

Bureaucratic Derogatory and Administrative Hierarchy Appraisal with reference to Sub-Continent

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Abstract

The study of the bureaucracy as administrative hierarchy designed by British in the political context is the main object of this paper. This chain of command has impersonal behavior with respect to public. It increased powers, by lack of initiative and flexibility by unresponsiveness to human needs and public opinion. Corruption in bureaucracy is increased by tendency to defer decisions to superior and to impede with red-taps. This paper is an attempt to analyze the overall effects of corruption in bureaucracy on the output of political process in the sub-continent. Another main focus of this paper is to analyze the power of non-political elements in politics. Therefore, for the purpose of analysis, we have adapted the historical, analytical and comparative approaches. It is hoped that the outcome of this analysis can provide a solid foundation to extend the spectrum of this research on this issue.

Historical Background

It is a common knowledge that the term 'bureaucracy' means the administrative staff which executes commands and serves as a bridge between the rulers and ruled.¹ It is a distinctive form of organization found not just in government but in all spheres of modern society.² It is noteworthy that in the United States, many top positions go to presidential appointees rather than to permanent civil servants. Let people not say that the government officials who have done so little are in surplus to our requirements.

So far as bureaucratic corruption is concerned, it is referred to be the corruption engaged in by state employees. In effect this describes a very significant part of overall corruption, as the executive arm of the state is most directly involved in service delivery and economic and social regulation.³

¹Sultan Khan, *Public Administration with reference to Pakistan*, Lahore: Famous Books, 2007, p.422.

² Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, London: Macmillan, 1997, p. 340.

³Mushtaq H. Khan, *Bureaucratic and Political Corruption in Pakistan* (Report submitted for the Operations Evaluation Department), Islamabad: The World Bank, December 2001, p. 2.

Bureaucracy is almost alone in implementing and enforcing laws and regulations. In so doing, they may have quite a bit of discretion. Most modern legislation is general and can be effectively enforced only if administrative officials work out its detail and implementation. Policy implementation and enforcement usually depend on bureaucrats with which they put it into practice. Bureaucracies are involved in political communication and political elites, whether executives or legislators. In this perspective, many of their decisions are based upon the information they obtain through public administrative process. Similarly, various interest groups, political parties, business elites, and the general public depend upon such information.⁴

‘As far as a political government is concerned, a lot depends on the relationship of different respective players and the establishment. The longevity of a political rule depends on the individual ruler’s relationship with the establishment and his/her own behavior. An unwise politician engages in massive looting and plunders without considering the high political cost of his behavior. Thus, the government is gone even before it can stabilize.’⁵

From 1947 to 1957, i.e., during the first decades of Pakistan history, bureaucracy was dedicated and worked hard for the development and progress of this country. They proved themselves as change agent in this era. They held the nation together and ensured its survival. Slowly, but surly Pakistan was progressing as young democratic nation. Bureaucracy also played very important role in framing the constitution of 1956 of Pakistan.⁶ Bureaucracy as an organization structured hierarchically, in which lower-level officials are charged with administering regulation codifies in rules that specify impersonal, objective guidelines for making decisions. In the modern world, many large organizations, especially business firms and the executives of developed states are organized along bureaucratic lines.⁷

The main task of administration in British India devolved upon the members of the Indian Civil Service, which set standards of efficiency and incorruptibility which have seldom been equaled in any other civil service. Even today former ICS officers are considered the backbone of the administration system in both India and Pakistan. Being one of the oldest civil services in the Sub-continent, the ICS name into being as early as the eighteenth century. After 1853,

⁴ Gabriel A. Almond, et. al., *Comparative Politics Today*, (8th ed.) Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1988, p.124.

⁵ Ayesha Siddiqi, ‘A regime-less change’, *Dawn*, November 21, 2008.

⁶ Sultan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

⁷ Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, *Introduction to Comparative Politics*, Islamabad:

National Book Foundation, p. 683.

appointments were made by the British government in place of the East India Company on the basis of open competition. As late as 1892, the (ICS) numbered only 992 officers, and only 21 of these were Indians. But after 1900, increasing numbers of Indians were taken into the service, through rigid examination, and on the eve of independence a major part of the service was Indian.⁸ Machiavelli's skill in using information for practical purposes was institutionalized and accepted as common sense by officials and bureaucrats within two centuries.⁹ In the India-Pakistan context, the bureaucrat a relic of the colonial administration, form a powerful institution that comprises administrators, sleuths, police, customs (powerful people who raise our hopes and dash them at will).¹⁰ Remarkable changes cannot be noted in the last century. Modern bureaucracies use state power to extract and accumulated wealth for themselves.¹¹

