the reality and calls for range of
sub-models in which various characteristics play differ-
ing roles and kaleidoscopic picture presents itself ne-
cessitating a keen and vigilent perception, understand-
ing and theorising about reality. The present study
suggests propositions like ' (1) Bureaucracy involved
in the developmental tasks at the field level such as
in agriculture, necessitating mass participation and
with more educated personnel, tend to be structurally less
rigid and behaviourally more flexible than secretariat
based bureaucracies; (2) implied is the proposition
that bureaucracies essentially/are not regulatory and other
non-developmental agencies will tend to be structurally
more rigid and behaviourally less flexible inbetween
there would be a whole range of intermediate positions.'
(p.237). Therefore, modifications to the existing theory
particularly Weberian model are suggested viz., that
equillibrium posited between structural and the behavioural
dimensions is not warranted and it needs to be substituted

by the concept of moving equillibrium. Then again,
tacitly assumed contradiction between the correct
bureaucratic behaviour and the role of innovator is
also not warranted. Ofcourse, there is no denying the
fact that innovation and change also needs institutiona-
lization. Job attitudes certainly play a significant role
in facilitating developmental task and it has been found
that attitude of the developmental civil servants to
work respectability was *contentiously* highly positive, inspite of the
fact that developmental task was not necessarily accorded
higher status by superiors. If seniority, rather than skill
continues to be regarded as important in promotion, morale
and involvement of bureaucracy in developmental task would
be naturally impaired, which has been finding of the study.
Traditional hang-over of maintaining distance between
officers and the clientale is further accentuated by the
urgency to acquire and show results. The presence of hierarchy
and the lattitude to innovate and take decisions also
further impair the functioning of development bureaucracy
from the point of view of innovation. As pointed out
earlier, if merit is not accorded sufficient importance
for promotion, xkixkxxxxx it will reduce the importance
of creative and innovative activity.

In discussing adaptation to development characteristics

through dimensions of changed result and citizen parti-
cipation,orientation have been pointed out as important
and statistically significant. It was found that industries
offices were more change oriented than agricultural ones,
mainly because of the easier compatibility of industrial
production. Similarly technical respon-/ -dents were more change-
prone than non-technical. Again for the same reason, as
one grows higher in age, confidence one acquires and the
status one enjoys also enables one to accept change. The
higher the level of education and status in the hierarchy,
it is also conducive to making one oriented to change. Much
higher emphasis was placed by class I and class II officials
on result orientation, must be mainly because of the serious-
ness with which they took their job responsibility. Status
in the hierarchy had implications for orientation towards
citizens. Here again, higher class officers display
greater citizen orientation. In my study of Bureaucracy and
Agricultural Development, I had also encountered a similar
phenomenon viz., the importance of image of the official
working in the situation of development xxgx For example,
the lower the official, the smaller the image and the lesser
is effectiveness in promoting developmental activity.

As for commitment, respondents in agricultural deve-
lopment programmes appear more positive than in the indus-
trial one. Promotion have positive bar on commitment. The

date of joining of civil servants is also related to
commitment. For example, seniority enhances commitment
and so does formal training and technical competence.
Hierarchy of authority was significantly related to
result orientation and citizen participation orientation
would not be so with changed orientation or commitment.
Division of labour which also reflects hierarchy is
negatively associated with citizen orientation. On the
whole, the structural characteristics of bureaucracy are
negatively associated with developmental works. As one
would expect, highly impersonal attitude amongst bureau-
crats is dysfunctional in bringing about necessary attitu-
dinal values in them towards citizen clientale. Rationality
would promote change particularly the direction of result
orientation. Even to attain better results by employing
rational methods, greater component of citizen partici-
pation would require, which was turned out by the Study.
This speaks of the importance of the cognisance of the
factor by those who are highly placed and therefore more
responsible for attaining results. On the other hand,
rationality was inversely related to the degree of commit-
ment. Thus ' rationality as a characteristics appears to
be more positively associated with change, result and citi-
zen orientation but negatively related to the feeling of
commitment.' (p.247) There was also negative relationship

between change orientation and rule orientation. Then again, there was no inherent contradiction between the system of bureaucracy and developmental task assigned to it, given certain modifications like locale, exposure, training, sense of security and confidence, seniority, technical skill, flexibility etc.

The study has certain policy as well as theoretical implications, because in the first place, extensive use of bureaucracy for initiating and sustaining the process of development means dependence on bureaucratic framework and its functioning and, therefore, also on the classical theory of bureaucracy. Ofcourse, there is no denying the fact that attempts have been made to reform the bureaucratic framework, though not necessarily with great success. Secondly, policy implication stemming from this, seems to be that the existing bureaucratic system can be transformed by intigrating it with the political system, which also seems fairly difficult to attain. It would be better still if system is designed to ensure participation of people in developmental activity and as such they should be encouraged to develop their own institutions which have primarily a developmental focus. People's expectations should be fed back into the administrative machinery so as to make it more effective and responsive. There is

no doubt that the very point of policy formulation, people's
direct involvement would be a better guarantee of per-
formance. Hierarchical nature of bureaucracy needs to
be reduced in order to make it more functional. As men-
tioned earlier, division of labour also has implications
for hierarchy. Rationality and impersonality would
fetch results though would not ensure citizens partici-
pation or the commitment of the bureaucrats. How to make
administrative system more responsive to the people's
aspirations and needs has both policy and theoretical
implications. It has been pointed out time and again
as to how hierarchy, impersonality and rule orientation
which are the three critical characteristics of bureau-
cratic organisation and behaviour run counter to the
administrative policy needs of development administration.
How to develope a culture appropriate for performance of new
tasks is a very important question.

Unfortunately, the study also brings out a clear-cut
distinction between bureaucratic structure and bureaucratic
behaviour, the later being more prone to adaptation and
adjustment and accommodation, though not of the required degree.
Several issues have been raised in this study about the
nature of bureaucratic theory, functioning of bureaucracy
and its viability as well as utility in the context of
development and factors like higher education, social back-

ground, technical competence, higher status and authority in the bureaucratic system and so on, have been conducive to better performance. A rather detailed exposure and discussion of the same will be presented below :

In a later sharply focussed study of 'Development Bureaucracy' by Dr.V.A. Pai Panandikar, R.N.Bishnoi and O.P.Sharma, conducted in the two States of Haryana and Madhya Pradesh regarding the role played by bureaucracy in agricultural development, the authors wanted to test some of the propositions they had presented in their earlier study entitled " Bureaucracy and Development Administration " brought out in July 1976 which has been already extensively utilized. In the earlier study, certain doubts and misgivings were voiced about the role of bureaucracy in initiating and sustaining development, particularly in the light of the structural characteristics of bureaucracy, notwithstanding the relevant and functional modifications in its behavioural style. In this study, however, the basic objective has been to indicate what bureaucracy can do and make. In doing so, apart from bringing out the positive aspects of the functioning of bureaucracy to promote and contribute to development, certain theoretical concepts and formulations have ensued which are of great significance for our purpose. The authors

have candidly accepted that ' both as an organisation
and as an instrument of management, bureaucracy in India
handles bulk of the country's programmes of development.
Change is systemic both for the bureaucracy and of the
bureaucracy.' (p.1). The focus of this study is more
on the change to the bureaucracy to handle task of
development rather than its own threat to the broader
political system. It is indeed well-known that Marx and
Michael have thought of bureaucracy as self-sustaining,
very selfish in its orientation and proving iron law
of aligarchy and at the same time being responsible
for complicating the process of alienation. However,
in view of the very large scale utilization of bureau-
cracy for development by the State in India, it is impor-
tant to know the skills and capabilities of bureaucracy
which can promote agricultural development. Thus, the
objective of the present study is to'(1) examine the
adequacy of the various dimensions of the bureaucratic
system for underlying the tasks of agricultural develop-
ment, and (2) study the attitude of the bureaucracy towards
the development tasks assigned to it and towards the
people it has to serve, (3) assess the levels of skills
and capabilities of the bureaucracy implementing the
programme and (4) observe and evaluate the actual behaviour

of the bureaucracy in implementing the programme, including its relationship with the citizen clientale.'(p.6)

From our point of view, the most important outcome of the study is its contribution to the theory of bureaucracy, when bureaucracy contributes to development or cannot make sufficiently much contribution due to the operation of various factors, which are systemic to bureaucracy and outside the bureaucratic system too. However, greater emphasis is placed on the pliability and ressillence of bureaucracy as a system so as to meet the new tasks and challenges with which it finds itself confronted.

The present study is the next, to a very important study in texting certain theoretical propositions contained in the earlier study. While using the method of difference and agreement, since two States Haryana and Madhyapradesh and particularly the two districts selected for the study viz., Karnal and Gorakhpur, are illustrations of having attained the goal of agricultural development or having relatively failed in attaining the expected goal of agricultural development. The choice of these two districts was guided by the considerations of similarity of natural endowments in terms of their agro-climatic conditions especially their development potential.

