

National Civil Service System in India: A Critical View

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Introductory Remarks:

The civil service system is the backbone of the administrative machinery of the Indian nation. India which is a union of states, has a democratic system. The political system of the country is pluralistic, having three tiers of administration, namely, central, provincial, and local. The federal parliament is bicameral. The lower house known as the Lok Sabha, constitutes elected members of parliament. The members of the upper house, known as the Rajya Sabha, are elected by the various provinces on the basis of an assigned strength. Together, the two houses constitute parliament and the members of these houses are called Members of Parliament. At the local level, the villages have Panchayats (council of villagers). Several villages constitute a block and the block-level councils are headed by Pradhans, known as chiefs of the blocks. These Pradhans constitute a district council which is headed by a district chief. The elections are governed by the principle of majority vote, which simply means that the elections are decided on the basis of the highest votes polled by a person.

India is a multi-religious country. Its Constitution adopted in 1950 declared the country as a secular state. The Constitution recognised the special rights of minorities. Some of the religious communities follow the system of castes and sub-castes. The country's Constitution recognises English as the link, and Hindi as the national language, and bestows upon 13 more the status of official languages. The 25 provinces, and 4 union territories, of the country, besides having some of these languages as their official languages, are inhabited by masses having a number of dialects and sub-dialects. The social system of the country is characterised by inequities. As per the 1997 estimate indicated in the Draft Ninth Five-Year Plan finalised in January 1997, about 50% of the people are below the poverty line. The unemployment in the country is rampant.

India is a mixed economy, where both the public and private sectors are accorded a place of importance. In the public-private sector mix, the balance is now shifting in favour of the private sector. The monopoly and controls are fading away. The government is seriously engaged in the task of infrastructure and social sector development. Both the public and private sectors are striving for gaining the competitive edge. Both the federal and provincial budgets are plagued by huge fiscal deficits. In 1996-97 the fiscal deficit was 5% of the gross domestic product (GDP) in the case of the central government, and the various provincial governments also registered a similar level of deficit in relation to their state domestic product. Inflation has been a constant problem for the country. On an average, the rate of inflation has been about 10% per annum. The country's balance of trade and balance of payments have always remained in negative. One of the perennial features of the economic

management of the country has been its deficit financing.

Historically the country had a great past. The ancient Indian state was prosperous where art and music greatly thrived. The medieval period of the country belonged to the Moghals who introduced a number of administrative measures, including a land revenue tax collection system, local manufacturing of industrial goods, and exports of arts and crafts to the other nation states. The decline of the Moghal era saw the rise of the East India Company in the 16th century, which ruled the country for more than 150 years. The British government took over the reigns of the country from the East India Company. During its 200-year rule it created an Indian state, introduced an education system, laid down foundations of very strong administrative and bureaucratic structure, and interconnected the various parts of its administration through a vast network of road and rail transport. In 1947 the country gained its independence. In 1950 the Planning Commission was set up to initiate a system of economic planning and the First Five-Year Plan was launched in 1951.

Today India is a country of over 880 million people. Though its rate of growth has touched a mark of 6.7% in 1996-97, the average rate of growth has been about 3% per annum during the 50 years of its independence, 1947-97. The rate of growth of population has, however, been about 2% per annum, leaving only 1% as the net rate of growth per annum for the country. The standards of living enjoyed by the masses are significantly lower as compared to many countries in Asia and elsewhere on the globe. Unquestionably the country faces a daunting task of lifting itself above the barriers to its growth, and assuring its people a quality of life of which they could be proud. The country also has to free itself of its past where it used to only look inwards. The main challenge before it is to integrate itself with the rest of the world and achieve the global benchmarks of the levels of efficiency.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the development of the civil service, delineate on its internal labour market, and analyse its representativeness. The issues such as the politicisation of the civil service, the perception of the civil servants about themselves, and the views that different sections of society have about them, are also discussed in the paper. The paper outlines the various measures introduced for reforming the civil service in India and the extent of their diffusion. Finally, in the concluding section, the paper sums up the salient features pertaining to the various issues discussed about the civil service, and suggests a scheme for the revamp of the Indian civil service. While the paper in general refers to the Indian civil service system, it specifically centers around the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) which acts as the hub of the administrative machinery of the country.

Development of the Civil Service:

There is no account of the organisation of the civil service pertaining to the ancient Indian state (200 BC - 1000 AD). However, in the Mauryan period (313 BC),

Vishnugupta (also called Kautilya) authored the treatise known as Kautilya's Arthashastra. Kautilya laid down the qualifications of the civil servants for appointment to the court. He described the views of various experts on this issue. In his view, loyalty and sincerity were to be the two main qualifications in a person to be appointed as a civil servant. Kautilya also suggested some checks and balances on the appointment of civil servants. He prescribed a clearance by the vigilance department of the state for the appointment of civil servants. He recommended a continuous watch on the functioning of the civil service, and a briefing to the king on the performance of the civil servants on a regular basis. Kautilya talked of the various heads of the different branches of the civil service. The superintendent of trade (Panyadhyaksha) was to head the commercial service, including internal and external trade, and in that capacity was expected to organise an array of functionaries engaged in such service. The superintendent of agriculture (Sitadhyaksha) was the head of the department of agriculture, in which capacity he had to look after the state farms, government lands, and regulation of the lands belonging to individuals. His primary job was that of formulating the agriculture policy and ensuring its implementation. The superintendent of chariots (Rathadhyaksha) was the head of the defence department. Besides ensuring the security of the people from foreign aggression and preserving the safety of the borders, he was responsible for the matters related to defence production, which invariably had to take place in the defence factories owned by the state. He had to deal with the matters relating to the army and appointments of the heads of the defence factories. The superintendent of mines (Swaranadhyaksha) was head of the department of mines, dealing with the mining of various minerals such as gold, copper, iron, diamonds, etc. Among other things, he had to appoint efficient mining engineers on the basis of a test which would invariably help an examination of their knowledge about the inner and upper crusts of the earth. The superintendent of forests (Vanyadhyaksha) was head of the department of forestry. He had to ensure the protection and conservation of forests and be in charge of the formulation of policies concerning the growth of forests. The superintendent of weights (Bharadhyaksha) was head of the weights and measures department. He was assisted by trained inspectors who were responsible for conducting surprise checks to ensure the correctness of the various weights and measures. He was also competent to prescribe punishments to errants not complying with the state provisions of transacting the business with specific kinds of weights and measures. The superintendent of textiles (Sutradhyaksha) was responsible for formulating the textile policy of the state, running of the textile factories, and providing employment to socially discarded people and those living in abject poverty. The superintendent of audit (Lokadhyaksha) was the chief of the audit. He had a cadre of officials supporting him in the task of auditing the state accounts and examining the state budgets. Kautilya laid down a code of conduct for the civil servants which prescribed swift promotions for efficient and effective officials, and severe punishment for those who were corrupt. The severest punishment suggested by Kautilya was beheading such corrupt civil servants. Kautilya talked of the responsiveness of the civil servants since he believed in the view that the power of the state came from its subjects.

During the medieval period (1000-1600 AD), Akbar the Great founded and nurtured the civil service. During his period, he initiated land reforms (1457 AD), and established the land revenue system which later became a major constituent of the Indian taxation system. His civil service had a welfare and a regulatory-orientation. The East India Company had a civil service responsible for carrying out commercial functions. They were far away from the common people, as they never tried to mix with and impress upon them that they had been there to bring about a transformation in the Indian society. The British civil service came on the Indian scene after the takeover of the East India Company in the 1860s. Initially the British civil service was a part of a police state, where its major task was that of carrying out law and order functions. It was disjointed as the different provinces had different civil services. There was no code of conduct developed by any of the British-India provinces. The functionaries of the different provinces were free to appoint people of their choice. Officials were handpicked both from the army and non-army fields. Their pay and allowances were subject to the discretion of the government. However, these used to be very high by the standards prevailing then. The term civil service is an Indian contribution to the discipline of public administration. To distinguish the government officials from the army officials, the term civil service was used by the British government in undivided Punjab in the later part of the 18th century.

The British government set up the Indian civil service in 1911, primarily with the objective of strengthening the British administration in the UK. However, it could not succeed in that, but very usefully retained the idea for strengthening the administration of its colonial base in India. Initially the recruitment to the Indian civil service was confined only to the Britishers. The minimum age of entry was kept at 19 years and the maximum age was prescribed as 21 years. The language of examination was English. The only centre for conducting the examination was London. However, due to pressures and demands raised by the Indian National Congress in 1921, Indians were allowed to take the examination. In 1922 one Indian passed the Indian Civil Service Examination. Later, on the basis of the recommendations of the Aitchison Committee, the minimum and maximum ages were increased from 19 and 21 years to 20 and 22 years respectively¹. The candidates were allowed to take the examination both at London and India. A ratio of 50:50 was decided for the British and the Indian people for intake in the Indian civil service. In 1935 the British government decided to establish interim rule in the various provinces of India, which resulted in an exodus of the British subjects as civil servants and, as a result, the number of Indian subjects in the Indian civil service increased tremendously. Though initially the British government set up only the Indian civil service, later on they added a statutory civil service and central civil services. In the course of time the statutory civil service was weeded out and there remained on the scene only the remaining two services, namely, the Indian civil service and the central civil services. At the time of independence, besides the Indian civil service there were nine central civil services in the country. The independence of the country posed new challenges to the civil servants. They

were no more expected to perform the role of a police state. The welfare of the Indian subjects was viewed as the central task to be performed by the Indian state, and hence they were to be an instrument of carrying out welfare functions which, among other things, included the settlement of refugees and providing minimum conditions for their day-to-day living, safeguarding the national borders from external aggression, and promoting conditions responsible for internal peace.

