III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

How the pertinent question is: who are the bureaucrats? To find an answer to this, a study of the socio-economic background of the bureaucrats is imperative. This study of socio-economic background of the bureaucrats is of special significance in a stratified society like India where the forces of caste and kinship influence the social life and where acute disparities exist in the standard of living and sub-culture among various groups and regions. The existence of inequality between the elite and the general masses and the slow process of occupational mobility emphasize the need for a study of the socio-economic background of the bureaucrats.¹

In fact the study of socio-economic background of the bureaucrats gives rise to an important question: How far is the higher bureaucracy representative of society? This representative character of bureaucracy is of great importance to a democratic country because it helps in the articulation of values and interests of different classes and strata which are brought to

¹ Singhi, op.cit., p.55.
bear upon the decisions taken and policies formulated by it.\(^2\) Norton E. Long goes so far as to say that representative bureaucracy is a better sample of the masses than the democratic legislature. He points out that important interests, which are malrepresented or unrepresented in the legislature, receive effective representation through administrative channels. It can save democratic process from being bogged down and can come to be recognised as the "great fourth branch of government."\(^3\) It is more so in a society like India which is divided into castes, religious groups and linguistic and regional sub-divisions. The divisions of castes being based on the accident of birth are more rigid than class divisions because the former are ascriptive. One's status in them cannot be achieved, and consequently, there is less social mobility. This division of society makes it desirable that the country's bureaucracy should represent different castes and religious groups and also the different regions, so that, all the sections of the society with diverse interests can find representation in the formulation and implementation of policies. In the absence of this, there is the probability of sectional or parochial sympathies and even loyalties of the bureaucrats influencing their

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work leading to a neglect of the interests of the unrepresented sections. As Kelsall has shown, the middle-class origin of the British Civil Service is a factor responsible for its being out of touch with the problems of the working class. 4

The class origin of the bureaucrat has an important bearing upon the functioning of bureaucracy, because it is generally recognised that an administrator brings with his certain attitudes and values which he develops before joining the administration, and the development of these attitudes and values is influenced by the familial, social and other environmental conditions in which the administrator is brought up. The attitudes and values which the bureaucrat develop before joining the bureaucracy greatly influence his future course of action. As Strauss points out, "the administrator is not a self-contained and self-regulating mechanism, but an instrument for the furtherance of specific social interests, and, therefore, intimately concerned with the world at large and its problems". 5 Although it is a fact that the bureaucratic cultural pattern in which he works may either modify or reinforce his attitudes

and values, this does not diminish the importance of the attitudes and values
that he develops prior to joining the bureaucracy. 6

Related to the representativeness of the higher bureaucracy, a question
may be raised here as to how far does the background of the bureaucrat
reveal the regional, linguistic, social and cultural heterogeneity. The answer
to this question may help us in understanding the contribution of higher
bureaucracy to the preservation of the unity of the nation 7 as well as to the
developmental process. As H. Rai and S. P. Singh say in regard to the latter:
"it has to be considered whether the bureaucracy, with its present social
background, can enthusiastically support and sincerely carry out the government
policy aimed at a large-scale radicalization of the socio-economic structures
of the country". 8

In the remaining section of this chapter, an attempt is made to
study the age-group, sex, place of birth, provincial background, religion, nature
of schooling and educational qualifications, of the bureaucrat and their
fathers' education, occupation and income.

6. Ranashray Roy, The Bureaucracy and Development: The Case Study of Indian
8. Haridevar Rai and Sekandra Prasad Singh, "Indian Bureaucracy: A Case for
Representativeness", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol.XIX,
Age Group

Age of the bureaucracy is an important factor in their functioning and value orientations. At a young age, one is considered to be more hard-working, energetic, and full of initiative and the spirit of enterprise than in one's old age. Later years of one's career are marked by maturity, thoughtfulness, and a cautious approach. One acquires experience with his age which helps him in taking decisions and formulating policies in the light of his past experience. And the experience which one gains with one's age also shapes and reshapes one's values which have an impact upon oneself and the organisation or unit of the system of which one is a part.

The principle of early age recruitment advocated by Lord Macaulay has been a feature of Civil Service recruitment in India since the days of the East India Company. At present the minimum age limit for competitive examinations in state and all-India services is twenty-one years and the maximum age limit is twenty-eight years in the case of Central and all-India services.