Therefore, the authors felt that the generic administrative
factor and its impact on development would be worth studying.
'Theoretically, this study was expected to help in bring-
ing out and highlighting the diverse organisational and
managerial issues pertaining to the administration of the
agricultural development programme as a part of the larger
governmental system.' (p.354). Several factors which
accounted for differences expected in the realization or
otherwise of the development potential by the two districts
are mentioned. (1) Karnal is very well served by roads
and communication, electrification of villages, presence of
very well organized co-operative activities as exemplified
by co-operative credit and serving societies and by and
large the presence of very vital infra-structural support
needed for agriculture. On the other hand, Gorakhpur shows
the paucity of infra-structural support for agriculture
which is further complicated by the largeness of the size
of the State and also the district selected for study.
It has to be very rightly pointed out that the presence
of infra-structural facilities and co-ordination of various
agencies have facilitated the functioning of bureaucracy,
in Karnal. In fact," the highly pragmatic and result
oriented organisational strategy adopted for implementing
the programme"in Karnal has been regarded as very crucial

for the success of programme of development through the
working of development bureaucracy. Availability of intra-
structural facility have thus enabled the development
bureaucracy to concentrate on their functions instead of
being bothered about credit facility, electrification, road
and communication etc. They are freed from supply functions
so that they can devote their time and attention to the
extension work among the cultivators. As against this,
situation in Gorakhpur is quite opposite. Moreover, there
is a single line of command in the implementation of the
agricultural development programme in Kernal as against
compartmentalised functioning of the programme in Gorakh-
pur, which means that certainty of command ensures confi-
dence and enables location of responsibility. Prolifera-
tion of parallel set-ups for agricultural extension leads
to dissipation of energy and diversity of command which
is not functional for development. Thus, the structural
coherence of bureaucracy as a system is very important
if it has to discharge the task entrusted to it. Importance
of continuous training of both extension workers and the
cultivators has been given high priority in Kernal, which
is absent in Gorakhpur. Availability of adequate informa-
tion system and feed back mechanism in Kernal and its
relative absence in other districts also makes for difference.

Regular scrutiny and evaluation and monitoring of the work
is necessary adjunct to the concept of rationality inherent
in the western model. This is further exemplified by higher
educational qualifications and status as well as technical
competence possessed by majority of the officials concerned,
to the task of agricultural development in Kernal and the
prevalence of lower educational qualifications and techni-
cal competence by the officials in Gorakhpur. Professional,
technical and higher education is very important for
efficiency. In fact, in the earlier studies of Dr.Pai
Panandikar, and Kshirsagar, importance of higher education
has been taken proper note of which is vindicated here. The
length of the period of service tends to be counter-
productive after a certain period which has been brought
out even in the case of Kernal where officials had worked
for ten years and more. I would like to mention here the
coming into operation of 'Peter Principle'. On the other
hand, those who had job experience of less than ten years
contributed more effectively. While expertise and exposure
are very important if a job is done on the spot, it is
more important both from the point of view of the satis-
faction to the performer and the job and even more so to
its clientale. Knowledge and awareness of agriculture and
allied development programme, ~~application~~ and funding of

administration, bars ~~frequency of movement of field files~~
~~and~~ extent of contact with the cultivators, promptness
in taking action on field problems, association of officials
in programme planning, freedom of expression in discussion
and policy implementation and solving problems, attitude
of senior officials to the juniors, manner of motivating
officials towards their duties and also motivating people
for adapting newer practices, status of inter-departmental
co-ordination, efficacy of rules and regulations on the
discharge of duties of the officials etc. have been pointed
out as being of vital importance in accounting for differen-
tial performance of bureaucratic officials in the two
districts. It has also been pointed out that specificity
and narrow excellence can be counter-productive, if there
is no awareness of the wider goals and the net works in
which one has to function. Hierarchy, status and authority
were also deemed to be important particularly as far as
clientale was concerned and that is why at the field level
delegation of financial power was deemed to be more important.
As pointed out in the earlier study, higher officials can
afford to be more innovative. Importance of field level
activity and sustained contact has been brought out again
and again and that is where the contrast between operation
of this factor in Kernal significantly and its absence in

Gorakhpur counts for the differences in success or otherwise

of developmental activity. Further, meaningful contact with

the various strata of cultivators is also very important

which is again exemplified by the results of the study,

because as indicated in the earlier study, development

bureaucracy has to function as an agent of ~~when~~ social change

in the sense that he or she has to try to be a level ~~^~~ agent

and has to cater demonstrably and convincingly to the needs

of smaller cultivators. Programme planning and implementing

is very necessary for ensuring success of development activity

which is again borne out by the comparative study of two

districts. Change in the style of functioning of bureaucracy

as a system in the sense that it is more democratic rather

than authoritarian, not to say autocratic, is another

important variable which explains the differential develop-

ment in these two districts. Thus, in Kernal, officials

were given to persuasion and discussion rather than disci-

plinary action. Similarly, freedom of expression of views

and forgetting hierarchical barriers is also very important

for facilitating development. Likewise, inter-departmental

co-ordination also facilitates. As pointed out/earlier study, in the

result orientedness gives rise to the neglect of the weakest

section of society which is again borne out by the present

study, in the sense that scheduled caste cultivators who were

owners of very small farms did not receive as much attention and services. The extent of literacy and awareness of the clientale also accounts for greater demands made on development bureaucracy and its greater contribution to the success of development programmes which is again exemplified. Instead of merely emphasizing target fulfilment, prevalence of the positive attitude to help the cultivators seems to be more important. In fact, the existence of proper feed-back mechanism and mutual appreciation of each others bonafides, concerns and problems seems to be congenial for ensuring development. This reiterates forcefully the emphasis placed on the behavioural dimension of development bureaucracy in the earlier study. Rules and regulations afterall are not important in themselves, but have an instrumental value and as such necessitate modifications according to the circumstances and if this is done, the task of development becomes easier. Apart from the professional higher qualifications and technical competence, responsiveness of bureaucracy is very important as exemplified by the present study. The present study thus suggests concrete modifications to the classical model of bureaucracy particularly in operational terms and very rightly emphasizes the change from within a bureaucratic system and also from without. In short, continuous appraisal and repressal of the role and the ensuing structural

is vital for ~~running~~ ^(rendering) bureaucracy a dynamic factor rather than
the static factor which more often that not impedes the
process of development. Ofcourse, the present study also
emphasizes the point that given the utmost reliance on
development bureaucracy for attaining the goals of develop-
ment, there are both theoretical and policy implications.
The meticulous testing of theory of bureaucracy in a field
setting by rigorous use of the ^(method of) agreement and difference,
the study has contributed to better understanding of the
role of bureaucracy and necessary modifications needed both
for theory and policy. If development bureaucracy is
completely manned by political parties and their functionaries,
then it would call for a different framework altogether.
However, such a possibility is remote, but even then, the
intervention of the political system in the functioning
of bureaucracy is very important.

✓ Bureaucrats and the political system particularly the political leaders :

Under the changed circumstances, bureaucrats have to
work not only for the people, but with the people, even more
so with their elected representatives, since the elected
representatives are regarded to be mainly responsible for
guarding the interests of the electorate and particularly to
ensure that the demands for various developmental activities
are made with explicitly, honestly and continuously.

Bureaucrats, after an initial resistence or even the
opposition have now accepted the legitimacy of their
being guided by the authority of political leadership.
Ofcourse, as pointed out earlier, political leaders
also make an adroit use of the bureaucratic machinery
so as to ensure smooth functioning of government and
even more so to facilitate the implementation of policies
and programmes of development. Even while granting that
this is a new situation which is developed in the post-
independence period, as pointed out by the two States
mentioned above, there is no denying the fact that parti-
cularly at the field level continuous interaction has
to take place between the bureaucrats and the people,
through their representatives, which also gives rise to
rapproachment and mutual acceptability even complete
acceptance. The Officers of higher rank have displayed
greater plasticity and resilience to meet the challenge
of developmental activity by setting aside the rigid rules
and regulations and also by making themselves more amenable
to contact with the people and ofcourse their representatives.
Thus, in a way, to harp upon the contradictions and confron-
tations between the bureaucrats and political leaders as
representatives of the people and also the common people,
would not be doing justice to reality. Most of the studies
regarding lead official inter-relationship are confined

to the situation as it operates at the block and village
level. " It has already been reported that many politicians
claim it to be their duty to look into administrative
decisions, mainly on the grounds of protecting public good.
This duty they perform quite frequently, that too on
account of public good." (Leader) and'Bureaucracy in
developmental process', by S.N.Tawale, P.N.Limaye, V.K.
Kshire and N.R.Inamdar (p.124), published at Oxford,
I.B.H.Co. Centre for Policy Research New Delhi,1985.)
Village officials on their part have also mentioned that they
do not mind initiative of leaders if it is according
to rules or if it is beneficial to their career. Leaders
have also pointed out that they have/do so because of
procedural delays accepted by the working of bureaucratic
system. By and large, interference by political leaders
amounts to their taking up the matter with higher officials
particularly if there are public complaints, which has
been vindicated both by the political leaders as well as
the officials. Leaders perceive that because of their
intervention, administration becomes partisan in the sense
of becoming more responsive. Officials feel that undue
interference by leaders poses challenge to them which is
occasionally resisted by them. Political leaders, however,
maintain that official decisions are changed either through
mutual consultation or at higher administrative level,which

in a way, means that there is an avoidance of confrontation.
As one would expect, there is a higher percentage of rich
political leaders being able to affect changes in decisions
and ofcourse those who are poor were not at all effective
in getting decisions changed. By and large, it is admitted
that politicians concerned are guided by personal and
parochial considerations and as such officials view that
intervention by political leaders is not necessarily in
the public interest.' Politicians extract compliance from
officials. Officials comply demands of politicians mainly
because they know that politicians have the power to
distribute rewards and inflict penalty, such as threat
of transfer, creation of trouble in service by political
leaders and possibility of unpopularity. Officials do
not want to displease leaders to the tune of 80 percent
at the village level and to the tune of 48 percent at the
district or taluka level. Afterall, officials have to
get things done, both in respect of their personal career
and well-being as well as from the point of view of meet-
ing targets from the leaders. Various modalities are
used to bring pressure like gheraos, demonstrations etc.
What emerges out of this study is the blurring of line
between the jurisdiction of officials and their leaders
which certainly calls for greater flexibility and accommoda-

tion as well as understanding on the part of both these

components. Similar findings have been reported by Prof.Y.B.