The civil service system in post-independent India was reorganised. At the central level, the civil services included the All-India services, such as the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, and the Indian Police Service, and the central services. The central services are grouped into four categories in order of their importance, namely, Group A, B, C, and D services. The union territories were to be served by both the All-India and the central services. The various provinces of the country had to have their own civil services.

The onset of economic planning in India in 1951, with the launch of its First Five-Year Plan enjoined on the Indian civil service the role of development administration. In this new mould, they were expected to participate in the administration of public enterprises, regulation of the private sector, formulation of socio-economic and political policies, elimination of poverty, development of rural areas, combatting inflation, effective monetary management, reduction of gender gap, elimination of social inequity, etc. In the early 1980s the Indian state had its first experience with the severe resource crunch, which deepened by the end of the 1980s. This led to the emergence of a new economic policy in 1991, which saw a rollback of the state in economic activities both at the macro and micro levels, meaning thereby formulation of such macro-economic policies which spurred a favourable environment for private sector participation, and reforms at the macro-level leading to the contraction of the public enterprise system, and the existence of only healthy public sector units. In other words, the 1990s foresee for the state a facilitator's role. Thus, the civil service in the 1990s and beyond would have to don this new role for itself, which means the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, and the Indian Police Service, as the three All-India services, and 29 other central services in the country, will have to have a new orientation. The provincial civil services will have to follow suit.

To sum up the above discussion, it is clear that in ancient India, the civil servants acted as personal servants of the rulers, in the medieval age, they became state servants as they were in the state employment, and in British-India the civil servants acquired the complexion of public servants. During this period, the civil service also became a protected service, as in 1861 the first Indian Civil Service Act in India was passed which gave many privileges to the then civil servants, including their recruitment, promotion, termination, pension, payment of salaries, etc. The ethos of the civil service in independent-India changed from welfare-orientation in the late 1940s to development-orientation between the 1960s and 1980s, and finally to the

facilitator's role in the 1990s, as dictated by the environmental challenges, collective choice mechanisms reflected in the manifestos issued by the various political parties during the 1996 general elections, and the challenge of meeting the democratic needs of the teeming millions.

Internal Labour Market:

The Indian civil service is composed of the central and the provincial civil services. The central government has constituted the three All-India services and several other services categorised as Group A, B, C, and D services (see Annexure I). As noted earlier, the three major civil services at the centre comprise the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, and the Indian Police Service. Each provincial government has constituted 10-20 services, depending on its historical background and size of the province. Besides the three top Group A civil services mentioned above, the other important services include the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, Indian Customs and Central Excise Service, Indian Defence Accounts Service, Indian Revenue Service, etc. In all the provinces the civil services mostly include the provincial civil services, education service, judicial service, medical service, engineering service, agricultural service, and forest service. The central civil services have about 4,000,000 employees presently on its rolls, and the provincial civil services employ an equal number of people.

The civil services system, both in the provinces and at the centre, are rigid in nature. They have many grades/ranks. The Indian civil service system is rank-based and does not follow the tenets of the position-based civil services. Between 1986 and 1997 the central civil services of Group A had 53 grades, which have been reduced to 33 by the Fifth Pay Commission which has submitted its report in January 1997 (see Annexure II). It has the domination of generalists, as the basic philosophy guiding its initial setting up and later its continuation, advocates the belief that as the civil servants have to face any challenge posed to them, they should have general skills to exploit and manoeuvre for problem-solving. Within this generalist approach, there has been an effort to allow the civil servants in the central government to specialise in certain areas. However, more frequently than never, the civil service servants are shifted to assignments without having regard to their specialisation. The provincial civil service system has had no regard to the question of specialisation, and hence the provincial civil service cadres have by and large been generalists.

The Indian civil service system both at the central and at the provincial levels has provided very short tenures to civil servants. Many officers have made a vivid note of this in their writings, mentioning that their lives have been one of packing and unpacking. A study of the IAS movement pattern shows that the percentage of officers serving for less than one year has been more than 50 for the country as a whole (see Table 1). The officers putting in one to two years of service are about 25% of the total strength of the IAS in the country, and the number of IAS officers putting in two to

three years of service has been on an average about 10% of their total number. The percentage of officers serving over three years have been less than one digit, on an average, taken as a whole for the country. The officers of the Indian civil service system work both at the centre, and on deputation in the various provinces of the Indian union. What emerges is an interesting fact that the short tenures of less than one year for 50% of the officers is a phenomenon common to both the central and the provincial governments. However, when a study of tenures enjoyed by the IAS officers in the various provinces is taken, it is found that some provinces such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, and West Bengal have allowed a greater proportion of the IAS officers on deputation to these services a tenure longer than one year, but provinces such as Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, and Rajasthan represent the other extreme, where a majority of the officers were not allowed to continue in their positions for more than a year, and the percentage represented by these provinces turns out to be higher as compared to the percentage of IAS officers working in the central government in this regard (see Table 2).

The British government in the early 1930s suggested the recruitment of the civil service through the Public Service Commissions both at the central and the provincial levels.

Such Commissions, however, could be constituted only after the post-independence era. For the recruitments for central services of Group A, the Union Public Service Commission was set up, and State Public Service Commissions have been set up for recruiting civil servants at the provincial-level by the various provincial governments. For Group B services, a Staff Selection Commission has been set up. The terms and conditions of the appointment and work of the central civil servants were first specified in the Civil Service Act, 1861. These were later detailed in the All-India Services Act, 1951, as sought under Articles 308-314 of the Indian Constitution. The ladder of promotion in the case of the central government for Group A services starts from Under Secretary and ends at the Secretary's level. The Cabinet Secretary is the head of all the civil services of the central government. Between the Under Secretary and Cabinet Secretary, there are ranks of Deputy Secretary, Director, Joint Secretary, Additional Secretary, and Secretary. In the provincial governments, in their Group A services, the lowest rank is that of Assistant Collector and the highest rank is Chief Secretary. The functionaries in between include the ranks of Deputy Secretary, Joint Secretary, Secretary, Commissioner-cum-Secretary, Member of the Board of Revenue, and Chief Secretary. The civil service officers belonging to the IAS start with a junior scale and move upwards to senior scale, selection grade, super-time scale, Additional Secretary, Secretary, and Cabinet Secretary. The maximum period between which an IAS officer is promoted to the senior scale is six years. The super-time scale is given to these officers by the time of the 17th year of their service. These officers face the problem of upward movement from the rank of Additional Secretary onwards. The central government empanels the IAS officers for the post of Additional Secretary. About 20% of the recruits in the IAS get promoted to the post of Additional Secretary. About 10% of the recruits become Additional Secretaries. Only 5% reach

the top position of Secretary to the Government.

For the top three IAS services, the strength of the various cadres is fixed by the Department of Personnel and Training in consideration with various ministries at the centre and the Chief Secretaries of the respective provincial governments. The Establishment Officer in the Department of Personnel and Training manages the Indian administrative services. The Establishment Officer is accountable for his actions and receives guidance from the Department of Personnel and Training. The IAS cadre for the different provinces is composed of direct recruits and promotees. The promotees in the case of the IAS are about 25% of the total cadre strength. Recently a suggestion has been made to increase this to 33-1/3%.

The Union Public Service Commission holds a three-tier examination for the selection of the officers of the Indian administrative services. The first rung of examination is called the Preliminary Examination, which contains objective-type questions of three hours' duration. About 10,000 candidates appear annually for the Preliminary Examination. The cut-off point is set in such a way that 10% of the examinees are eligible for appearing in the Main Examination. It is here that the candidates have to give their option in priority for selection to the various Indian administrative and central services. About 15% of the candidates appearing in the Main Examination are declared eligible to appear for the personal interview. Half of these are declared successful for recruitment to the various Indian administrative and central services. The Indian administrative services are normally assigned 150 seats, which includes an option to ten top-rankers to opt for the Indian Foreign Service. The Preliminary Examination tests the numerical ability, awareness of current events, and the state of mind of the candidate to grapple with administrative issues. The Main Examination tests his grip on the language, general knowledge, and expertise on subjects which he takes as options, which normally have two papers each of three hours' duration. The candidates also have to write an essay. The personal interview is conducted by various boards constituted by the Union Public Service Commission composed of board chairmen, subject experts, psychologists, and reputed civil servants. Such a system for testing was introduced in 1979, based on the recommendations of the Satish Chandra Committee Report. However, the Fifth Pay Commission, in its report submitted in January 1997, has suggested switching over to the pre-1979 system which did not have the first rung of the present testing scheme², namely, Preliminary Examination, and made it obligatory on those seeking selection to the All-India services to take two extra papers. The introduction of the Preliminary Examination was suggested to weed out non-serious contenders.

The promotees from the provincial civil services to the central civil services are officers who have put in eight to nine years of experience in the provincial civil services and have performed commendably. In certain cases, officers who have put in 17-20 years of services are sometimes recommended for inclusion in the IAS. There is virtually no lateral entry in the Indian administrative services. However, from the rank

of Joint Secretary onwards, empanelment of candidates is done by the Establishment Officer in the Department of Personnel and Training of the central government. Barring a few exceptions, most of the positions in the IAS are occupied through vertical mobility. This has led to inbreeding in toto and deprived the Indian administrative services, and even the Group B services, of freshness which could come via the inclusion of members through lateral entry.