Bureaucracy in Pakistan

Bureaucracy is an active pressure group in Pakistan. The earliest policy decisions were taken by bureaucrats, who like other bureaucrats in the world, thought that the politicians were unruly. The state-security policies, the civil servants adopted brought them close to the army. This was the beginning of the most powerful pressure group in Pakistan, known vaguely as 'the establishment'. The nation-building process initiated after 1947 favored the military-bureaucratic combine. Pakistan was meant to be a state that would oppose the fundamental principle of the Indian state. Born out of communal conflict, Pakistan represented a negation of India's secular nationalism. If one succeeded, it would mean the failure of the other. The first war with India began in 1947; consequently, danger presented to the state of Pakistan strengthened the military lobby. Bureaucracy seems to be civil administration in Europe and America. However, with few exceptions, the bureaucrats in Pakistan have operated in the manner in which they were brought up under the colonial regime.¹²

Bureaucracy in Pakistan is the successor to ICS which was organized to maintain law and order. It was not a welfare administration. Bureaucracy in

⁸Harold C. Hinton, *et.al.*, *Major Governments of Asia*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1962, pp. 279-280.

⁹David Altheide and Jhon M. Johnson, *Bureaucratic Propaganda*, USA [Boston, Masschusetts]: Allyn and Bacon, p.6.

¹⁰Jawed Naqvi, *Dawn*, "Powerful people who raise our hopes and dash them at will," February 16, 2009.

¹¹Hamza Alavi, 'Authoritarianism and Legitimation of State Power in Pakistan'. In Subrata Kumar Mitra (ed.), *The Post-Colonial State in Asia*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1998, Lahore, p. 32.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.33.

Pakistan also succeeds in approaching to the parliament, for example Ghulam Ishaq Khan (former Chairman Senate and then President of Pakistan). The passion of unity and brotherhood is present in them. Some notable bureaucrats turned politicians include Ghulam Muhammad, Ch. Muhammad Ali, Colonel Iskandar Mirza, Aziz Ahmed, Alltaf Gohar, Rao Abdur Rashid, Agha Shahi, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, A G N Qazi, Roedad Khan, Sartaj Aziz, Mehboob-ul-Haq. They prevented Z.A. Bhutto from making his legislation according to his own consent. Especially, such interest groups are organized in large institutes; this is why their organization and objects are of same category. These groups present their particular demands and view points with the reference of respective institutions.

Defects in Pakistan's bureaucracy can be noted because excessive political powers are concentrated in the hands of bureaucracy to the deprivation of non-bureaucratic segments of the society. Bureaucracy is infested with corruption and inefficiency due to its imperial style. It suffered from exploitation of administrative discretion. There is lack of cooperation and coordination of team spirit in public servants, as there is jealousy between different categories of civil service. It undermined the autonomy of educational institutions, local government and professional organizations. These are only the few major reasons due to which the prevailing bureaucratic procedure cause unbearable delay in implementing the national plans and policies which lead to open the door for corruption and inefficiency at every level. It denies equal opportunity to all employees for their promotion on higher positions in public services, for which they deserve because of their competence. It is not accountable to public. It failed to use voluntary contribution of non-officials in the administration. It relied excessively on monetary incentives.¹³

The anti-corruption policies adopted by the Government of Pakistan are also valuable. Some of these policies have been supported by the World Bank, include targeting perceptions and beliefs, for instance through organizing workshops and seminars, institutional reforms, such as support for decentralization and devolution. It also includes organizational reforms introduced by different governments such as privatization and civil service reforms, policy reforms, including those aimed at reducing the scope of government intervention in the economy. Developing countries generally have much higher corruption than the developed countries which is because of the reason that the state typically occupies a strategic position in processes of early capitalism.¹⁴ The key to Bhutto's bureaucratic reform was the abolition of the all-powerful CSP, the tightly knit core of the bureaucracy which had in effect ruled the country throughout history.¹⁵ It has also been argued that bureaucratic

¹³ Sultan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp 437-438.

¹⁴ Mushtaq H. Khan, *op. cit.*, p 2.

¹⁵ Subrata Kumar Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 56

corruption is encouraged by low pay for bureaucrats, because this lowers the potential threat of losing their job as a result of corruption or dereliction of duty. Directly and indirectly, this factor is also linked with inadequate structure of internal monitoring and discipline.