Damle and Prof.Mrs. Ramanamma in ~~his~~ their study on "Bureaucracy

and Agricultural Development" Maharashtra State, 1972. At

the village level, the status of the officials, which is

very low, is mainly responsible for their being subjected

to pressures from political leaders which can be successfully

withstood by officials at the district level and ofcourse

at the State level, not to mention the cabinet level. It

has also been brought out that the competition and rivalry

amongst various political parties at the village level

also adds to the complications and, therefore, pious hope

has been expressed regarding the non-partison (political)

functioning of various organisations at the Panchayat level.

One of the implications of such studies has been the

relative neglect of the weaker sections, both by the

officials and non-officials which has ~~to~~ come up time and

again in various studies.

As relationship between the three components i.e.

bureaucracy, people and the political leaders in the con-

text of development is affected by historical traditions,

new demands and challenges and system of stratification.

Therefore, it has been contended in all seriousness by

C.P.Bhambri and K.B.Saxena that the social background of

the bureaucrats, in the sense that they come from elite

sections of society, is counter-productive to development,

~~Although, the studies of Pai panandikar~~

although, the studies of Pai Panandikar mentioned above
do not bear this out. Similarly, though at the village
and block and district level, officials have by and
large to accept the fact of democratic decentralisation
atleast for the implementation of development programmes
in the sphere of agriculture. (Y.B.Damle 'Bureaucrat and
Non-officials -- A study of mutual assessment in Local
Government Institutions in Rural India ' (p.285) edited
by R.N.Haldipur and V.R.K.Paramahansa, National Institute
of Community Development, Hyderabad 30 (1970). In this
paper, relationship between bureaucracy and non-officials
study of mutual assessment, utilise the mechanism of
setting mutual images in order to bring out relationship
between the two. Ofcourse, this paper is based on the
findings from a study with a limited extent and, therefore,
lacks power of generalisation, although it is quite justi-
fied. The findings of this paper clearly bring out
the working of the political process and the ~~inference~~
enhanced self-consciousness of the people at large and
the mounting pressure on the bureaucrats which compels
them to depart from the avowed norms of bureaucratic
functioning.

Assuming that democratic decentralisation has affected
not only bureaucratic system but also people at large, we
have already pointed out as to how even democratic decentra-
lisation has to function through the elected representatives
i.e. elites in whom trust and power is vested. Contrary to
the earlier tradition and habit of being ruled by others
i.e. rulers -- government officials, there has been a
reversal of rôles to some extent which is certainly diffi-
cult for both the partners to digest so easily and effect
a smooth transition from the earlier pattern to the new
pattern. It has been stated by Professor Lasky that 'the
whole difference between efficient and inefficient adminis-
tration lies in the creative use of officials by elected
representatives'.' Ofcourse this is easier said than done,
nor would it be even practically desirable to depend on
the letter of the law, ignoring the spirit of rules and
regulations, which again means successful, though legitimate
deviation from rules and regulations in practice. The expected
degree of bureaucratisation is also difficult to attain.
Thus, the new political framework and design has posed
problems for both the bureaucrats and the people (and the
elected representatives). Lack of proper demarcation of
these spheres of two, has naturally added to the complica-
tions. Emergence of dynamic but power-oriented leadership will

only pose problem for the erstwhile officials' supremacy
of command. However, as mentioned earlier, wily-nily
process of mutual acceptance and trying to work out
process of development as efficiently and as smoothly as
possible is underway, which is reflected in my findings,
and the paper mentioned above.

Tension, management and integration between these
two components has acquired vital importance in the changed
context and, therefore, a study of mutual images was under-
taken. While the officials would like to work untrammeled
by exposure to the people, not to say their interference,
they have also come to accept the changed reality viz.,
that their activity and work will be increasingly exposed
to public scrutiny. In fact, it is only through such
public scrutiny that they could enlist the active co-opera
tion of the leaders and the people in attaining the goal
of development. Hence the officials do accord highest
priority to the village level activity, even though it
made maximum exposure to public scrutiny and even inter-
ference. Quite in keeping with this response, the officials
also maintain that it was no longer necessary to maintain
aloofness between themselves and the people, nor was it
necessary for them to entertain any ideas of superiority.
Similarly, they were quite sensitive to the needs of the

people, at the same time they accept the fact that they
enjoyed higher prestige than that of the common people
which in a way is an indicator of their sense of self-
esteem resulting confidence and security. It was also
mentioned that communication between different rungs of
the official hierarchy was quite effective, a fact per-
ceived by non-officials, which can expand the morale
amongst officials. All the officers, gramsevaks, samiti
members and panchayat members mention that they derived
full support from higher officials, colleagues, subordinate
staff, political leaders and people. This is very positive
pointer in the direction of the high morale experienced
by them. It was also mentioned by the officials that they
derived support in mobilising financial and human resources
for the new agricultural programmes from the leaders as
well as people. There was, however, a difference in
perception and appreciation of the issues involved in terms
of the level of leadership in the sense that these offi-
cials mention that Members of Parliament and Members of
Legislative Assembly took considerable interest in the
development activity as compared with the leaders of lower
rank. This observation was not corroborated by the local
level non-officials, as one would expect. There was no
denying the fact that in their functioning these officials

l to certain pressures from the leaders to

he rules and regulations purely out of

considerations and interest and they also

if deviation from the rules and regula-

e in public interest, they would not mind it.

felt obliged to agree to proper demands,

aders created difficulties in other matters

peration in successful implementation or

f transfer. Ofcourse, these responses differ

k. Therefore, in a way, hierarchy within the

aucracy, even to-day, matters. Both officials

is agree that they were devoted to their work.

earlier, the village level is regarded as

for implementation of development programme.

eartening that the non-officials felt that

ower had shifted from officials to non-

ilarly, non-officials were also aware about

its of pressure being exerted on officials,

essarily not in the interest of public policy

. Even now non-officials perceived that very

take initiative and many of them follow direc-

a way suggest continuance of the earlier

ureaucracy viz., the inability or refusal to

While officials complain of lack of effective co-ordination amongst the various departments, some of them felt that the lack of interest and involvement in work on the part of some officials was responsible for the failure of the development programme. Similarly, officials' non-co-operation with the people's leaders was also felt to be responsible for the failure. These ofcourse are very candid and honest responses on the part of the officials. As one would expect, red-tapism and lengthy procedures, rigors of village life, pressures from rich farmers, unnecessary interference by political leaders were also mentioned as factors responsible for the failure of the development programme. It is thus clear that while mean-ingful interaction and dialogue has taken place between the officials, and the non-officials and the people, there is inevitably a certain hang-over of the earlier set-up, further complicated by the new demands and changing equa-tions which has been accepted by both the components. There is no denying the fact that the supreme importance of the participation of the common people and not only leaders has been accepted by both the parties and this underscores the importance of citizen participation in development, where a newly defined dynamic and proper relationship between bureaucracy and the citizens is expected.)