The foundation of the British civil service was based on aristocracy. The Indian civil service system has made a number of compromises to accommodate considerations of region, caste, creed, etc. The civil service system at the centre provides for induction training to probationers. The probationers of the Indian Foreign Service are trained at Delhi, whereas the officers of the IAS are trained at Mussoorie. The probationers of the Police Service are trained at Hyderabad. The probationers of the Indian Revenue Service are trained at Nagpur. Separate academies have been set up for training the probationers. The probation is of two years' duration, which comprises exposure to a foundation course, visit to several provinces in India, field work, and working as an understudy with the officers of the cadre of the concerned province to which the candidate has been assigned. In 1985, the then Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, brought a revolution in the training system for the officers of the Indian administrative services³. Under that scheme, a one-week vertical training programme was suggested for all the officers of the Indian administrative services. The vertical programme was conceived to bring to the classroom officers of different lengths of service and develop a camaraderie among them. An eight-week programme, shortened to six, four, and finally to three weeks was suggested for officers of 10-16 years' seniority with the objective to equip them with management and decision-making concepts. For officers having put in 18-30 years of service, a four-week programme in policy management, which was later shortened to three weeks, was suggested. The training institutes were asked to devise need-based programmes in fundamental areas or topics of contemporary significance for officers of the various seniorities. The scheme enlisted in 1985 the support of six institutions. This number shot up to 43 in 1989, and later to 83 in the early 1990s. The participation of the officers in such programmes was made mandatory. However, with a new government coming to power in 1991, though belonging to the same party, this scheme of training was made optional, and it suffered a setback. In the present form, the identified institutions offer training programmes designed in consultation with the Department of Personnel and Training. However, the number of training programmes conducted has sharply declined, and so has the attendance at these programmes. The Government of India, after several years of effort, has prepared a training policy for the civil servants in 1996 which envisages, among other things, a foreign training component. The officers of the civil service in Group A are seconded for training to the various countries for a period ranging from six weeks to a year. Some civil servants also go for their master's/Phd/post-doctoral courses under the bilateral fellowship programmes between India and several other countries.

A study of the feedback received from the participants of the training programmes for the officers of the IAS points out that the benefits received were substantially high⁴. The participants appreciated the training programme both in terms of contents and application. However, the training institutes echoed their disfavour with the fee fixed for conducting such training programmes, and the government's lack of concern about improving the infrastructure and the faculty competence. The participants of the training programme made several suggestions about improvement in accommodation and local hospitality. One of the criticisms of the foundation training is that the officers find the real world is much different from what is painted in the academies where they are trained. The training has to become realistic, application-oriented, and lead the participants to meet the challenges of an effective and responsive administration. All told, the plans for continuing education did not inspire much hope and the expenditure incurred on training is very petty by world standards. The central civil services and the provincial civil services have about eight million employees. About 60% of the employee strength constitute attenders and peons. Thus, the Indian civil service system does not have an officer-orientation. Further, the strength at the top of the IAS has not changed significantly between 1988 (5050) and 1996 (5061) (see Table 3). Several provinces have complained about the top-heavy structure of the IAS in their provinces. The central government, as a part of the new economic policy, decided in 1991 to surrender 10% of the posts of the level of Joint Secretary and above. The Fifth Pay Commission in its report has suggested the right-sizing of the Indian bureaucracy to the extent of at least one-third of its present strength. The government spends Rs.10,000 crore (about US\$3 billion) per annum as the pay and perquisites. This is expected to go up to Rs.15,000 crore (\$4 billion) during 1997-98 due to pay hikes granted by the Fifth Pay Commission. Related to the GDP, the central government will spend about 1.5% of the GDP on the pay and perquisites of the civil servants. The provincial government will spend an equal amount. Thus, India will spend 3% of its GDP on the pay and perquisites of its civil servants during 1996-97. To facilitate this, a generous voluntary retirement scheme is planned to be offered to the employees. One of the limitations of taking a drastic step to cut down the size of the bureaucracy is that the members of the various civil services have been accorded a special protection under an Act, and unless a new legislation is brought about withdrawing a number of privileges and perquisites, or the present Act is scrapped, nothing much can be done. One of the solutions suggested is to reduce the number of permanent posts to the bare minimum and incorporate a provision for contract posts. The figures obtaining presently point out that contract posts almost do not exist anywhere in the Indian civil services system. The posts of the advisors to the different ministries/departments can be cited only as one exception to this generalisation. The reward structure for the civil service personnel is rigid. Their salaries are determined by the Pay Commissions. Five such Commissions have been set up in independent-India. The recommendations of the Fourth Pay Commission covered a period of ten years between 1986 and 1996. The Fifth Pay Commission covers the period of 1996-2006. A study of the recommendations of the Fourth and Fifth Pay Commissions points out that in each revision the basic salary has been

multiplied by a factor varying between three and four. The perquisites have been liberalised Commission after Commission. A comparison of the public and private sector emoluments in India reveals that the private sector salaries are about two to three times that of the public sector. In fact, in certain categories, the salary differential is very large. For instance, the chief executive of a private sector bank gets a salary five times larger than that of the Secretary of the Department of Banking of the Government of India. With multinationals coming into the country, these differentials have greatly widened. It is interesting to note that a management graduate from a premier management institute of India is offered in the very first year a salary two to three times higher compared to the salary of the Cabinet Secretary, the highest civil service post in the country, drawn at the fag end of his career. The pay increases are mostly determined on the basis of seniority-cum-time-in-service. The concept of pay-for-performance does not exist in the Indian civil service system. The public sector enterprises in the country have partly introduced this concept. The private sector enterprises have put this into practice as far as possible. It is said that the incumbents in the Indian civil service are underworked and underpaid, and hence they underperform. While this may be true of the members of the All-India services and Group A services, this is not true of the members of the Group B, C, and D services who are said to receive two to three times the emoluments of their counterparts in the private sector.

The promotions in the Indian civil service system are dual-track-based following a ratio of 66.67:33.33 upto junior level. Beyond this level, most of the posts are filled up by internal promotions of the officers manning the provincial or central cadres in the case of the Indian administrative services. and by departmental promotion committees set up by various central and provincial civil services. Promotions to senior posts are based to the extent of 50% on the recommendations of the departmental promotion committees constituted as per the guidelines given in the service rules concerning the various civil services.

Representativeness:

The Indian civil service system reflects the characteristic of representativeness in multifarious ways⁵. There is no bar of persons belonging to different regions, castes, and creed to join the civil services. There is no gender discrimination. There is no bias for people with a particular educational background which could facilitate their entry to the civil services. However, to enter the Indian civil service, one has to have a minimum age of 21 years and a maximum age of 28 years. One cannot make more than three attempts. The Indian society is composed of different castes, some of which are scheduled in the Indian Constitution. The rich and powerful section of the Indian society deprived them of their due for a very long period in the past. India is inhabited by a large number of tribal people who have yet to join the mainstream of the society. The modern culture has not made inroads among the tribes. These have also been given a privilege in terms of reservation of seats for entering into the civil services.

Then there are people known as OBC or other backward castes, a section of society who have for one or the other reason have not shared the fruits of development, and to bring them on equal footing they have been accorded the privilege of reservations in the entry to the civil services. There are also reservations for handicapped people and migrants from neighbouring countries who are economically and socially depressed. All together, 50% of the total seats for the recruitment to the IAS and the central services are reserved for these sections of the society. In the case of the various provinces of the Indian union, this reservation is between 50 to 69%. There are demands to hike these reservations to 74% as suggested by the Mandal Commission which submitted its report in 1980 to the union government.

The provincial cadre for the civil service is determined on the basis of the population of each province of the country. For instance, Uttar Pradesh which is the biggest province in terms of population, has a strength of 540 officers in the IAS as compared to 41 in the case of Sikkim, a province which is the least populated among the 21 provincial cadres of the Indian administrative services in existence in India today (see Table 4). Interestingly, each province has certain forward castes which have had the benefit of strengthening themselves in terms of education, professionalisation, and claim on economic resources, including the ownership of the land. It has been found that across the country such forward caste people have dominated the selections in the Indian civil services⁶. This is equally true of tribes. For instance, in Meghalaya, the Khasi tribe has had an upper hand over the other tribes. In terms of religion, Hindus have dominated the selection, may be because of their overall dominance in terms of proportion of the total population in the country. In so far as language is concerned, it is English which has taken the lead in the sense that English-speaking inhabitants have succeeded in much larger proportion as compared to candidates not proficient in English. Educationally, entrants with physics, mathematics and geology background have taken precedence over history, sociology, public administration, anthropology, psychology, and geography backgrounds. Of late even engineers, medicine, and management graduates have started participating in the Indian civil services examinations and they have been able to wrest about 50% of the seats. Though there is no discrimination in terms of gender, however, the fifty years of the Indian civil service show that women candidates on the whole do not exceed 10% of the total entrants. However, this number is on the increase as more and more women candidates have started appearing both for the A and B Groups of the All-India civil service and the provincial civil service recruitments. A study of the financial background of the candidates shows that most of them come from the upper middle income group families. Further, a majority of the candidates selected had parents working in government.