The structure and size of the federal bureaucracy has been the subject of the Committee on Restructuring and Rightsizing the Bureaucracy. Internal bureaucratic accountability has been addressed by amending the Federal Public Services Commission Ordinance, the Civil Service Act and the passing of a Removal from Services Ordinance directly targeted at corrupt bureaucrats. There have also been improvements in external monitoring through the setting up of an ombudsman and through the actions of the National Accountability Bureau. Pay and compensation issues have been addressed as part of the government’s ongoing Pay and Compensation Reform. The Government of Pakistan has also attempted to address some of the issues of accountability within the political structure. The basic pay and allowances are low relative to the private sector and also in terms of international comparisons.¹⁶

Pay Structure of Pakistani Bureaucracy. (Table. 1)

SCHEDULE OF PAY & ALLOWANCES W.E.F. 01-07-2008									
BPS	BASIC PAY	HOUSE RENT	CONVEYANCE	MEDICAL	DEARNESS 15%	ENTERTAINMENT	SENIOR POST ALL.	INTEGRATED	GROSS
17	9850-740-24650	4433	2480	1500	1070	-	-	-	19334
18	12910-930-31510	5810	2480	1500	1403	-	-	-	24103
19	19680-970-39080	8856	2480	1500	2139	500	-	-	35155
20	23345-1510-44485	10505	2480	1500	2207	600	1100	-	41737
21	25880-1700-49680	11645	2480	1500	2813	700	1200	-	46218
22	27680-1985-55470	12456	2480	1500	3008	975	1600	-	49699

* Source: Govt. of the Punjab, Finance Department, Pakistan, Ref #. FD.PC.-2-1/2008, Dated 11 July, 2008.

Figures of table: 1 show that Pakistani bureaucracy is availing prestigious rank and hike of pay in shape of salary is quite sufficient. On the other hand, their progress of work is not matching to their salary drawn from national exchequer.

Indian Bureaucracy (Babus)

¹⁶ Mushtaq H. Khan, *op., cit.*, p. 2.

Indian bureaucracy also have same legacy as Pakistani bureaucrats. It was corrupted by its extensive regulation and controls. This system created rents and potential gains for businesses that could exploit, and made enterprises more than willing to corrupt bureaucrats to obtain privileges.¹⁷ On the organizational structure of Indian bureaucracy, Barun Kumar Sahu comments that:

It is a strictly multi-layered and hierarchical organization. There may be several layers in the hierarchy. Moreover, service in the bureaucracy may have year wise seniority. Even with in a year, there may be inter- seniority. Because promotions are slow, an employee entering the bureaucracy at the lowest rank cannot even dream of reaching the middle level of the hierarchy in his life time.¹⁸

The role of British Indian Bureaucracy, which had originally been established as a mean of collection revenue, e.g., the title of district officials in many part of India is still collector'.¹⁹ After the independence, Indian structure of bureaucracy with minor changes relating to new environment and requirements was developed.

The Indian bureaucracy is an enormously complex system that combines national with regional and local services, technical and managerial staff running public sector undertakings. Public recruitment by merit with stiff competitive examination for the upper echelon is the general rule, with political appointments such as those in the United States being the rare exception. The main service like the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and the Indian Police Service retain some of the features of their pre-independence structures but both, like the rest of the top services of India, have been reorganized in a manner to create a federal balance in recruitment, with special attention being given to the representation of the former untouchables, tribals, and women. Recruitment is supervised by the Union Public Service commission, an independent advisory body appointed

¹⁷Timothy Beslay, Roberto Zaghera, *Development Challenges in the 1990s*, New York: The World Bank, (2005), p. 213.

¹⁸Barun Kumar Sahu, *Unwritten Flaws of Indian Bureaucracy*, [New Delhi:] Pustak Mahal, (2004) p.29.

¹⁹Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, [Washington, D.C] Brooking Institution Press, (2004), p. 21.

by the president and extensive new facilities have been created for training new recruits.²⁰

Similar to Pakistan's bureaucracy dealings with Pakistanis, Indians also have been victims to Indian bureaucracy and corruption at one time or the other. Applying in police offices, local bureaucrat's and other offices for a transfer, promotion, passport, driver's license, telephone connection, ration card, etc., all can be nightmarish experiences for an average Indian. To break out the long line and complicated procedures, there is a short cut to reach its goal. One must either be rich with good ability to grease some palms or one must be well connected with higher authority otherwise in order to survive effected person must be thick skinned, patient, and must carry no sense of ego and self respect. Corruption in Indian bureaucracy is a result of low salaries.

Indian Civil Service Position Structure (Table. 2)

²⁰ Gabriel A. Almond, *et. al.*, p. 664.

Position in the Government Of India	Equivalent Position in the State Government
UNDER SECRETARY (4)	DEPUTY SECRETARY ADDL. DISTRICT MAGISTRATE (Entry)
DEPUTY SECRETARY (9)	JOINT SECRETARY DISTRICT MAGISTRATE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER (6)
DIRECTOR (12)	SPECIAL SECRETARY HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS (HODs) (9)
JOINT SECRETARY (20)	SECRETARY (16)
ADDITIONAL SECRETARY (30)	PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES FINANCIAL COMMISSIONERS (24)
SECRETARY (34)	CHIEF SECRETARY (30)
CABINET SECRETARY	NO EQUIVALENT (Constitutional Authority - ranked 11th in the Table of Precedence)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Figures in brackets indicate minimum years in the IAS to achieve said designation, though not the only criteria.</i> 2. <i>As discernable, it takes a longer time to achieve equivalent positions at the Centre due to lack of vacancies and slower rate of promotions.</i> 	