" Citizen and the Administrator in a Developing Democracy "
by Eldersveld, Jagannatham and Barnabas./ The authors above
have conducted study of the Citizen and the Administrator
in a developing democracy : An empirical study in Delhi State,
India, (Scot Foreman & Co.) (1964), $^{q.11}$ with a view to enquire
into the inter-relationship between the citizen and the
administrator. While the study is concerned ~~to~~ with the wider
canvas viz, postal services, health services, police, Delhi
Transport Undertaking and Community Development, focus is
certainly on the emerging interaction and relationship in
the context of changing reality. As pointed out earlier,
effectiveness of administration depends on efficient use
made of the officials by the people and administrators have
come to stay as a very important intermediary between
Government and the people at large. This is even more so,
when government wants to introduce massive innovations
on a large scale, which certainly requires commitment on
the part of Bureaucracy to the larger goals of the welfare
society and to the new norms of bureaucracy. Yet the
required degree of meaningful interaction between bureau-
cracy and the people cannot be taken for granted, for the
simple reason of (a) lack of meaningful contact between
bureaucracy and the people (b) even more so lack of
functional contact between bureaucracy and the people and

(c) intervention of the **system of stratification** --- hierarchy based on resources and power **which interferes** in bringing about required degree of interaction. As mentioned in my study quoted earlier, citizens' perception of the administrator is very important since stereotypes tend to persist. Whether the administrative system is perceived as sensitive and responsive to the public rather than inflexible and remote and high prestige and status is attached for public employment are very important from the point of view of meaningful interaction. The question really is whether a new image of administrator is evolved and developed in the light of actual experience. The study brings out that it is not only the conduct of the elite with the administrators that matters but that of the common man. On the one hand, there is a growing contact between citizen and the administrative cadres at the level of community development programmes, the level of contact is not of the required order. The well-to-do and the affluent thus have better contact with the administrator cadres and as such reap maximum benefit from the programme, leaving the persons lower down in the scale of hierarchy rather high and dry. While government jobs are held as prestigious, a critical attitude is towards performance of administrators is displayed at the same time. ' The image which persists in our data then is one of citizen acquiescence and support,/ as well as actual

and potential dissatisfaction and the educated and relatively
wealthy criticize job performance of officials and feel that
they are paying more attention then they should, and are ~~sceptical~~ Cynical
or pessimistic about efficacy of citizen action in relation
to the bureaucracy. Urban low status groups are less critical
but also more pessimistic about efficacy of citizen action,
though less well informed about administrative system.'(p.136).
On the one hand, Indian administrative system is penetrating
into most traditional sectors and areas and yet the reaction
of the citizens is slow and faultering. It is only when
the relationship is directly functioning with its forthcoming
and that ofcourse is confined to involve citizens in the
sense mentioned above. As mentioned in the latter study of
Dr. Pai Panandikar, those who are already higher up would
derive maximum benefit from development programmes.

Dr. H.R.Chaturvedi and S.K. Mitra in their study
on " Citizen Participation in Rural Development ", carried
out in 1978 in two districts in Gujarat and Orissa also
bear testimony to the similar trends and emphasize the
supreme importance of institutional network. e.g. nationalist
movement, co-operative spirit, added public leadership to
accelerate the process of development and to make sure that
fruit of development will reach as many people as possible.
Thus in Surat, a comparatively developed district of Gujarat,

the process of development acquired momentum due to the
history of institutional work, while in Dhenkanal (district
in Orissa) a relatively backward district in Orissa, the
programme of rural development had hardly made any impact.
The emergence of proper ethos and cultural climate for the
development of democratic institutions was woefully absent
in Dhenkanal, which emphasizes the importance of leadership
and people's participation in development. Here (Surat)
involving expenditure over several years, leader shares
with his followers, a personal, collective stake in the
success or failure of the organization. Involvement extend-
ing over juniors, dulls the edges of public distrust ~~of~~
of the wielders of power and makes for certain congruences
of the private and collective interest. 'Dhenkanal leaders
comparatively new to power and patronage, does not have
their Surat counterpart's legacy of political responsi-
bility and the consequent legitimacy. Surat Social Economic
Organisation is, figuratively speaking, public joint stock
company with wide (if not equal) distribution of stocks;
the Dhenkanal counterpart in all sense of the word, is
'sacred' society, distrusting and, whose only aim is to
agricultural bounties filling into the village from outside.
Undoubtedly the respective leadership pattern affect the
nature and extent of population participation in development' (p.11C

In a study of citizen participation in rural development
and urban administration conducted by Y.B.Damle and Dr.Mrs.
Usha Bambavale, ~~University of Poona~~, Department of Sociology,
University of Poona, 1978, similar findings were experienced.
On the one hand, urban sample was different and apathetic
while the rural sample was pessimistic and did not stand
to gain from developmental activity.

A certain degree of scepticism not to say pessimism
has been voiced in the work of Narendra K.Singhi, "Bureau-
cracy: Positions and Persons", Abhinav Publications, New
Delhi, 1974.".[17] While accepting that recruitment to public
bureaucracy maintains higher degree of universalism, there
are dysfunctional attributes of the system in public
bureaucracy as compared to private bureaucracy. The author
observes in the light of the field investigation in Rajasthan
' continuation of the old structure leads to structural
lag wherein the structure of 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". Likewise, attention
has been drawn to the elitist basis of bureaucracy by
R.D.Thakur in his book " Elite theory and Administrative
System" Sterling Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi,1981.
He avers that there is almost a monopoly of the IAS in

civil service. Politicians play in the hands of these

bureaucrats who are treated as experts in administration.'

(p.340). Even then he accepts that the recruitment to

civil service is from the middle class or even middle-middle

class, particularly at the field level. The author makes

a vague suggestion (populistic) to improve conditions

of service of those who are placed lower down in the

hierarchy, without substantively providing any hard data.

On the other hand, R.B.Jain and P.N.Chaudhari,in a book

"Bureaucratic Values in Development" Uppal Publishing House,

New Delhi, 1982 have raised a pertinent question viz.,

whether bureaucratic values are inconsistent with the

developmental task assigned to them. In the light of their

field study in Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, the authors

point out that 'in India, while largely remaining wedded

to the Weberian model of bureaucratic organization, has

in fact adapted to the changing needs of the situation.'

(Preface p.VIII). Active involvement of bureaucracy in

the development field task is needed and it is also men-

tioned that such 'officials engaged in developing activities

in Punjab showed less attachment to these value orienta-

tions (values of caste, class considerations and status

consciousness). The officials are also sensitive to the

fact of the hinderances provided by higher status clientale

to share the benefits of development with those who are not

well-placed. Inspite of their possessing the necessary skill
and capabilities for developmental work, one/third of the
officials express grave doubt about their capacity to meet
the challenging situation of the changed environment. The
Study, while revealing the importance attached to the rules
and regulations by the officials, also emphesizes that the
attributes of capability and honesty are very relevant to
development. The officials of the so-called non-developing
departments tend to be more rule oriented, authority conscious
and rational than the officials engaged in developmental
task (p. 258). Similarly, incidence of status consciousness
tends to be lower in development departments in both the
States (p.261). There is a fusion of the structure of
bureaucracy as defined by Weber and also new values which
are reflected in their behaviour which atleast do not abstract
development. Thus, the finding of this study, though very
cautious, is in a way, vindication of the findings of Dr.
Pai Panandikar. Thus, therefore, there is no inherent and
necessary contradiction between the existing structure
evolving and already evolved pattern of behaviour and culture.
It would be very pertinent to point out here that proper
cognisance needs to be taken of the modifications in the
behavioural and cultural pattern which auger well for the
process of development inspite of maintaining the structural

format of bureaucracy. Further, there is no escaping the fact that bureaucracy has already been harnessed for the task of development and it would be in the interest of the ruling political elites and other politicians as well as public to properly appreciate the contributions of the bureaucracy to development instead of condemning the very instrument which is used so continuously.

The studies mentioned above about citizens' involvement and participation in development are symptomatic of the great importance of the new pattern of interaction and relationship between citizen --common people and the administrators if developmental activity has to become meaningful and successful. However, what one finds in reality is the differential participation of citizens i.e. elites who participate much more in the developmental activity and stand to gain considerably by developmental activities and programmes, in a way helping the adminis- trators to fulfil the targets, while rendering it difficult the attainment of the egalitarian goal of development.

Important books and monographs have been presented here with a view to highlight the important concepts and theory regarding bureaucracy and development. However, in the next chapter, effort is made to identify the concepts and theories emerging from the lesser known available papers and publications which do not necessarily

present a coherent conceptual framework.

Literally, there have been hundreds of studies of bureaucracy which point out that bureaucratic system is in a large way reflection of existing social stratification. At the same time, it has also been noted that within the higher reaches of bureaucracy there is less emphasis on on the observance of hierarchy particularly in respect of inter-personal relations with the subordinates, which again vindicates a trend in the culture and behaviour of bureaucracy. Likewise, informal and personal relations are also considered to be functional which also reflect receding importance to formalism. Even in Studies of Bureaucracy in an industrial organisation where maximum importance is attached to attaining rational results, feeling of ~~tirelessness and~~ alienation seems to be more confined to lower strata. Alienation is not a homogeneous entity particularly in terms of its impact on those who work in a given bureaucratic system. Rural-urban differentials as well as differences on hierarchy and stratification seem to be more important in giving rise to a sense of alienation rather than the bureaucracy as a system. Along with the social system and its role incumbents who are facing the crisis of transformation from the traditional to modern society, bureaucrats are also faced with the same problem and as such are in fact more vulnerable to this problem since

they are entrusted with the task of transforming others
at the same time transforming themselves. Therefore,
to pausit one to one relationship between bureaucracy
and alienation in an industrial organization is not
warranted.(Ramkunwar Ram Yadav ' Bureaucracy and Aliena-
tion in an Industrial Organization ' : Ph.D. thesis in
Sociology, Banaras Hindu University, 1977).[16]

Apart from these monographs and books which have
(themselves) addressed to the problem of conceptual frame-
work in the context of development, there have been
several books, monographs and papers concerning the
same theme, although not necessarily confined to Indian
social reality. Some of the studies are prescriptive
rather than analytical and, therefore, a very brief
summary of their contents is presented below :

In addition to several works mentioned above, there are
many other publications in the shape of books, monographs
and papers which discuss the problem of theory/of bureau-
cracy in the context of development. Certainly, what is
contained in these contributions is worth noting partly
to take cognisance of what has been studied and partly to
recapitulate the entire position with regard to theory of
bureaucracy and the various suggestions made in respect
of concepts, cormulations etc.