The Indian civil service is patterned after the administrative structure of the country. It is both centralised and decentralised. It is centralised in the sense that the recruitments to the Indian civil service, and in particular of the IAS and the central services, are made by the Union Public Service Commission and the Staff Selection

Commission. Once the candidates are recruited to the IAS, they are allotted to the provincial cadres and it is the responsibility of the respective provincial governments to manage their cadres. However, various provincial governments cannot take disciplinary action on the members of the IAS without permission of the Establishment Officer of the Government of India. As explained earlier, though the officials of the IAS are allotted to the various provincial cadres, 40% of such officials are deputed to the central government and thus they get an opportunity to have a wider experience. This pattern of the Indian civil service is a colonial heritage where initially the various sponsors of the Indian government had their own civil services, and later on a central Act was passed for bringing in uniformity relating to appointment, promotion, and terms and conditions of services. The various provinces of the Indian union also maintain their own civil services. Recruitments to their civil services are mostly done through the State Public Service Commissions. Each ministry of a provincial government maintains its own cadre. Thus, it can be said that the pattern of the Indian civil services system has nothing to do with its political structure as selections are not based on regime-type or party-system. The tenures of the officers of the civil services are invariably very long. A civil servant normally puts in 30-35 years of service and, therefore, enjoys a great deal of stability. Though there have been social dissensions in the country, these have never marred the stability of the civil servants in the country.

Politicisation:

A number of constructs with regard to civil service systems have been presented, of which the classical one known as the Weberian construct dominates the Indian civil service system. According to this concept, a civil servant has to be of steel frame, following an impersonal style of work. Rules, regulations and procedures govern the day-to-day working of the Indian civil service system. Manuals are prepared to resolve conflicts. Innovativeness is a casualty. Routine takes precedence over creativity. Seniority is regarded more important than merit. Hierarchy acts as the backbone of the system. Buckpassing is a common phenomenon. Result-orientation is not the goal, procedural accountability takes a lead over performance, faithful execution of orders is done singlemindedly without giving any regard to the final outcomes. Decisions do not emerge out of discussions and consensus. Orders flow from top-down to bottom. There is no communication channel conveying the mind of functionaries at the bottom. The post-independence Indian civil service system has turned out to be different from what it used to be in British-India, where an Indian civil service officer used to be a member of the Council of Administrators. The Governor-General used to head the Council. The Indian civil service officer, besides acting as a minister, had also to take the responsibility of implementing the policy. In post-independent India this privilege of the civil servant was taken away. The scope of the functioning of the civil service was limited only to implementation of the policy as conveyed by the politicians. Thus, the civil servants, both at the central and at the provincial levels, are charged with the responsibility of faithful execution of political

programmes. They have to pledge their sincerity not to a particular political party but to the political regime in power at any point of time. This often necessitates changing colour like a chameleon with the change in political regime. For instance, the present coalition government in power at the centre is backed by thirteen political parties which have developed a common minimum needs programme. This is very different from the programmes and policies of the previous regimes in power which represented a single-party government. The civil servants at the centre have no other go but to switch over their loyalty to the implementation of the common minimum needs programme. This does not mean that they are now sold to the members of the political parties which are a part of the present coalition government and that they have become discourteous to the members of the political party which held power earlier. They function in such a way that they become indifferent to the personal whims and choices of the members of the various political parties and the political programmes which were to be implemented by political parties not currently in power. Their commitment is to the governmental programmes which happen to be usually the political and economic agenda of the party in power.

The Indian civil service system is well-organised and considerably independent. The civil servants continue in the civil service for very long periods and wield a great degree of influence as they act as a buffer between the political bosses and the masses of the country. In a lighter vein, it is said that the civil system in India has become another caste, which means that civil servants from one part of the country gain the sympathy and support of other civil servants from other parts of the country as and when they are in need of it. The Indian civil service lacks professionalisation. As noted earlier, they act more as generalists and much less as specialists. The induction training has been designed in such a way that hardly any scope is left for giving a non-generalist orientation. Once they join the civil service they are shuffled for short trainings from one to the other department, so much so that they hardly get an opportunity to develop an understanding of technical aspects of a problem or acquire a technical expertise. The inputs coming from civil servants can lead to a much higher value addition in certain areas if they could have an understanding of practical aspects related to them. For instance, professionalism of a high degree is required to handle complex tasks at the Ministry of Finance, Petroleum, Commerce, Power, Transport, Food and Agriculture, Irrigation, Communications, Atomic Energy, etc.

The political and administrative systems have to work together to achieve the socio-economic goals. Though Mr. M.V. Kamath, a member of the Constituent Assembly, observed that the political ambition of the country could not be achieved without support from the Indian civil service, and hence continuation of the British legacy of the Indian civil service was necessary in independent-India, it may be noted that there is no love lost between the civil servants and politicians, as the perceptions of both the groups are not homogeneous⁷. Things have come to such a head that the civil servants have blamed politicians for asking them to get involved in undesirable tasks and help them in non-ethical, illegal, and unsocial pursuits for the personal

benefits of the politicians. On the other hand, the politicians feel that the civil servants do not act as change agents, believe in status-quoising, and lack transformational leadership qualities. Fortunately, the appointments of civil servants at the entry level do not vest in the hands of politicians as they come through a competitive examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission or State Public Service Commissions, as the case may be. However, once they are inducted, then only upto a certain level their promotions are governed mostly by non-political considerations. Once the process of empanelment starts, the political whims and fancies come into the picture, supersessions become a routine matter and the merit may often go ignored.

The civil servants are not expected to participate in political activity, especially elections. They are not expected to take up a job for a period of two years immediately following their requirement. Permission from the government is required for taking up assignments in India or abroad.

The impact of the civil servants on policy-making depends on the expertise of the civil servants in a particular area, and in that area the mind of the minister and his approach to conduct the work of the ministry. The fact of the matter is that civil servants are in a privileged position of having access to all possible information necessary for evolving a policy. They also have at their disposal the manpower support. Over a period of time they develop their own network. At times they continue longer than the minister and, therefore, have become the spokesmen of the ministry and get very closely associated with the formulation and implementation of the policy. Further, the civil services system is blessed with continuity as compared to political regimes which change much more frequently, or at least once in five years. That the civil service system and the political system are seen as two different things is established by the fact that a negligible percentage of civil servants have become politicians, unlike France where the present President keeps his lien on the civil service. In India a civil servant cannot act as a politician and continue to be a part of the civil service.

Public Opinion:

Public opinion acts as a mirror about the effectiveness or otherwise of the civil service system in any society. What once used to be said about the British times and the civil service seems to stand true even today. For the Indian civil service during the British period it was said that they were neither Indian, nor civil, nor public servants. It was expected that with independence they would be Indian in thinking and action. The general perception is that the Indian civil service has hardly changed a bit in terms of attitudes, mores and culture. A study of the overall perception of the officers of the IAS by members of the Indian Police Service, politicians, technocrats, and academicians points out that they project themselves as experts on everything⁸. Their concern for, and focus on their own career is very high. They are self-opinionated,

power-hungry, shrewd and manipulative, procedure and rule-focused, arrogant, inaccessible, judgemental and critical, and having concern for minor details. They have been rated very low on positive traits such as commitment to organisation, trustworthiness, risk-taking, conscientiousness, innovativeness, and creativity. Most of the studies have rated them lowest as visionaries and transformational leaders. They are considered to be no-change agents (see Table 5). The self-perception of these officers⁹ (officers of the IAS) is exactly opposite (see Table 6). The thrust of the criticism of the Indian civil service system is on overstaffing, wastefulness, cautiousness, unfairness, and non-responsiveness, the last one being the most important of all, which could be seen from the fact that as per a recent decision of the government, discussions are being conducted on effectiveness and responsiveness of the Indian administration in the different parts of the country. Prof. Rajkrishna, an eminent economist, once observed that if the size of the Indian bureaucracy could not be reduced, the least that the government could do would be to keep its offices open only three days a week. At each and every level there is overstaffing. A High Power Committee set up by the Government of Andhra Pradesh has mentioned in its report that 40% of the 600,000 people working in the provincial government is in excess of the requirements. This is more or less the case with the other provincial governments in the country, and also with the central government. The manpower required for the government - central/provincial - is not reviewed at fixed-time intervals. Unfortunately, this work is done by the Pay Commissions both at the centre and at the provincial levels which in no way have expertise in ergonomics, time and motion studies, and work study. Recently, the Indian civil service system has come in a very poor light on the charges of corruption. In Uttar Pradesh, which is one of the largest provinces in terms of population, the Civil Service Association of the IAS officers named the top three most corrupt civil servants. The vigilance and income tax departments conducted raids on the houses of a number of bureaucrats in the province on the hunch that they have property/assets many more times disproportionate to their incomes. One of the officials dealing with intelligence was caught trading secrets for monetary considerations. There are many more such cases. One of the reasons for this corruption lies in the inception of the Indian civil service which had its origin during the East India Company time. The commercial origin of the Indian government, colonial status of our country, and the ecological factors which existed then saw the germination of the seeds of corruption. It was expected that the civil servants who were to perform commercial functions could be paid nominal salaries as they would make the rest good by taking extraneous considerations for the jobs they had to do for the people at large. The earliest civil servants of the East India Company got well-drenched in commercial traditions and had "graduated in chicanery and grown grey in fraud and corruption". The colonial status bestowed on the civil servant created a hiatus between them and the people and developed a feeling among them as aristocrats which kept them apart from the Indian people. Environmentally, the Indian society was one with a low level of equilibrium on the economic, social, and political fronts which did not put the civil servants under pressure to take up developmental work and act as a facilitator. The Indian civil service in its present form is no different

though there are pressures on it to don the caps of developmental administrator and facilitator.