*Progression of IAS officers in State and Center Government IAS

To return to the matter of corruption, it needs to be noted that the practices that have become standard are not the quaint custom of giving *bakshish* (literally meaning a gift, but in practice suggesting a bribe) nor the occasional scandals that come to the surface in every democratic country. What exists in India is pervasive, systematic, structure, and graded corruption running from the bottom to the top of the political order. According to report of *Times of India*, Singapore's civil servants are the most efficient among their Asian peers, but they tend to clam up unhelpfully when things go wrong. India's 'suffocating

bureaucracy' is ranked the least-efficient because working with the country's civil servants is a 'slow and painful' process.²¹

The bureaucracy also, from top to bottom, including the once pure elite cadre of India's Administrative Service (IAS as shown in table: 2) officers, has become thoroughly corrupted.²² Some positions are acknowledged as beneficial and earning posts in different departments. So, posting and transfers to lucrative districts where district magistrates, civil engineers, irrigation engineers and inspectors, health officers, and many others occupying high-income-producing post can make a lot of money, are sold by the ministers of government to the bureaucrats in their departments.²³ Relating to the check and balance Article 311(2), a civil servant gets cause of action to approach the court and the matter becomes justifiable in a court of law.²⁴

Review and Reflections

The main concern of this paper has been the elaboration of corruption of bureaucracy in India and Pakistan. Bureaucracy uses delaying tactics to justify its corruption and plays pivotal role in rule and regulation making. Bureaucrats are not only playing the role of mere advisor to the ministers in policy formulation but also have combined the roles of advisors, policy formulators and policy-implementers in both countries. It is nature of bureaucracy to exercise their preferences for their own group interest in the form of unity. In Pakistan and India, proud to be a bureaucrat or *Babu* and belongs to elevated caste and to look down upon civil, subordinate and humble birth is a challenge to an actual spirit of working relationship and their role in political system. Political parties are high jacked by bureaucrats. The mode of negative and aggressive thinking is the main cause to create a gap between officials and mass. Such situations become common if the original problems persevere and no dramatic transformation takes place. In such circumstances people continue to feel the sense of insecurity of their rights. It is widely recognized that developing country's bureaucrats have too much 'discretion' which allows them to engage in corruption or deliver poor performance without the threat of effective checks. As opposed to bureaucracy, the political executives or ministers should be selected from the men of dynamic personalities; who may

²¹ *The Times of India*, 3 June 2009, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/news/india/Indian-bureaucracy-ranked-worst-in-Asia-Survey/articleshow/4612918.cms>, 3 June 2009.

²² Harrison, *et. al.*, *India & Pakistan: the First Fifty Years*, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1999, pp.34-35.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ S.K. Verma, Kusum, *Fifty Years of The Supreme Court of India: Its Grasp and Reach*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003, p.130.

not play as tool in hands of top civil executive or bureaucracy. There should be decentralization of authority and power in all the departments and divisions of the government. A sound system of education should be developed at grass level so that the citizens may advance intellectually and the bureaucratic system may be kept away from the higher class. All promotions must be made purely on merit. An impartial and unbiased press and media can serve as cheek and balance on bureaucracy. The government should establish a research academy on Management and Administration. Bureaucrat should be intimately acquainted with the administrative work. Major changes also need to be made in the prevailing outdated system, particularly in the rules and regulations relating to bureaucracy. They must be realized that they have been given authority and powers for the service of the people and the welfare of the masses and not for their selfish motives and self interests. The political influence over bureaucracy must be eradicated. They may not be made tool in the hands of political parties especially this trend exists in Pakistan. The principle of accountable-management should be introduced in the administrative structure and devolution and decentralization of powers can be helpful in this regard. There is also need to reform the training style of bureaucracy in sub-continent.

The red-tapism should be discouraged which is in fact a major tool of corruption among the bureaucracy. It affects negatively the efficiency of the work because it is outdated procedure and also has an effect on the merit in various cases. It has generally been observed that mostly the rules and regulations are relaxed in the favor of friends and relatives. Unfortunately, the aloofness behavior of bureaucracy separated it from the masses. The current training style makes them proud and converts them to superior class. A responsible legislature can serve as an effective guardian of virtue through oversight exercised by standing committees or by special inquiries. The lack of actual spirit of austerity is leading to corruption in bureaucracy. The several practical institutional measures can be taken to limit corruption. Naturally, remuneration must be adequate to sustain the reasonable life standard and at the same time it must serve as an incentive to attract competent people to government service. But hike in remuneration and pay alone is not the answer to reduce the corruption.