First and foremost, there is a tacit acceptance of
the increasing role to be played by the State for adminis-
tering development and as such the increasing reliance
to be placed on bureaucracy for implementing various
schemes of development. Thus O.P.Dwivedi and R.B.Jain
in their book " India's Administrative Study " Geetanjali
Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, very strongly assert
that the State has to meaningfully intervene to ensure
development and utilise the services of bureaucrats for
the same. Similarly, in the book " Dynamics of Development :
International Perspective " edited by Sudesh Kumar Sharma
a note has been taken of increasing utilisation of bureau-
cracy in Asian States for promoting development. Thus
the policy of laissez faire has been given a go-bye,
emphasizing State as a major component of the theory of

bureaucracy. Utmost importance is attached to efficiency, performance and control over the resources and their management. In Lesli Sawhny Programme Accountability in Development : National and International. How to have development with the least Bureaucracy, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi 1982, in the context of public enterprises, emphasis has been placed on both efficiency and performance. Similarly, Byron T.Mook, in his book ' A Value and Action in India, Bureaucracy, conclusion ' mentions that in respect of agricultural development, it is necessary to ensure efficiency as well as control over the situation to promote development by the bureaucracy. Bata K. Dey in his book " Bureaucracy Development and Public Management in India ", Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1978, certainly pinpoints attention on the professionalisation of civil services including its operational mechanics and recommends an organisational infra-structure for creative thinking in management and the consequent dynamics of administrative reforms movement. In Taylorian approach is strongly recommended. In his paper ' Representative Bureaucracy ? a Note for Methodological Reformulation 'published in Indian Journal/Public Administration, vol.27,No.4,Octr.Decr.1981, p.1019-33, B.G.Sharma lists multiferous variables as important for the effective functioning of bureaucracy in

implementing programmes of development such as (1) deter-
minent of the demand for bureaucrats, (2) determinent of
the supply of bureaucrats and (3) gate-keepers or a
filtered process. In the same article, emphasis is placed
on the demand side rather than supply side. Very rightly,
as stressed by Bhambri C.P., in his article " Bureaucracy
in India : Challenges of the Eighties " Indian Journal
of Public Administration, Vol. 26, No.3, July-Septr 1980,
p. 520-27, perception of the goals of development by
bureaucracy are very important which affected the process
of development. Bhambri further mentions that Indian
Bureaucracy believes in the politics of modernisation
and mixed economy, because of which he expects that the
crisis of Bureaucracy in the Eighties would increase, if
forces opposed to the modernisation of India, come to political
power. Manipulation of environment smacks of undue
control by bureaucracy which may really lead to its play-
ing a dominating role rather than a serving role. In his
book ' Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth '
Pakistan and Bangla Desh, University Press Ltd., Bangla
Desh, 1980, Emajuddin Ahmed warns, though with reference
to the situation in Pakistan and Bangla Desh about the
danger of bureaucracy playing a dominating role rather
than that of a servant, which cannot be altogether ignored
even in the Indian context. In his article 'Public Bureaucracy

in the Post-Colonial **Study :** Some Questions on Autonomy
and Dominance in South **Asia** in the Journal 'Development
and Change' 11(1),Jan.1980 p.131-48, Michael Moore also
mentions that in a comparatively historical perspective
study apparatus is relatively elaborate in relation to
the under-developed economic base and with that public
bureaucracies are more powerful than they ought to be
in relation to politicians and,therefore, ideological war
has been lost by the politicians. This introduces the
question of the analysis of Post-colonial social forma-
tions and enormous adjustments which are involved on the
part of bureaucracy. Due to the historical reasons, bureau-
cracy tends to be statis rather than dynamic. In his book
" Bureaucracy and Development Administration " Uppal Publish-
ing House, New Delhi, 1979, Mohit Bhattacharya, feels that
administrative growth is incremental rather than radical
and it is statis instead of being dynamic. Similar views
are expressed with respect to the American situation where
excessive mechanical dimension of bureaucratic structure
has also been commented upon and it has been suggested that
to counteract the nature of mechanical structure of
bureaucracy, parallel voluntary organisations are abso-
lutely necessary to counteract the ill-effects of bureau-
cratic structure ". (Stein Berry A. & Rosabeth Moss G.Kanter"
Building Parallel Organisation Creating Mechanisms for
Permanent Quality of Work Life : in the Journal of Applied
Behavioural Sciences, Vol.16,No.3,Jul.Aug.Sept.1980.p.371-388).

Gap between ideal and real : Apart from the classical
features of bureaucracy such as rationality, efficiency,
performance, what is emphasized in the context of development
and the role which the bureaucracy is called upon to perform,
are all manners of expectations made of the bureaucrats in
respect of their total acceptance of the goals of develop-
ment, mainly characterised by economic development and
prosperity, coupled with social justice to be reflected
in the policies of distribution, and ofcourse complete
involvement in the policies and programmes formulated to ensure
development. This also means that the bureaucrats should
accept their new duty of working with the people by refusing
to distance themselves from the people and by motivating
the people to participate in the programmes of development.
As is well-known, the relationship between theory and reality
is always dialectical (Y.B.Damle: 'Dialectics between theory
and social reality'). This has been observed in the case
of other countries also, which has been already commented
upon by Merton referred to earlier viz., ' the practice of
bureaucracy, more often than not, departs from the classi-
cal of bureaucracy and instead of being impersonal and neutral,
bureaucrats are selective in their behaviour and are also
governed by considerations of solidarities centering round
primary groups. Even though, bureaucracies are the link

between local institutions and the nation as a whole, this
may not materialise in practice. Then again, the myth of
accountability of bureaucrat has also been commented upon
by David L.Altheide and John M.Johnson in their book
" Bureaucratic Propoganda " Allyn & Bacon Inc.,Boston,1980.
Similarly, it has also been noted earlier by Bhambri that
Bureaucracy is not neutral but influenced by the ruling
dominant elite. (C.P.Bhambri ' Bureaucracy and Politics
in India ' Vikas Publications, 1971.) Then again, the
important role played by the bureaucracy in policy formu-
lations has also been commented upon by several scholars.
The verbalised stances of bureaucracy also need not be
taken at their face value. As already pointed out, Michel
Crozier also speaks about the importance of bureaucratic
culture which influences their day-to-day functioning.
Similarly,Mooshall W. Mayer in his book, 'Change in Public
Bureaucracies', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge,London,
1979, on the basis of longitudinal study, points out that
organisational structures of bureaucracy are much less stable
than the conventional stereotypes,and very rightly further
points out that environment of organisation is more
important than their structure, because organisations have
to ultimately function in a given socio-economic,political

ideological environment. Similar point of view has been
expressed by Ellioh Jaques in his book " A General Theory
of Bureaucracy " Heinemann, London, 1976, stating that
a properly organised bureaucracy is not inevitably mono-
lythic and stultifying but can make a prime contribution
to pluralism and general society. The author further points
out that bureaucracy can help redress socio-economic
inequalities and injustice atleast by controlling, if not
eliminating, exploitation. As a matter of act, it has been
very rightly stressed that in the study of bureaucracy
one has to adopt the role of a critique and the scientist
instead of conforming or accepting the classical model of
bureaucracy and the purpose of any theory, as mentioned
time and again, is to revise its propositions in the light
of new demands, experience and environment in which it
functions. Similar observations have been made about the
functioning of bureaucracy even in socialist regime which
would be pointed out later on.'It would also be very
unrealistic and unjust to the bureaucrats to consider them
as a homogeneous entity and it is very important to mention
that the level at which the bureaucracy functions, has
important implications for working with the people getting
the required feed-back and inducing the people to partici-
pate in development. (Awadhesh Prasad, " A Portrait of

Bureaucracy in India : The Block Development Officer, "

Associated Book Agency, Patna, 1976). Ofcourse, copious

material in this regard has been presented from the

studies of Dr. V.A. Pai Panandikar and others. Therefore,

particularly in the context of development, classical

model of bureaucracy is not applicable.