The Indian civil service system feels that they do not have independence and are exploited politically to undertake jobs for which they are not answerable. For instance, a very senior civil servant in Karnataka was jailed by the Supreme Court in 1996 on the charge that he did not carry out the orders of the Supreme Court to promote a government servant. The explanation given by the civil servant was that he was prevented from implementing the Supreme Court orders by the political bosses in the province. There are charges that the civil servants have been vociferously complaining about the judicial activism in India which has made it difficult for them to function in their offices and face the verdicts from the courts, sentencing them to imprisonment. The relationship between the politicians and civil servants has undergone a great change. A resolution passed by the Council of Ministers was not implemented by the Secretary of the Home Ministry on the ground that he had opinion of difference during the early years of independence, and the Minister hailed the right of the civil servant to have his own opinion on such matters and went to the extent of withdrawing the proposal. Today not many civil servants would air their disagreement to the minister. The poor opinion of the civil service held by the Indian masses thrives on the fact that the nation has failed to give a decent life to its people. This is reinforced by the fact that the educated masses of India prefer to go abroad and settle down. The demands on the passport offices to issue passports has gone up to such an extent that they have to work for more hours and give notifications about issuing the passports to people from time to time in the daily newspapers. The community attachment is low in the case of urbanites and high in the case of villagers. It is the urban system which has developed much faster during the post-independence era. The urban rural population ratio is 20:80. This shows that the civil service as a system does not have a strong grip.

Reform and Diffusion:

Civil service reforms have become a buzzword of today. The central and the provincial governments have started thinking in terms of reforms due to internal and external pressures. Internally, the central and the provincial governments, irrespective of the fact as to which party/parties are in power, want to present an image of effective institutions. They want to become leaner and fitter organisations. They intend to have quick reflexes. Instead of bureaucratic-orientation they propose to have a customer-orientation. In India civil service reforms have mostly come at the initiative of the elected representatives forming the government of the day. In 1996 the Administrative Reforms Commission submitted its report appraising the effectiveness and efficiency of the systems and procedures of the various parts of the central government. The different provincial governments have set up Administrative Reforms Departments and appointed Committees to look into their functioning. The whole effort has been to make the government efficient and effective by rationalising

different laws, manuals, rules, and methods of functioning. What has lacked is the attempt to corporatise the government systems at the central and provincial levels. The business and professional-orientation has not been initiated nor the practice of questioning the value for the money. There is a general feeling that there is a need to overhaul the civil service system in India. The main reason behind this has been the resource crunch faced by the governments at the various levels and shift in the thinking of the political parties with regard to the state ownership. The idea of privatisation is gradually gaining ground and has become a driving force to classify the government activities as core and non-core. There is wide agreement about the fact that the non-core, non-essential activities of the government could be given up to private parties. For instance, some major municipalities in the country have privatised the cleaning of garbage, sewerage work, and installation of electric poles and extension of electricity network. The public enterprises in the country are also being forced to categorise their activities as core and non-core, and concentrate on the area of their business competence. A number of local government institutions/public enterprises are approaching the capital markets for funding. Even the central and the provincial governments are approaching the national and international institutions for funding their deficits and infrastructure projects in place of depending on the support of the central bank which could collaborate with the governments in deficit financing. The most important budgetary and financial reform that has taken place at the centre is sticking to the fiscal deficit of not exceeding 5%. In the second stage of economic reforms, the provincial governments would also be expected to arrest their financial deficits. Both the central and the provincial governments attempted to introduce zero-based budgeting in the 1980s. Attempts have been made to imbibe the concepts of programme-cum-performance and performance-budgeting. Both the central and the provincial governments have stopped recruitments. All these reforms have been effected under the dispensation of the new economic policy adopted by the central government in 1991.

The policy-makers and administrators have been talking for quite some time about a performance-oriented civil service and linking rewards with output and efficiency. The private sector in the country has been able to implement these ideas as they have a work cadre different from the Indian civil service and their ethos also happens to be different. They have been able to enmesh the concept of performance measurement and performance appraisal. In the case of the Indian civil service system there has been only an annual appraisal by the senior of his subordinate and such an appraisal is always kept confidential. There is no goal congruity as the communications of the government do not traverse from top-down to the bottom. In the private sector the idea of performance appraisal goes far beyond its mechanical application. The private sector enterprises do even performance counselling and there is no question of keeping the performance appraisal records confidential. They practice management by objectives, the MBO system.

One source of reform in the government both at the central and at the provincial levels,

and in their various organs, has been competition of the private sector enterprises, and it has been found that wherever such possibilities have existed, the government control systems have either reformed themselves or are under pressure to do so. For instance, the Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL), a corporate major owned and managed by the central government, is in competition with the Tata Iron and Steel Company, a corporate major in the private sector in India, and corporate majors in the steel sector located abroad. The central government has allowed SAIL to formulate performance-related pay packages, raise funds from abroad, redesign the capital structure, and restructure its internal operations.

The economic reforms in India have come about not all on their own. It is often commented that the global institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, have been behind such reforms. While this may be true, it should be said that India has adopted the general concept of reforms but redesigned it to suit its own needs. It may be very fair to say that the country has largely succeeded in introducing the economic reforms. However, the administrative machinery has not been able to respond to the needs of time and has failed to make the fullscale changes so necessary to absorb the impact of the implementation of the economic reforms.

Configurations:

The configurations in the Indian civil services system can be discussed in terms of Ferrel Heady and Philip Morgan constructs. India is a democratic society. The civil service system has to be there for accountability and answerable to the political system as for quite a long number of years both at the central and the provincial levels one-party rule was the order of the day. However, right from the mid-1970s the trend of one-party government came to an abrupt end and the regime of coalition governments started. Thus, there has been a very painful transition in the relationship of the civil servants with the politicians¹⁰, from single-party representativeness to majority-party representativeness. The concept of loyalty which earlier meant loyalty not only to the programme of the single-party but also to the party itself, has undergone a change, meaning now loyalty to the programmes of the parties/party in power but not to the party itself. The civil services system in India developed its roots in the post-independence period in the context of a planned economy. Though it was not a centrally planned system it was also not following an indicated plan and was thus far out from the French economic system. The state intervention started finding its place in every walk of economic and political life. Public enterprises were chosen as instruments of policy in the economic field, whereas a raft of institutions put in place at the local, provincial, and central levels started acting as policy instruments in the political arena. The civil service system has a great role to play in the above context. Over a period of time many of these institutions and instruments have developed morbidity. This has been mainly because they have not been able to read the pulse of the market. This change is not going to lead India to be a free market. Nevertheless, the market will play a significant role in the social, economic, and

political systems in India in future. This would present a new context for the functioning of the civil service systems in India and they would have to adapt themselves to this change, one of the ramifications of which could be a shift from traditional government-oriented bureaucracy to managerial-oriented bureaucracy striving to achieve professionalism of a very high order. The civil service system in the central government is managed by the Establishment Officer who allocates, in consultation with the Chief Secretaries of the various provinces, the officers of the Indian administrative services to the various provinces. The deputation of these officers to the centre is again done through this same consultative process. The central ministry places its demands on the Establishment Officer and signals their broad choices which may or may not be accepted by the Establishment Officer. The disciplinary action, promotion/demotion and pension-related issues are settled by the Department of Personnel and Training. In case the officials of the central civil services intend to have a legal recourse to the decisions of the Department, they could approach the Central Administrative Tribunal whose decision is binding excepting for appeals in exceptional circumstances to the Supreme Court. In the case of the various provincial governments, a similar system has been adopted.

For entry to the Indian civil services, both at the central and the provincial levels, candidates have to have a Bachelor's degree, a certain minimum and maximum age that goes on varying as per the decision of the government, which gets influenced by the suggestions of the political parties and the unemployed youth. In no case has the minimum age been less than 21 years. The maximum age has not exceeded 28 years. A concession of five years is normally provided to members of the backward classes, scheduled tribes, migrants from some neighbouring countries, handicapped persons, and women candidates. The performance of the civil servants is commented upon by the controlling authority which normally is the head of the department. He rates the incumbents on several parameters, such as competence, punctuality, efficiency, capability, ability to work with the team, leadership qualities, etc. This is not to suggest that the Indian civil service system has been able to evolve a professional performance appraisal system as it squarely fails to measure technical competence and their capability to carry out neutrally and impartially the policy directives of political decision-makers though this should be the spirit which guides their functioning. It is said that each profession should develop its own code of conduct and performance appraisal system. By this reckoning, the civil service system in India should also respond to the need for developing its own system of performance appraisal and code of conduct. No law can offer an all-time solution in these regards. Most of the Indian Acts in their present form are adopted versions of their British editions. A perusal of such Acts clearly reveals that they were never intended to prescribe a code of conduct or a performance appraisal system. They only contained the powers and privileges, the service benefits, and the accountability mechanism which had to be followed by the civil servants. Thus, the Indian civil service system has to do a lot of heart-searching to answer the question as to why it has not responded to the need for developing a code of conduct of its own and also a system

of performance appraisal. A study of the sense of mission held by civil servants leads us to arrive at mixed conclusions, though for most of the areas of the governmental work policies have been laid down, and the Indian Constitution contains elaborate provisions of the do's and don'ts for the civil servants. There have not been many cases where they have departed from compliance and cooperation. However, the recent incidents of the civil servants being dragged to the courts of law, and their scathing criticism of conformance, has made them cautious and objective. In the Indian Constitution, in Article 356, there is a provision to impose presidential rule in the provinces of the Indian union should the Governors recommend dissolution of the assembly. The Governors make such recommendations when they feel that the democratic machinery cannot function under the normal circumstances. In such a case, the officers of the IAS work with a guidance mission and it entitles them to assume and carry out a leadership role in the political system to the maximum extent that circumstances permit. Similarly, in the case of local governments, when the elected representatives are dismissed or not reappointed on the expiry of their term, the civil servants get command of the administration and work with the guidance mission.