The maximum age limit in case of state services vary from State to State. In

9. Till 1979, the minimum age limit for I.P.S. was 20 years and the maximum age for all-India and Central services was 25 years including I.P.S. But following the Kothari Commission Report, the U.P.S.C. now conducts a combined Civil Service Examination for which the minimum age limit is 21 years and the maximum age limit is 22 years. The maximum age is relaxable by 3 to 8 years in different cases.
In our present study of higher bureaucracy in Meghalaya, it is found that the higher bureaucracy is dominated by the middle-age group bureaucrats i.e., the age group of 31 to 40 and 41 to 50 years. 46.36 percent of the bureaucrats in the sample belong to the age group of 31 to 40 years and 31.62 percent belong to 41 to 50 years of age. Only 16.36 percent of the bureaucrats in the sample belong to the age group of 51 to 60, whereas in the age group of 21 to 30 there are only 5.46 percent bureaucrats. This poor representation of the younger age-group in the higher bureaucracy is due to the fact that after 1973, no recruitment was made to the Meghalaya Civil Service till now.

Again, if we classify the positions occupied by the bureaucrats according to their service, we find that bureaucrats belonging to the I.A.S. occupy the upper and middle positions of the hierarchy. The I.A.S. officers who are even below 40 years of age, sometimes occupy the uppermost rung of the hierarchy, whereas very few of their contemporaries in the State services occupy

11. See Table 31.
the middle positions, most of them being in the lower ranks of the hierarchy.

On the other hand, there are some variations with regard to the officers belonging to technical services. Technical officers occupy upper positions at an early age. This is probably because of the fact that Meghalaya is a newly created state where there are new developmental activities and these developmental activities require a large number of technical experts and consequently, there are ample opportunities for them to occupy higher positions at an early age.

Sex

Sex is an important factor in the study of bureaucracy in India where the position of women is comparatively low. There is also a popular assumption that women are both physically and intellectually weak in comparison with men and the proper sphere of women is the management of household affairs. At the beginning of this century, there were very few women who were in public service. But with the passage of time, this barrier has been broken and especially after independence more and more women have been competing for and joining the public service. At present, an increasing number of women candidates are joining
the all-India and Central Services.

Meghalaya being a matrilineal society, the question of the lower position of women does not arise here. Women occupy a respected and honourable position in the society, and, therefore, it is of special interest to study the sex of higher bureaucrats in a matrilineal state.

In our sample, there is one woman in the I.A.S., one in the A.C.S., and seven in the M.C.S. The small number of females in the I.A.S. can be explained by the fact that the females prefer the Indian Administrative Service less because it is an all-India Service subject to posting in any part of India which unsettles them. This also accounts for the small representation of women in the State services. Despite the matrilineal nature of society, women do not prefer Administrative Services as they involve work in any part of the state.

**Provincial Background**

Provincial background of the bureaucrats is an important dimension in the study of bureaucracy in a country like India where great diversities

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12. See Table 3:12.
exist within the states. This sometimes give rise to communalism, casteism and sub-regionalism. The new state of Nagalaya which was carved out of Assam as a result of the process of "Assamisation" has given more overt expression to the feeling of regionalism. This feeling of regionalism got a new fillip during the last general election to Nagalaya Legislative Assembly in February, 1976. Almost all political parties in their election manifestos devoted a substantial space to the pledge of preserving tribal culture and heritage against the influx of outsiders from other parts of India and for the reservation of seats in government jobs for the tribals. The local sentiment or the sentiment of regionalism has struck its roots so deep that some political leaders opposed the installation of some industries and the setting up of railway tracks in some parts of Nagalaya on the ground that these will invite the influx of more outsiders in the state. There is a fear in the mind of the local people that if people from outside the state are allowed to come and settle in Nagalaya, the demographic structure of the state will be adversely affected and a time will come when the so-called tribal culture and tribal identity would be lost. This fear is reflected in the proposed

13. For details, see the Election Manifestoes of APRCL, HBPD and Congress Party during the second general election to the Nagalaya Legislative Assembly.

Inner Line Permit Bill and the Land Transfer Act. The feeling of regionalism manifested in its worst form in rioting and bloodshed when it was capitalised by some political parties who started a movement for the deportation of outsiders in the name of foreign nationals. Even some Central Government employees belonging to a particular community were served with notices for appearing before the Registrar with appropriate documents to prove themselves as Indian citizens.

In the Meghalaya State, forty percent of the Government jobs are reserved for the Khasis, forty percent for Garos, five percent for other Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the remaining fifteen percent for non-tribes.

15. The Inner Line Permit Bill sought to restrict the entry of outsiders in the state by introducing a system of permit which an outsider must obtain before entering into the state and could not stay longer than the time as permitted.

16. The Meghalaya Transfer of Land (Regulation) Act, 1971 (commonly called Land Transfer Act) seek to restrict the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals and from non-tribals to non-tribals.