Nature of Real Politic and Economic constraints on the functioning of bureaucracy and the consequent modifications needed in the theory of bureaucracy :

In the first place, it should be pointed out that

financial stringency affects the working of bureaucracy

and it is very much here that supply side of economics

affects working of bureaucracy, as pointed out by J.D.Sethi

in his book " Bureaucracy and Accountability ". Moreover,

it is because of financial stringency that the discre-

pancy between clients needs and aspirations and the

performance of the bureaucrats tends to persist and can

even assume proportions of a crisis. Similarly the policy

of adhocism pursued by bureaucrats further reduces their

efficiency and fails to bring about a qualitative change

in values and social structure and stresses undue pressure

on bureaucracy for obtaining results in their short run

by politicians would also give rise to sycophancy, promis-

cuous responsibility, unashamed parsimony and aggrandize-

ment, as mentioned by K.K.Khanna " Bureaucratic Blunder

World : Behavioural Profile of the Indian Bureaucracy's
(National *Management* ~~Amendment~~ Services 3) National Publishing House,
New Delhi 1984. Dwivedi and Jain have already emphasized
the supreme necessity of meaningful interaction between
bureaucracy and people so as to ensure participation of
people in development. Ofcourse, such interaction can be
thwarted by undue dominance of the politicians. For example,
M.A. Mutalik in his study " Democracy, Bureaucracy and
Technocracy : Assumptions of Public Management theory "
Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1980, points out the
danger of collusion between policy, bureaucracy and tech-
nocracy which would not permit the desired and desirable
kind of interaction between bureaucracy and the common
people, would as such thwart the developmental process.
In fact, under this situation, bureaucracy would cease to be
accountable which can be contracted only by concerted
citizen's pressure, as pointed out by several scholars. The
new situation which has arisen out of the conflict between
technocrat and generalist also needs our attention because
of the historical neglect of technical specialists in India
and the domination by the generalists, commented upon
by Prof. D.R.Gadgil and several others. In our concern
for making the theory of bureaucracy realistic and there-
fore relevant in the context of development, special mention

must be made of the importance of mutual co-operation
and understanding/between the politicians and the bureau-
crats. Bureaucrats must be sensitised. Importance of
political change that has come about in India in the
wake of its democratic constitution, is pointed out by
S.K.Kannan in his work ' Political Change and Bureau-
cratic Change : a Dissertation submitted to the I.I.P.A.
in 1979-80. On the other hand, unless politicians also
co-operate with the bureaucrats, substantial changes
cannot be effected by the bureaucrats, as pointed out
by Kuldeep Mathur in his work ' Bureaucracy and the
New Agricultural Set-up ', Concept Publishing Co., New
Delhi, 1982. In China, for instance, proper relationship
between bureaucrats and politicians ensures meaningful
co-operation and contributes effectively to developmental
activity: (Harry Harding, 'Organising China', Problem of
Bureaucracy', 1949-76, Stanford University Press, Cali-
fornia, 1981). As mentioned by Bhambri, collusion bet-
ween politicians, ruling elite and bureaucrats would
also undermine the efficacy of bureaucracy in respect
of their contribution to development and similarly if
there is undue domination kxxxxxxxxxxxf by the politi-
cians, even then, the efficacy of bureaucracy would be
reduced, As already pointed out by Mutalik, A proper

feed-back and co-operation between bureaucracy, politicians
and the people is a must for ensuring programmes and
policies of development. Thus a triangular/interaction
is necessitated which becomes an important component
of the theory of bureaucracy in the context of development.

Social Background and Culture of Bureaucracy

It is a common sense of Sociology to refer to the
importance of one's place in social hierarchy in analysing
one's performance and particularly one's ability to relate
particularly to common people. As mentioned time and again,
the classical theory of bureaucracy has been already modified
in the sense that bureaucrats have now to work with the
people and not only arbitrarily. It has also been pointed
out that the level at which bureaucrat has to function
has assumed cardinal importance in the light of the kind
job he or she is expected to perform and also the quantity
and quality of interaction he or she has to enter into with
his or her clients on day-to-day basis. It is but natural
to attach importance to the social background of bureaucrats
which would influence their functioning. C.P.Bhambri for
instance, has adversely commented upon in " Socio-Economic
Background, Attitude and Role of the Higher Echelons of
the Indian Bureaucracy ". However, there are various other
scholars who have brought out, in the first place, lack of
homogeneity in bureaucracy and its personnel and parti-

cularly, the acceptance of new cultural values of
participation and interaction with the people so as to
ensure the goal of development, reflected in the beha-
vioural level. Thus, Pai Panandikar and others have
already forcefully brought out the resulting hietus bet-
ween the structure and behaviour (culture of bureaucracy)
Rohit Dave, in his Article " Bureaucratisation of Power "
Commerce, Vol. 141, No. 3619, Nov.1,1980, p.837, suggests
the hidden power of bureaucracy which is not fully rea-
lised, although several field studies present a different
picture. The hietus referred to, between the structure
and behaviour does not diminish the importance of rules
and regulations and conventions for the effective function-
ing of the bureaucratic structure even in the context of
development, as pointed out by Venkatasubramanian A.K.
" Appropriate Administrative Ideology for Democracy and
Development " Indian Journal of Public Administration,
28 (2), April-June 1982, p.322-333. Even while emphasizing
some of the structural characteristics of bureaucracy, there
is a continuing emphasis on modifying and changing its
behaviour and culture in an appropriate fashion.

Bureaucracy and Socialist System : As very rightly
emphasized by Weber, in a complex society which is
industrially and technologically developed, needs to be

managed/by a well-trained bureaucracy irrespective of
its being a capitalist or a socialist society. Several
studies of the functioning of the bureaucracy in socialist
societies have proved to the hilt the prophetic observa-
tion of Max Weber. Thus, instead of doing away with
bureaucracy, socialist societies certainly depend a great
deal on active participation in performing developmental
tasks. Ofcourse, as already pointed out in a socialist
society, twin goals of economic and social transforma-
tion are simultaneously emphasized, in fact to the extent
that either of them gets neglected, it poses a threat
to the very socialist system. The Statism, as already
indicated, means responsibility for administering deve-
lopment and as such a great reliance is placed on bureau-
cracy. In her book on " Bureaucracy and Demogracy ", Eva
Halevi, points out the supreme importance of political
power even if private ownership of the means of produc-
tion and property have been dispensed with, because the
State elites act in their own interest, specially those
of maintaining and augmenting their own power. While
commenting upon the contradiction between western demo-
cracy and the utilisation of bureaucracy, the author
also points out that even under a socialist system, without
active pressure of citizens, bureaucracy tends to play

a very dominating role in collusion with the politicians.
The bureaucracy is universally important and applicable
for attaining the goals of development in particular.
Extension of bureaucratic values even in the field of
education has been commented upon by some scholars. In
his book, " Bureaucracy and Technocracy in the Socialist
Countries ", Serge Mallet refers to the inevitable conse-
quences brought about by technocratic state of capitalism
as exemplified by Soviet Russia. Thus, it is mentioned
that technocracy in socialist countries tends to be as
meritocratic as in western countries and distances itself
from the common people by denying the workers access to
economic management itself. In my study of Soviet society
(Social Differentiation and Differentiation in Emoluments,
1955), I have also pointed out various differentials of
income, status and power prevailing in Soviet Russia.
As already pointed out, any in-congruence between the political
and the economic base is responsible for the process of
distancing the bureaucratic technocratic elites from
the common citizens. Thus, reliance on utilisation of
bureaucratic and technocratic personnel for furthering
the process of development is as much a feature of socialist
society, as that of any other pattern of society. More-
over, the elitisation of bureaucracy and technocracy is

.. 161.

also both a fact and and a **very viable possibility.**
Therefore, whatever the model of development, the
importance of bureaucracy and, therefore, the necessity
to evolve and modify continuously appropriate theory
of bureaucracy cannot be under-emphasized.

Chapter V

Resume of the Theory

The classical model of bureaucracy as presented by Max Weber and several modifications suggested to the same by Merton, Blau, Crozier and others have been taken due note of in the foregoing. However, when bureaucracy is used as a major instrument of administering change and development, important modifications to the classical theory become very necessary, as also reflected in the works of Merton, Blau and Crozier. The subject of development bureaucracy came into focus when a large number of developmental programmes were initiated by the Government of India after independence. A major change in the study of bureaucracy of rural area was also introduced when Community Development Programme was launched in 1952. Literature on this theme was generated only after 1960. Pai-Panandikar in 1964 observed that to meet the developmental objectives, the structural organisational and behavioural elements may have to be carefully assessed, measured and incorporated in the administrative set up. He had very correctly emphasized the necessity of distinction between the structural and the behavioural level and as such suggested certain important concepts as additions to the Weberian theory

of bureaucracy. Following his effort, many writings
appeared : Bhalerao 1960, Dean 1963, Rieger 1967,
Dube 1966, which observed that structures and ethos
of bureaucracy are suited more for maintenance of law
and order than for massive nation building, and that
its _response_ to the emerging milieu has been beset
with organizational incompetence, psychological resis-
tance and value conflicts. Recently, Kartinel 1981,
Jain 1982, Bhattacharya 1979, Mathur 1982, Chaturvedi 1977,
Aurora 1980, Avasthi 1976, Syffon 1966, Deyl 1978, Roukel
1969, Pai Panandikar 1933 etc., have carefully examined
the role of bureaucracy in the implementation of deve-
lopmental programmes in different parts of the world.
They note that in the countries of Asia, Africa and
Latin America, bureaucracy remained largely unresponsive,
even unaware of the aspirations of the poor. They however
argued that the failure of developmental programmes
can be attributed to conventional bureaucratic structures
and procedures. These studies, by and large indicated
the weakness of the bureaucratic system, but at the same
time suggest ways and means to design a more filtration
and effective system of implementation of developmental
programmes.