Configuration of Philip Morgan: There has been a transformation of the Indian society during the 50 years of its independence. In the early years of the independence era, the state assumed the responsibility of an entrepreneur, a producer, and a resource allocator. It assumed the charge of setting up a machinery for economic development and operating it. Though it had the legacy of receiving a political state, it had to take action to bring about emotional integration. However, over the years, the state has lost some of its command on the socio-economic-political system due to the emergence of centres of power extraneous to it. The political bosses have been influenced in many a case by these extraconstitutional centres of power, and consequently the civil service system in India has been badly bruised in terms of rampant corruption, loss of values, and alienation from the common man. These extraconstitutional centres of power have maintained private armies and wield economic influence through blackmoney. On the other hand, to insulate itself from such an environment, the party in power guiding the state machinery, i.e. the civil service, gave a slogan of loyalty and committed civil service. This slogan, in turn, has broken the backbone of the civil service system as it has acted as a roadblock in the professionalisation of the civil service and allowing it to act as the custodial state. The masses have been unhappy with this development. If they are not anti-state, they are certainly not also pro-state, and thus the Indian polity has reached a point where both the political bosses and the civil service system have to work hard to reestablish its credibility. In order to enable the civil service system to rise to accept this challenge, the political system will have to allow a high level of independence and make it outcome-oriented.

Suggestions:

The revamping of the Indian civil service system has become a must. We give below some suggestions to make the civil service system yield the desired goals for the socio-economic development of India and their unison with the Indian political

system.

India needs a leaner and fitter civil service system. The Indian civil service system has in all about eight million members. The recommendations made in a number of reports suggest that the civil service could shed its weight to the extent of one-third of its present strength. This is true not only of the lower classes of the civil service but also of the three All-India services, namely, the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, and the Indian Police Service.

The manning of the civil services should be done on the basis of positions and not on the basis of ranks. Further, for the lower levels of the civil service it is necessary that time and motion studies/work studies are carried out when the strength of the various services is fixed. For the All-India services, the Establishment Officer of the central government should have a continuous dialogue with the Chief Secretaries of the various provincial governments. The strength of the various services should be continuously examined and the fat which grows from time to time should be removed immediately. LI>A generous scheme of voluntary retirement should be offered, which may encourage the civil servants to quit the government. An attempt should be made to privatise some of the non-core activities. They could be contracted out or privatised permanently.

There is a need to restructure the systems and procedures as well as the style of functioning. The Indian civil service should modernise itself. The professionalising of its various activities is very essential. This will bring in speed, cut down redtape, reduce paper work, and trim down the cost of its maintenance.

An extensive training in office administration and administrative methods needs to be imparted to the officers of the non-All-India services. The officers of the All-India administrative services and the top grade services of the provincial governments should be encouraged to acquire computer literacy and get intensively trained in database, etc.

The Indian civil service system should become more representative. 80% of the Indians living in villages have 15% of representation in the Indian civil service. The urban upper middle class has a dominance, with 75% of the positions in the various civil services. This leads to alienation of the civil service from the masses. There is a need to increase the representation of women. It is suggested that special pre-entry training schemes may be devised to remove this bottleneck.

The civil servants develop overconfidence in their career as they are assured of a permanent job for a period of 30-35 years. For all civil services, especially for the All-India civil services, lateral entry at different levels needs to be encouraged. The other incumbents should be given contract positions. The lateral entry would inspire competition among the civil servants and allow the best talents to come in the civil

services. It would also give opportunities to such people who might have either missed the bus initially or might think of entering the civil service at a later stage after acquiring expertise in a particular area.

The present scheme of civil service training needs to undergo a complete change. The induction training should follow a new format. Instead of providing a wide sweep of the various subjects, modules should be designed having relevance to the skills and knowledge required for performing the various jobs during the initial years of the civil service. Some of the modules could include training in behavioural areas and environment of administration. A compulsory annual training should be introduced of a duration of at least one week. This should be an appreciative training in the general developments relating to the civil service environment taking place in India and abroad. Those who have served for a period of ten years should be given a specialised training in district administration which may emphasise training on development administration, maintenance of revenue records, and coordination between the autonomous agencies of the government. Training courses in enterprise administration should be imparted to officers of the IAS of a seniority of 10-20 years. They should be thoroughly exposed to fundamental and general management, and application of the knowledge so acquired to the administration of public enterprises. This will also help them in dealing with subjects having a bearing on the government interface with private enterprise. For those who have put in more than 20 years of service, there is a need for exposure to policy administration. They should be familiar with the concept of policy formulation and its implementation.

There should be a component of foreign training for the officers of the Indian administrative services. This will help in integrating them with the rest of the world and redesigning their vision of strengthening the country through their work.

For the other services also, the training systems need to undergo a radical change. Opportunities should be created to provide access to training facilities for the members of the Indian civil service selected by the State Public Service Commissions. In the present form, the training given to Group B, C, and D civil servants is completely inadequate. The contents are poor and the frequency is inadequate.

Action should be taken to remove the grievance of the non-IAS personnel that most of the training opportunities abroad are cornered by the officers of the IAS.

The organisation and functioning of the Indian civil service needs to undergo a change. There is an urgent need to ensure much longer tenures than what is being enjoyed by the officers of the three All-India services of the Government of India and Group A services of the central government. This should apply with the same force in the case of the provincial governments. Efforts should be made to remove the rift between the Establishment Officer/Department of Personnel and Training. Hasty decisions by the provincial governments to suspend the officers, or set up enquiries without consulting

the central government, is not desirable. By the same token, the cadre management at the centre should also consult the provincial governments on matters such as posting and foreign deputation of the IAS officers.

The most important challenge for those managing the cadre is the reorientation of the service along certain specialisations. These could include economic administration, financial management, industrial management, management of environment, international trade, law and order, energy and transport, district administration, local government, etc. Efforts should be made to devise schemes to build up an ethos of the Indian civil service. This can be made possible by encouraging the members of the various civil services in the country to formulate their own code of conduct and design their own rules, procedures and systems through a wide concurrence of the public. The all-pervading rampant corruption should no more get further oxygen.

The relationship between the politicians and the civil servants should improve. The politicians should act as the bosses and the civil servants should translate the vision of the government into action, but while doing so they should insulate themselves from personal influence of one or more politician, or one or more political parties. They should aim at winning the trust and confidence of the people through constitutional means.

Concluding Remarks:

The Indian civil service system is one of the oldest civil service systems in the world. It had its origin in the Mauryan period during ancient India. Kautilya's Arthashastra lays down the principles of selection and promotion of the civil servants, the conditions of loyalty for appointment to the civil service, the methods of their performance evaluation, and the code of conduct to be followed by them. In medieval India, the Moghals set up their own civil service systems which centred around the management of land revenue, administration of government factories, and establishment of the welfare state. The East India Company, which ruled India for about 150 years, did not set up a civil service as its mandate was limited to commercial exploitation. The British rule came to India in the 1850s. However, as the Britishers had a long-term interest to stay in India, they consolidated their power and laid down the foundation for a unified India. This required the setting up of a strong civil service. They enacted a Civil Service Act and included the civil servants on the Council of Administrators, which resulted in the accrual of both political and administrative powers to the civil servants in India. The Britishers constituted the Indian civil service. Initially the membership of the service was confined only to the Britishers, but over a period of time the membership was thrown open even to the Indians. Upto 1935 the Britishers dominated the Indian civil service in terms of numbers. However, introduction of interim rule in 1935 led to a significant change of the domination of the Indians in the civil service. In 1947, free-India inherited the Indian civil service. After prolonged consideration, its constituent assembly decided to

continue to run the Indian administration with the help of the Indian civil service. After independence the Indian civil service was reorganised as a two-tier system. The central government controlled the All-India services, namely, the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, and the Indian Police Service, and the central services which were classified as Group A, B, C, and D services. The selections to the All-India services and Group A and B services are made by the Union Public Service Commission. The incumbents to Group C and D services are selected by the Staff Selection Commission. The selection of the candidates for the various services to man the administrative machinery in the union territories is also done through the same arrangement. The provincial governments, numbering 25, have their own State Public Service Commissions. The recruitments to the provincial civil services are done by these Commissions. The working of these Commissions is controlled by a separate Act.

The Indian civil service system is rank-based and does not follow the tenets of the position-based civil services. This has led to the absence of a specialised civil service system in India. The basic philosophy of the Indian civil service system has contributed a lot to this phenomenon, as it puts a heavy emphasis on the recruitment of generalists and not specialists. The incumbents of the Indian civil service enjoy very short tenures, usually less than one year. Based on this, one could conclude that this is no way of running the country. Interestingly, some provinces of India, such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, and West Bengal, have allowed longer tenures to their civil servants.