Supporting the Meghalaya Transfer of Land (Regulation) Act, 1971, Shri Reuben Rymbaiatsa said "we have been able to maintain our racial identity because to a great extent land is still under our control and possession but once our lands are taken away from us through the unfettered and indiscriminate purchases by non-tribals the Hill people in no time be reduced to an insignificant minority in their traditional homeland... I repeat... that if we allow non-tribals to purchase land indiscriminately then before the long the peoples of Khasi Hills and Garo Hills will be reduced to a minority in their homeland. As a case in point, I will refer to the case of the Tripurs who before the attainment of Independence constituted the overwhelming majority in the native state of Tripura. The position now has been reversed after the influx of refugees from East Pakistan immediately in the wake of Independence, so much so that the Tripurs are having only 19 seats reserved for them in a House of 60. It is too much for us to say that we don't like this fate to overtake us... Our very survival is inextricably linked up with the preservation of our ownership over land." See Meghalaya Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol.1, No.2(March/April Session,1972), pp.33-35.
general category. A person not belonging to any of the Scheduled Tribes of Meghalaya, is required to produce a residential certificate to the effect that he is a permanent resident of Meghalaya before joining any job under the State Government. This has created a feeling of insecurity and frustration among the non-tribal residents of Meghalaya, most of whose fore-fathers were originally from outside the state, who came here for jobs and settled permanently. It is reported that the only job the non-tribes can hope to get in Meghalaya is in the Central Government establishments. Hence, the people other than the tribals frequently complain about the irrational reservation policy of the Government.

The Meghalayan tribals, on the other hand, are also not satisfied with the present position because the Meghalaya Government, having small establishments, cannot absorb all the job-seekers in the government service. There is also no industry worthy of name in the state to provide employment to the tribal youth coming out of schools, colleges and universities. Recently, a feeling has arisen which has been partly injected by the political parties
in the minds of the tribal youth that it is only because of the non-tribal population that they are out of employment. This has led to a feeling of hatred and jealousy between the tribal and non-tribal population of the state, especially among the youth.

In the present study, we find that 33.54 percent of the bureaucrats in our sample in Meghalaya are from outside the state and 65.36 percent of the bureaucrats are from within the state according to their place of birth. But if we take into account the specialisation of the bureaucrats and their provincial background, it is found that the number of technical bureaucrats are greater from outside the state than the non-technical bureaucrats. The percentage of outsiders in technical bureaucracy is 70.00 against the relevant percentage of 20.00 in non-technical bureaucracy. This dominant position of the outsiders in technical bureaucracy may be attributed to the non-availability of the facilities for technical education in Meghalaya. Students of Meghalaya aspiring for the study of medicine or engineering need to go to technical institutions in other states and consequently, the number of successful doctors

17. See Table 3:3.
18. See Table 3:4.
and engineers are not proportionate to the needs of the state. Comparatively, there are sufficient facilities for general education in the state and 80.00 percent of the bureaucrats in the non-technical bureaucracy are from within the state.

Again, if we classify the provincial background of non-technical bureaucrats according to their service, we find that 44.00 percent of the bureaucrats belonging to the I.A.S. are from outside the state according to their place of birth. This percentage will be a little more if we take into account the place of residence of the bureaucrats at the time of their application. Although in case of the I.A.S., the 'withiners' are a little more than the majority i.e. 56.00 percent; in the case of the A.C.S. and A.E.S., they are overwhelmingly dominant. 90.00 percent of the bureaucrats belonging to the A.C.S. and 95.00 percent to the A.E.S. are from within the state. This difference of representation of the 'withiners' in the I.A.S. and State Services may be explained in terms of educational facilities available in the state. The Indian Administrative Service is by and large composed of the intellectually best endowed graduates. A tough competition for entry into the I.A.S. needs a high level of intellectual ability which can be developed if there are good
facilities for higher education, but till 1974, post-graduate courses were beyond the reach of the general students in Meghalaya as there was no University in the state. It was only in 1973, that a Central University was established in Shillong and in 1975, an I.A.S. coaching centre also started functioning in that University. However, the over-representation of the 'withiners' in the State Services may be attributed to the limited nature of the competition both in terms of academic standard and the field of competition.