<u>Bureaucratic Adaptation</u> : Even though it is customary to describe bureaucracy as an immovable colossus, there is no doubt that over the years, and particularly in the context of various development programmes undertaken by the Government of India, it has shown resilience, adaptability as well as flexibility which has also been pointed out particularly by Pai-Panandikar, Jain, Chaturvedi and others. Ofcourse, it must be remembered that bureaucracy, as mentioned time and again, is not a honogeneous entity but exists functionally at different levels necessitating participation, involvement and working with the people. Even those like Bhambri, Yats, Kannan, Kramner who have otherwise criticised the functioning of bureaucracy particularly on the basis of ~~the~~ its elitist character, ~~bureaucracy~~ have offered suggestions as to how to make it more responsive, useful and creative. Everyone of these critics have emphasized the participatory style of bureaucracy, of which evidence has been produced in the various writings referred to in the earlier chapters. The ruler's imperative is to maintain their power and as such they have atleast to ensure a good measure of performance for which they have to depend on bureaucracy or rather they have to depend on bureaucracy. both the efficiency and willin In fact, even in socialist States, considerable reliance

is placed on effective role played by bureaucracy in administering economic, socio-cultural transformation. We have already noted as to how several empirical studies have concerned themselves with attitudes, values, perceptives, orientations and behaviour of the people towards bureaucracy and vice-versa, because it is only on the basis of the responsiveness of bureaucracy that the success of the various developmental programmes hinges. It has also been already noted as to how there was a persistence of the hangover of colonial set-up in respect of the character and functioning of bureaucracy although as also pointed out, there have been various changes accruing in the so-called colonial set-up. There is also no denying the fact that any theory only provides a point of departure for any substantive empirical enquiry and the same holds good in the case of the theory of bureaucracy particularly when the State has undertaken the task of administering social, economic, scientific, technological and industrial transformation in a big way for which, it has to rely on the utilisation of bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy and its Orientation to Change and development :

Leave aside the socialist centrally planned regimes, in all the new States and nations, there is a very emphatic

demand made on the bureaucrats to be prone to change
and development in order to fulfil the aspirations of
the people at large and ofcourse also of the ruling elite,
who ultimately depend on people's satisfaction with the
performance of the rulers. Mere popularity and charisma
cannot carry the leaders for a very long period of time
and as such we have called upon to acquit themselves
satisfactorily sooner or later through their performance
for which again they have to utilise administration --
bureaucracy at their command. New public administration
seems to be more concerned with change--change designed
to make government-bureaucracy more responsive to the
environment -- than more traditional view that public
administration should emphasize stable relationships
with other political and social institutions. Thus, accord-
ing to Krammer " Perspectives of Public Bureaucracy "
Winthrop Publishers Inc. Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A. 1975,
'bias of new public administration is the demand for
flexibility in policy formulation and administration.'
There has been a continuous emphasis on the social
environment and its influence on the working of bureau-
cracy and as such inspite of adherence to the organisa-
tional theory, bureaucracy is not regarded as inevitably
monolythic and stultifying but can make a prime contri-
bution to pluralism and the open society. In the light

--of the changing demands and requirements, bureaucracy
is required to adopt itself to the changing circumstan-
ces and modifying its structure, culture as well as persona-
lity. It is customary to refer to the dilemna of develop-
ment inherent in the simultaneous insistence of stability
as well as change. However, demand for change has gained
upper hand over the demand for stability. As already
pointed out, in the study of bureaucracy, it is nece-
ssary to be both a critic and scientist in order to be
constructively helpful and perceptive enough to suggest
modifications. Theory of organisation certainly raises
the problem as to whether individual personalities can
retain their independence in an organisational set-up.
Yet there is no denying the fact that the changing envi-
ronment certainly makes the demand even on the organisa-
tion man. We have already mentioned as to how organisa-
tional structures tend to be less stable in their func-
tioning than what they are thought to be or particularly
portrayed to be. Even in the most highly technologically
developed societies which have more or less given autonomous
status to technology, increasing reliance is placed on
making organisations more flexible rather than immmuned
to changes, increasing reliance on rationality and the
capacity to modify according to the changing environment.
There is no doubt that bureaucrats would certainly exert

influence on policy decisions. However, there is no
denying the fact that bureaucracy will have to conti-
nuously evolve newer and newer equations with the rulers
and will have to work in close co-operation with the
politicians in order to become effective. On the other
hand, if the bureaucrats have undue stake in power, it
is bound to result in their conflict with politicians.
Separation of the ownership of the means of production
from the management can be looked upon as an example
of the managerial technocratic supremacy and still the
supremacy of the rulers cannot be wished away. If, on the
other hand, bureaucrats and the rulers work in collusion,
interests of the common people cannot be safeguarded.
Therefore, if the State is answerable and accountable
to the people, it will naturally try to control the
functioning of its bureaucracy. As pointed out earlier,
economic development and prosperity and seemingly obvious
efforts to ensure distributive justice are the major
functions of new bureaucracy. Ofcourse, there is no
denying the fact that this delicate balance means con-
siderable tension under which bureaucracy will have to
function adding a new dimension to the theory of bureau-
cracy, which can be best expressed in terms of continu-
ously moving equillibrium. This is not to suggest

uncertainty in the perception of goals of development
on the part of bureaucracy, which would be certainly
ruinous. As mentioned earlier, pressure by citizens
would make bureaucracy more and more aware of the goals
of development and the supreme necessity of attaining
those goals. Thus, to-day, new bureaucracy requires
both efficiency and democracy. What is required is
homeostasis, because of which managerial systems (bureaucracy)
will be able to restore its balance and strike a proper
balance between continuity, stability and innovation as
well as responsiveness to change. On the one hand, radical revolutionary
change has to be avoided and on the other monopolisation
of new projected services has to be checked effectively
from time to time.

Dialectics between theory and Reality : Despite theory
of bureaucracy particularly as it has been developed in
the west and also tested in the west, it is very clear
that there is a gap between theory and reality, even
though it has been conceded practically by every author
that utilisation of bureaucratic machinery is necessary
for administering a complex society and particularly to
ensure development in all its ramifications. As mentioned
time and again, acceptance of democratic framework creates
inevitable tension between bureaucracy and the political
rulers. A fine balance has to be maintained between the two,

if the target of development viz., development of the
common man is to be realistically attained. Similarly, in
its day to-day functioning, bureaucratic organisation need
not be unduly stable and stultifying. The objective of
efficiency and fair-mindedness on the part of bureaucracy
can also be an irritant both to the common man and par-
ticularly to the vested interests. It is here that political
leaders can play a significant role if by (a) co-operating
with the bureaucracy in its proper conduct and its res-
ponsibility and (b) by convincing people at large about
the fair-mindedness as well as efficiency of the bureau-
cracy. On the other hand, if the politicians are selfish
they would neither be able to enlist co-operation with
the people nor allow bureaucracy to function in such a manner
as to realise the objectives mentioned above. It is only
by facilitating constructive tripartite relationship and
interaction between politicians, bureaucrats and the people
that objectives for which bureaucracy is being utilized
for ensuring development, can be realised; otherwise there
may be undue conflict between the bureaucrats and the poli-
ticians. If the Bureaucrats are subjected to undue pressures
it would result in not only alienating bureaucrats from
the politicians, but also from the people, since they would

not be allowed to discharge their duties in a fair-minded
fashion. If new ideals are to be ralised, it is necessary
to ensure such a meaningful dialogue and co-operation
between the three components. In this context, the
sensitivity of bureaucracy to the changing circumstances
and demands has to be ensured which means appropriate
socialisation or re-socialisation. Similarly bureaucracy
has to be made ostensively accountable.

   Bureaucracy -- dominating or serving : It is cus-
tomary to characterise bureaucracy as dominating and one
of the circumstances, which makes it so, is weak and un-
principled politicians, who use bureaucracy for their
personal aggrandizement. While there is no doubt that
imperceptibly, though, bureaucrats play a major role in
policy formulation apart from its implementation, honest
politicians and vigilent citizens can exercise a salutory
influence on the bureaucrats. A mention has already been
made about the inevitability, not to say advisability,
of bureaucracy in any modern complex set of society, it
has also been mentioned as to how even in socialist
societies, by their collusion with politicians, bureau-
crats and technocrats can play a very dominating role.
It should not ever be forgotten that bureaucrats are
public servants and as such are answerable to public

scrutiny and public wish. Temptation of power has to be continuously controlled and for any reason public bureaucrats should not be allowed to be more powerful than they ought to be nor should they be over-autonomous. Ofcourse this can only be done by encouraging citizens parallel organisations to scrutinize and control their their behaviour. Absolutist political control as seen earlier would also corrupt the bureaucrats and render them unanswerable and unaccountable. The only way to prevent this is to scrupulously guard the process of the selection -- election of the politicians and simul-taneously to encourage people's organisations to protest against any over-autonomous and the resulting autocratic behaviour particularly on the part of the bureaucrats and also on the part of the politicians.