The members of the All-India civil service start as Deputy Secretaries and normally go up to the level of Joint Secretaries, beyond which promotion is granted only after selection. For every post beyond Joint Secretary level, candidates are empaneled and the selection is done by the Cabinet Committee on Appointments, receiving inputs from the Administrative Ministry and the Department of Personnel and Training. The Establishment Officer in this Department provides the policy inputs. There is no lateral entry in the All-India services. Only at the level of Secretary to the Government of India, specialists are taken as Secretaries. The Advisors to the various Ministries could also be non-IAS persons. Only 5% of the members of the All-India services reach the top position of Secretary to Government. The post of Cabinet Secretary to the Government of India, the highest in the Indian civil service, has remained the privilege only of the officers of the IAS.

The cadre management of the All-India services is done by the Establishment Officer, Government of India. This Officer has to transact the business in consultation with the Chief Secretary of the various provinces and the Secretaries of the central ministries. The Establishment Officer has to ensure that 40% of the officers of the All-India services are on deputation with the central government, and the rest work with the concerned provincial governments/union territories. The strength of the cadre for each province is determined by this Officer in consultation with the Chief Secretary of the

concerned province. He has to further ensure that 50% of the posts are manned by the promotees recommended by the various provinces, and only 50% are recruited through direct selection. 50% of the recruitees have to be selected from the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward castes, handicapped persons, and special migrants from some neighbouring states. The rest are selected purely on the basis of their merit. In the case of Group A, B, C, and D services, their entire management rests in the hands of the central management and the provinces have no say in the matter. In the case of the civil services of the various provincial governments, the rules of reservation vary from case to case.

The entry to the Indian civil service, both at the central and the provincial levels, is done through a competitive examination system. For the All-India services of the central government and also for the rest of its services in Group A and B, the Union Public Service Commission conducts a preliminary examination of objective-type questions. Normally 100,000 candidates appear every year for this examination. 10% of the candidates are selected for the second tier of examination where they have to take a written examination. Here again, 10% of the candidates are declared successful. These are called for the final interview where about 50% of the candidates are selected and are assigned to the civil service in order of their merit. This system of selection was suggested in 1979, as opposed to the earlier system where the candidates appearing for the All-india services had to take up two more papers. The Fifth Pay Commission has suggested a reversal to the old system.

The members of the Indian civil service undertake a foundation training of six months, which is a part of the overall pre-civil service entry training of two years' duration. In 1985 the Government of India introduced a very ambitious plan of training the civil servants, which made it mandatory for the members of the IAS to undergo a one-week vertical training every year. For officers of the different seniorities the Government suggested a wide-range of training programmes. However, this zeal suffered a setback in July 1991 with the new government taking over the reigns of power. The overall assessment of the training efforts points out that it has had a mixed bag of results and a lot more needs to be done to make it effective.

The eight million civil servants in India constitute 50% of the organised employment in the country. The country spends about 3.5% of its GDP on the pay and perquisites of the civil servants. There is a feeling that the civil service has become oversized. It is said that the civil servants are underpaid, they underwork and underperform. At the high levels, the pay and perquisites may be lower as compared to the counterparts of the civil servants in the private sector. However, the members of Group C and D services are said to earn around twice more than their counterparts in the private sector. There is a general criticism that the Indian civil service has become top-heavy. This appears to be true. If pronouncements such as 10% reduction across the board of the posts of the rank of Joint Secretary and above, as suggested in 1991, and the recent recommendations of the recent Fifth Pay Commission to downsize the

Indian civil service system at the centre to the tune of 33.33%, are given due credit, and the modernisation of the civil service through computerisation, introduction of networks, training, and outsourcing work, is done, it may go a long way in making the Indian civil service leaner and fitter.

The Indian civil service system has discriminated in favour of males, some select universities, urbanites, and candidates well-versed in English. Though right from the inception of the Indian civil service reservations were made for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, these are found to have preponderance in selection only in the case of Group C and D services. The government's efforts of allocating 50% of seats to these classes may still take some more time to translate itself into a reality.

The middle and upper middle income group people have had a greater representation in terms of profession. The wards of salaried people, especially those working in government, have had a greater representation, followed by the wards of lawyers, doctors, engineers, and teachers. The representation of the farming class, which was at its peak during the British regime, has come down significantly. All these are now being taken care of, but it may take quite some time to remove these anomalies.

Despite a great influence of the political world, the Indian civil service has so far been able to keep its own identity. In the case of the British days, the politicisation was much less. However, with independence bequeathing a new role of development, the Indian civil servants could not hold their flock together. The number of cases of corruption has also increased tremendously. This has been partly due to the political pressure, and also partly on account of an erosion in the values of the civil servants. In recent times, a number of civil servants have been jailed, and the courts of law in India have found them guilty of dereliction of their duties and amassing wealth many more times in proportion to their earnings.

The civil servants have been ranked very low on innovation, transformation, involvement, etc., by politicians, academicians and the police officers. However, their own assessment of their work has been very high. The senior members of the Indian civil service find their work extremely challenging, whereas the civil servants holding middle-level positions do not find their work very interesting.

Worldwide civil service reforms have become a matter of great concern. It was in 1966 that the Administrative Reforms Commission gave its report on the working of the civil service system of the central government and its functioning as relating to the various ministries. Since then, the Fourth Pay Commission in its report in 1986, and the Fifth Pay Commission in its report in January 1997, again went into this issue. The essence of the discussion here has been the introduction of performance-related pay, contract employment, modernisation of the offices, people-orientation, professionalisation, and appraisal of performance of the public servants.

The configuration of the civil service points out that it has acquired the traits of serving a majority-party rule. It is loyal to the programme of the party in power and not to the individuals in the political parties. It can register its disagreement with the government on various issues. However, the tendency has been seen to tread the path very carefully and avoid any confrontation with the political bosses.

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TABLE 1

IAS MOVEMENT PATTERNS, 1976-86

--Strength of IAS Cadre--		Length of Time in Post (Percentage of IAS)-----			
Year (As on Jan.)	Number	Less than one year	1-2 years	2-3 years	Over 3 years
1977	2901	54	28	11	7
1978	3084	58	26	10	6
1979	3236	55	30	10	5
1980	3404	49	32	13	6
1981	3373	60	22	11	7
1982	3539	52	31	9	8
1983	3734	51	29	13	7
1984	3797	56	26	12	7
1985	3910	51	31	11	7
1986	3970	58	25	12	6
1991	4497	58	25	10	6

1992	3951	56	27	11	6
1993	3991	49	31	13	8

Source: Potter, David C., "IAS Mobility Patterns", Indian Journal of Public Administration, New Delhi, October-December 1987.

TABLE 2

**STATE-WISE MOVEMENT OF IAS CADRES, 1977-86
(AS ON JANUARY 1 OF THESE YEARS)**

Movement of IAS Cadres	Percent who held their post for less than one year during									
	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Andhra Pradesh (193-280)	58	69	61	59	56	63	65	58	54	56
Assam-Meghalaya (98-159)	60	61	61	57	58	54	50	66	48	49
Bihar (230-315)	60	64	57	48	69	32	62	58	47	70
Gujarat (146-159)	66	59	43	43	61	54	47	50	44	56
Haryana (103-155)	56	80	67	77	62	59	51	55	57	60
Himachal Pradesh (69-97)	59	67	56	43	66	33	56	60	55	53
Jammu & Kashmir (77-64)	55	61	54	39	45	51	49	69	63	58
Maharashtra (216-282)	50	50	50	54	48	54	48	48	46	51
Manipur-Tripura (55-97)	33	60	64	42	44	52	47	52	48	59
Nagaland (29-41)	45	39	84	42	88	33	50	66	56	51
Orissa (133-178)	50	58	45	46	63	50	46	58	49	54
Punjab (125-158)	59	73	51	47	76	53	51	51	61	55
Rajasthan (151-203)	60	54	56	65	67	66	48	52	62	72
Sikkim	-	-	27	32	58	25	17	24	64	79
Tamil Nadu (179-242)	65	48	58	45	58	53	49	65	54	56
Union Territories (110-158)	42	56	48	43	58	50	51	41	48	63
Uttar Pradesh (318-456)	59	61	61	60	66	62	46	55	57	58
West Bengal (202-233)	40	45	47	31	51	41	33	37	35	51

Source: Potter, David C. "IAS Mobility Patterns", Indian Journal of Public Administration", New Delhi, October-December 1987.

TABLE 3**NUMBER OF OFFICERS IN POSITION IN THE IAS
AS ON 31.3.1988 AND 31.3.1996**

Sl. No.	Name of the State	1988	1996
1.	Andhra Pradesh	320	326
2.	Arunachal Pradesh-Goa- Mizoram-Union Territories	388	*242
3.	Assam & Meghalaya	186	211
4.	Bihar	363	370
5.	Gujarat	230	232
6.	Haryana	182	198
7.	Himachal Pradesh	115	130
8.	Jammu & Kashmir	95	130
9.	Karnataka	235	260
10.	Kerala	155	162
11.	Madhya Pradesh	372	391
12.	Maharashtra	328	364
13.	Manipur & Tripura	114	159
14.	Nagaland	39	44
15.	Orissa	203	202
16.	Punjab	180	196
17.	Rajasthan	231	248
18.	Sikkim	41	41
19.	Tamil Nadu	293	314
20.	Union Territories	193	
21.	Uttar Pradesh	504	540
22.	West Bengal	283	301

Source: Government of India, New Delhi, Civil Service List for 1988 and 1996.