Hurdles in the functioning of Bureaucracy : Several hurdles in the proper functioning of bureaucracy have been pointed out, such as their lack of awareness of the new ideals and tasks and the changing situation, insensi-tivity and indifference on their part as far as the work-ing for the common and with the common is concerned, cumbersome procedures, rules and regulations, undue influence of politicians and their pressures, lack of constructive co-operation from the politicians to implement the

required changes, lack of ideological conviction,
over-ambitious programmes and policies of development
and unclear societal goals and political situation etc.

In short, to arrive at a meaningful and realistic
theory of bureaucracy, positive and negative aspects
have to be simultaneously considered and continuous
and sustained efforts have to be made to realise the
ideal of down-top administration so as to break the
barriers of class elitism as well as vested interests.

Indian Experience, analysis and the emerging theory :

No matter whether a given technology or institutional
mechanism is borrowed from some other country, yet it has
to grow and develop in its own setting which affects its
nature, structure as well as culture. This is particularly
so in the case of ~~hauling~~ borrowing of institutional mechanisms like
bureaucracy. While the classical theory of bureaucracy
is mainly fashioned after Max Weber's seminal contribu-
tion, there is no denying the fact that bureaucracy takes
peculiar shape and turn according to the environment in
which it functions. Ofcourse, as already mentioned, in
India, much before the British rule, there was a well
developed system of bureaucratic administration, although
it tended to be more personal than impersonal and did
not emphasize the aspect of training education, not to
say rationality, as was done in the west. Nevertheless,

there was a continuing tradition of bureaucratic admi-
nistration in India on which was superimposed the western
bureaucratic tradition by the British rulers, mainly for
their own ends and interests, which lent a certain degree
of homogeneity to administering country through bureau-
cracy. Ofcourse, it has also been noted as to how dur-
ing pre-independence period, bureaucracy in India was main-
ly concerned with maintenance of law and order. After
attainment of political independence, there has been a
sea-change in respect of the task the bureaucracy should
handle and the goals and aims and targets it is expected
to meet -- transformation of Indian society by ensuring
economic prosperity, industrial, scientific and technolo-
gical development, social reconstruction, distributive
justice and so on. Attention has been mainly focussed
on the role of State administration in initiating main-
taining and furthering the process of development. It
further means that bureaucracy as an instrument of deve-
lopment should no longer be static but dynamic --change
oriented, change prone. This demand calls for a change
in the theory of bureaucracy if it has to function
effectively as an effective and efficient agent of de-
velopment. Here effectiveness and efficiency is not to
be measured only in economic and quantitative terms

but even more so in terms of the modification of the
socio-political, cultural fabric in such a matter. as
to provide basic minimum amenities and facilities for
development of the common man -- deprived and dispri-
vileged sections of society. It is precisely here that
there is a considerable addition to the role and func-
tion of bureaucracy in the sense of the tremendous
demand made on evolving a new personality type, a new
culture of bureaucracy as well as a new culture of
democracy so as to be able to meet these demands.
The constitution of India is that of realising a dream society,
which will be economically developed and prosperous,
socially just and secular as well as ensuring freedom
of various types to everyone. Naturally, this has set
a very high target for achievement particularly by
the bureaucracy, since people's expectations have been
considerably aroused and as such bureaucracy has to
be very responsive to the Ideas and thinking of the people
at large.

Therefore, several scholars have devoted their think-
ing to the understanding and analysis of development
administration -- bureaucracy both from the point of
knowing reality in its operation and to make positive

suggestions for the improvement of its functioning,
as well as to suggest modifications to the traditional
classical theory of bureaucracy. We have already seen
numerous suggestions made by scholars on the basis of
their empirical studies to improve the functioning
of bureaucracy so as to be effective in meeting the
targets of development. Similarly, important sugges-
tions have been made in respect of conceptual frame-
work and appropriate modifications in the theory of
bureaucracy. First and foremost, of utmost importance
has been accorded to efficiency and results. Secondly,
the goal of State -- Statism in unleashing bureaucratic
machinery to realise goal of development has also been
not only well documented but considerably emphasized
as an extremely important variable for the theory of
bureaucracy. A very significant distinction has been
made between the structure of bureaucracy, which prima-
facie continues to conform to the Weberian classical
model and yet in terms of its behaviour and culture
is quite different from the classical model, which in
its turn also means modifications in its structure.
This has been brought out practically in all the
studies either explicitly or implicitly. Value orien-
tation of bureaucrats also no longer conform to the
traditional model but have meant acceptance of new values

of development, proneness to change and acceptance

of cardinal importance of people's participation

and co-operation. This in its turn means signifi-

cant change in the personality and culture of bureau-

cracy which also has changed reaction of the modifi-

cation of structure of bureaucracy in its actual

functioning. Then again, bureaucracy is no longer

looked upon as homogeneous phenomenon, but something

which has to be differentiated on the basis of the

level at which it operates. It has been already men-

tioned as to how technical competence, higher educa-

tion, higher status enables bureaucrats to deviate

from time-honoured rules, regulations, not to say

restrictions, and to continuously resort to innova-

tive practices. In every sense of the term, operat-

ing at the field level, bureaucracy has to be much

more perceptive and sensitive of the reality. After

independence, the political leaders and particularly

ruling party has come to occupy a very important

position and role and are expected to promote the

process of development by keeping proper check on

the functioning of bureaucracy and by ensuring peo-

ple's participation in the process of development.

The tripartite interaction between bureaucracy, polity

and people is a significant addition to the theory of
bureaucracy, in consonance with those types of interaction.
Significant departures have to be made in the process and
patterns of communication both within the bureaucracy and
between bureaucracy and polity and between bureaucracy
and the people. The importance of two-way communication
and the continuous feed-back has been brought out again
and again which also is an important contribution to the
theory. What is most important is the necessity of conti-
nuous evaluation of functioning of bureaucracy and its
changing relationship with polity and the people and the
reformulation necessitated in the concepts of theory of
bureaucracy from time to time. Thus, bureaucratic pheno-
menon is to-day regarded or atleast accepted to be dynamic
rather than static. The necessity of re-organising the
structure of bureaucracy and to ensure inter-departmental,
inter-ministerial, inter-State and Union co-operation
has been reiterated. While emphasizing the importance
of rationality and efficiency, there is a simultaneous
demand made of the utilisation of rationality and effi-
ciency towards public cause i.e. development of the common
man. Some of the field studies have also brought out
the fact that because of the novelty of the bureaucracy
operating at the grass-root level, it could acquire a
certain degree of freedom from constraints, since rules and

regulations have not been formulated. Higher status, as

mentioned above, has also facilitated introduction of

pattern of flexibility. Similarly, dysjunction between

structural and behavioural aspects of bureaucracy has

also meant change. Thus, no appealing effect of a well-

developed and allert leadership making continuous demands

on the bureaucracy to increase its effectiveness and the

efficiency, which fetch significantly better results

is also note-worthy and can be regarded as an important

concept. Ofcourse, undue emphasis on attaining results

and meeting targets would atleast in the short run mean

neglect of weaker section which has been again brought out.

In this sense also, the concept of neutrality of bureau-

cracy tends to be unrealistic. A highly awakened sense

of self-respect on the part of the common people can only

be ensured by a well-developed tradition of social,political

and voluntary organisations which again has been brought

out in comparative studies of the functioning of the

bureaucracy. The impact of external environment is as

important as the system from within, which again brings out

the necessity of continuously re-examining and reformulating

the relationship and interaction between bureaucracy, polity

and the people. This can also be considered as an important

addition to the conceptual framework. Even in the context of

socialist societies, if, for any reason, there were to occur a collusion between the bureaucrats and the political rulers, bureaucracy would cease to be an effective agent of development particularly from the point of view of distributive justice and even social reconstruction. This is all the more likely to happen to a country which has accepted democratic framework and this also must be regarded as important addition to the conceptual framework.

All in all, effort of this particular study has been to take cognisance of the theory of bureaucracy both in its classical form and the modifications suggested to it by various scholars like Merton, Blau, Crozier, in the light of changing situation. After taking due note of such modifications, our attention has been mainly focussed on the understanding and the analysis of functioning of bureaucracy in India in the post-independence period and the emerging picture both in terms of reality and the necessary modifications in the conceptual framework and theory. As mentioned earlier, a very significant departure from the classical model is reflected in the clearcut differentiation between structural, behavioural and cultural dimensions of bureaucracy, as it is used for developmental purpose in India. The logic of situation and its crucial

significance has been also brought out again and again
which means continuous reappraisal of the functioning
of bureaucracy as related and the consequent need for
the reappraisal of theory of bureaucracy from time to
time. It is, certainly heartening that Indian scholars
have addressed themselves to this task whether with
the avowed purpose of testing the theory or not. In fact,
even without avowedly trying to test a given theory
considerable food for thought in the shape of concepts
and reformulations has been generated.