*The number has declined due to the statehood given to Goa.

TABLE -

AS TO ORDER CASES SIMILARITY OF THE M.S. AND NUMBER OF OFFICERS IN POSITION AS ON 1.1.1996

S.N. No.	Case	See for Posts under State Govt.	Posts under Central Govt.	State Depu-able Reserves	Leave, Trial/Probation & Reserves for Posts	Direct Recruits under Posts	Promo- tion Posts	Total Support-ive Strength (Col. 7-8)	Number of Officers in Position		
									Direct Recruits	Promo- tions	Total (Col. 10-11)
1.	Onehra Prasaah	159	8*	66	11	2*6	7*	19*	116	111	112
2.	Onehachal Prasaah -Govt -Haryana- for Govt. Territories	126	56	11	25	17*	56	212	18*	56	2*2
3.	Onehachal -Haryana-	116	**	11	22	156	51	267	162	*9	211
4.	Onehachal	212	85	51	*2	29*	56	192	286	8*	176
5.	Onehachal	116	*6	51	21	162	5*	216	186	52	212
6.	Onehachal	166	*6	*5	26	159	*6	265	16*	1*	194
7.	Onehachal Prasaah	71	28	18	1*	98	11	111	96	15	116

8.	Jammu & Kashmir	61	2*	15	12	76	*2	112	7*	*2	116
9.	Karnataka	127	51	56	25	19*	59	251	261	59	266
10.	Kerala	91	17	21	18	128	*1	171	1*1	21	162
11.	Madhya Prasaah	26*	82	51	*6	282	96	177	166	91	191
12.	Madhya Prasaah	186	72	66	16	26*	8*	1*8	286	8*	16*
13.	Madhya- Tripura	167	*1	27	21	1*9	*9	198	111	*6	159
14.	Nagaland	28	11	7	5	18	11	51	15	9	**
15.	Orissa	164	*1	27	21	1*9	26	199	155	*7	262
16.	Punjab	99	*6	15	19	1*7	*6	191	1*9	*7	196
17.	Rajasthan	112	51	*1	26	191	61	252	186	62	2*8
18.	Sikkim	27	11	7	5	18	15	51	28	11	*1
19.	Tamil Nadu	154	61	72	11	251	71	12*	2*1	71	11*
20.	Uttar Prasaah	271	164	9*	5*	*61	126	527	*21	119	5*6
21.	West Bengal	154	61	*6	11	219	71	292	216	71	161
	Total	26*7	1654	814	521	182*	12*1	5667	1866	1167	56*7

Source: Government of India, New Delhi, Civil Service List for 1996.

TABLE 5

COMPARATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF IAS OFFICERS BY POLICE, POLITICIANS, TECHNOCRATS AND ACADEMICIANS

	IPS (n=118)			Politicians (n=106)			Technocrats (n=166)			Academicians (n=138)		
	F	%	RK	F	%	RK	F	%	RK	F	%	RK
Projects self as an expert on most things	102	86.4	1	80	75.5	1	108	65.1	1	106	76.0	1
Concern for and focus on own career	106	89.8	2	68	64.2	2	108	65.1	1	82	59.4	4
Self-opinionated	100	84.7	3	62	58.5	3	94	56.6	2	94	68.1	2
Power-hungry	88	74.6	5	68	64.2	2	86	51.8	4	66	47.8	6
Shrewd and manipulative	94	79.7	4	54	50.9	4	90	54.2	3	62	44.9	7

Source: Singh, P. and Bhandarkar, Asha, IAS Profile: Myths and Realities, Wiley, 1994, page 27.

ANNEXURE I

CIVIL SERVICES, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

I) All-India Services :

- i) Indian Administrative Service
- ii) Indian Foreign Service
- iii) Indian Police Service

II) Central Services :

- i) Indian P & T Accounts & Finance Service, Group `A"
- ii) Indian Audit and Accounts Service, Group `A'
- iii) Indian Customs and Central Excise Service, Group `A'
- iv) Indian Defence Accounts Service, Group `A'
- v) Indian Revenue Service, Group `A'
- vi) Indian Revenue Service, Group `A'
- vii) Indian Ordnance Factories Service Group `A' (Assistant Manager Non-teaching)
- viii) Indian Postal Service, Group `A'
- ix) Indian Civil Accounts Service, Group `A'
- x) Indian Railway Traffic Service, Group `A'
- xi) Indian Railway Accounts Service, Group `A'
- xii) Indian Railway Personnel Service, Group `A'
- xiii) Posts of Assistant Security Officer, Group `A' in Railway Protection Force
- xiv) Indian Defence Estates Service Group `A'
- xv) Indian Information Service (Junior Grade), Group `A'
- xvi) Indian Trade Service, Group `A' (Grade-iii)
- xvii) Posts of Assistant Commandant, Group `A' in Central Industrial Security Force
- xviii) Central Secretariat Service, Group `B' (Section Officer's Grade)
- xix) Railway Board Secretariat Service, Group `B' (Section Officer's Grade)
- xx) Armed Forces Headquarters Civil Service, Group `B' (Assistant Civilian Staff Officer's Grade)
- xxi) Customs Appraisers' Service, Group `B')
- xxii) Delhi and Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Daman & Diu and Dadra & Nagar Haveli Civil Service, Group `B'
- xxiii) Posts of Deputy Superintendent of Police in the Central Bureau of Investigation, Group `B'
- xxiv) Pondicherry Civil Service, Group `B'
- xxv) Pondicherry Police Service, Group `B'

Source: Government of India, New Delhi, Employment News (Special Supplement), 14-20 December, 1996.

ANNEXURE-II

PAY SCALES PROPOSED BY FIFTH PAY COMMISSION, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

S.No.	Existing standard scales of pay	Grades	Revised standard scales of pay	Span in years
1.	750-12-870-14-940	S-1	2440-40-3200	19
2.	775-12-871-14-1025	S-2	2550-45-3540	22
3.	800-15-1010-20-1150	S-3	2650-50-4000	27
4.	825-15-900-20-1200	S-4	2750-55-4400	30
5.	950-20-1150-25-1400 950-20-1150-25-1500 1150-25-1500	S-5	3050-70-4590	22
6.	975-25-1150-30-1540 975-25-1150-30-1660	S-6	3200-85-4900	20

7.	1200-30-1440-30-1800 1200-30-1560-40-2040 1320-30-1560-40-2040	S-7	4000-100-6000	20
8.	1350-30-1440-40-1800-50-2200 1400-40-1800-50-2030	S-8	4500-125-7000	20
9.	1400-40-1600-50-2300-60-2600 1600-50-2300-60-2660	S-9	5000-150-8000	20
10.	1640-60-2600-75-2900	S-10	5500-175-9000	20
11.	2000-60-2120	S-11	6500-200-6900	2
12.	2000-60-2300-75-3200 2000-60-2300-75-3200-100-3500	S-12	6500-200-10500	20
13.	2375-75-3200-100-3500 2375-75-3200-100-3500-125-3750 2500-4000 (proposed new pre-revised scale)	S-13	7000-225-11500	20
		S-14	7500-250-12000	18

14.	2200-75-2800-100-4000 2300-100-2800	S-15	8000-275-13500	20
15.	2630 fixed	S-16	9000 fixed	-

16.	2630-75-2780	S-17	9000-275-9550	2
17.	3150-100-3350	S-18	10325-325-10975	2
18.	3000-125-3625 3000-100-3500-125-4500 3000-100-3500-125-5000	S-19	10000-325-15200	16
19.	3200-100-3700-125-4700	S-20	10650-325-15850	16
20.	3700-150-4450	S-21	12000-375-16500	12
21.	3950-125-4700-150-5000	S-22	12750-375-16500	10
22.	3700-125-4950-150-5700	S-23	12000-375-18000	16
23.	4100-125-4850-150-5300 4500-150-5700	S-24	14300-400-18300	10
24.	4800-150-5700	S-25	15100-400-18300	8
25.	5100-150-5700 5100-150-6150 5100-150-5700-200-6300	S-26	16400-450-20000	8
26.	5100-150-6300-200-6700	S-27	16400-450-20900	10
27.	4500-150-5700-200-7300	S-28	14300-450-22400	18
28.	5900-200-6700 5900-200-7300	S-29	18400-500-22400	8
29.	7300-100-7600	S-30	22400-525-24500	4
30.	7300-200-7500-250-8000	S-31	22400-600-26000	6
31.	7600 fixed 7600-100-8000	S-32	24050-650-26000	3
32.	8000 fixed	S-33	26000 fixed	-
33.	9000 fixed	S-34	30000	-

Source: "The Hindu", Hyderabad, January 31, 1997.

Note: 1. The grades mentioned do not include allowances and perquisites. The allowances will be about 50% in the various scales. This will include 30% of the scale as house rent allowance, 10% as dearness allowance, and the remaining 10% will include city compensatory allowance, and hard- posting allowance. These scales and allowances do not include the provident fund, gratuity and pension contributions, and the loan facility for constructing dwellings and purchase of vehicles.

Source: <http://www.indiana.edu/> 04/2002