Rural-Urban Background

The underlying importance of the study of the rural-urban background of the bureaucrat is that it influences their norms, values and behaviour patterns which have an important bearing on their functioning. As the facilities available in urban areas are different from those of the rural areas, the process of socialisation also tends to be different in rural-urban settings. Persons living in urban areas are exposed to scientific and industrial development. Thus, the rural-urban background not only affects the functioning of bureaucracy but also the value-orientation of the bureaucrats which influences the strategy of development and modernisation.
In our sample, only 23.64 percent of the bureaucrats were born in rural areas while 76.36 percent were born in urban areas. Thus, the rural-urban ratio in the higher bureaucracy is just the reverse of the rural-urban ratio in the state's population. This is the case if we take into account only the place of birth of the bureaucrats. But if we take into account the place where the bureaucrats lived until they entered the service instead of the place of birth, the urban influence would be far greater because of the movement from rural to urban areas for better educational facilities. Other studies also confirm this predominantly urban background of the higher bureaucrats. The study by Richard Taub in Shubanwar revealed a similar urban background of the higher bureaucrats. The study by C.P. Bhambri of the 273 I.A.S. recruits in two years (in 1956-57 and 1965-69) revealed that over 70.00 percent of the recruits had an urban background. This high urban-centredness in recruitment reveals to a significant extent, the social limitations, in structural terms, on entry into the higher bureaucracy in India.

Among the non-technical bureaucrats, a very high percentage of the

19. See Table 3:5.
20. Taub, op.cit.
officers of the I.A.S. possess urban background (84.00 percent) followed by
A.C.S. and R.C.S. 73.33 percent of the bureaucrats belonging to the A.C.S. and
65.00 percent of the bureaucrats belonging to the R.C.S. have had an urban
background.

In the case of technical bureaucrats, doctors are found to be more
urban in background than the engineers. 90.00 percent of the doctors and 85.00
percent of the engineers in the sample had urban background. Another feature
to be noted here is that technical bureaucrats have more urban background
than non-technical bureaucrats. 22 86.67 percent of the technical bureaucrats
and 72.50 percent of the non-technical bureaucrats were found to have urban
background. The more urban background of the technical bureaucrats is probably
due to the specialized nature of study facilities which are not available in
the rural areas.

**Religious Background**

India is committed to the ideals of secularism and equality of
opportunity for Government employment irrespective of religion, caste or region.

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22. See Table 316.
This has been well proved by electing persons from the minority community to the highest office under the Indian Constitution. Although religion is not a qualification for entering into public service, in order to be representative, public service must represent people of different religious communities as it helps in the articulation of values and interests of the different classes. Demands are not infrequent for the reservation of seats in the public services for those minority communities which are not well-represented. It will, therefore, be useful to examine whether different religious groups are represented in the higher bureaucracy of Meghalaya or not.

In the present study, it is found that Christianity is the religion of 60.00 percent of bureaucrats followed by Hindus which is the religion of 30.36 percent of bureaucrats. The Sikhs and Muslims are also represented and their percentage is 1.32 percent each. It is thus found that the Christians and Hindus are a little over-represented while the Buddhists, Jains and Traditionalists are not represented at all in our sample. The non-representation of the Buddhist and Jains may be interpreted in terms of the fact that

23. See Table 3:7.
that Buddhist population in the state is mainly of the Tibetan Lamas and few
travellers while the Jains are mostly engaged in business. The over-representation
of Hindus is due to their dominant position in technical bureaucracy (where
they account for 60.00 percent of the bureaucracy while the Christians account
for only 33.33 percent). 24

Social Background

For the purpose of the present study, the caste groupings of Hindu
society do not have such relevance as 60.00 percent of our respondents are
Christians by religion, and in the tribal society of Meghalaya, there is no caste
system, for studying the social composition of the bureaucracy in Meghalaya,
it is useful to make a general classification: Scheduled Castes and Scheduled
Tribes (SC and ST), on the one hand, and General, on the other, i.e., persons
other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Constitution of Independent India has provided special safeguards
to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Government jobs and educational

24. See Table 3a.8,
institutions in order to improve their lot. But this policy has given a new lease of life to caste divisions in India. The policy of providing special benefits to persons on the basis of caste and tribe has caused dissatisfaction in the minds of the people and is responsible for creating social antagonism and tensions. The policy of special benefits was found to be one of the causes of increased atrocities on Harijans. Recently, Bihar and Gujrat have witnessed violent agitations and destruction of properties over the question of reservation.

In Meghalaya 65.00 percent of the jobs under State Government are reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (40.00 percent for the Khasis, 40.00 percent for Garos and 5.00 percent for other Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes). Instead of this 65.00 percent reservation, it is found that 64.55 percent of the bureaucrat in our society belong to Scheduled Tribes and 35.45 percent of the bureaucrats belong to the general category. The over-representation of the general category (the percentage of general category people other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the state is slightly more

28. See Table 3:9.
than 19 percent) is due to their dominant position in the technical bureaucracy where they account for 63.33 percent. In non-technical bureaucracy Scheduled Tribes bureaucrats account for 75.00 percent and general category bureaucrats, only 25.00 percent.

Fathers’ Background

Educational Background

The bureaucrats' fathers' educational background is an important factor in understanding the socio-economic background of the bureaucrats. Education in ancient India was not professional and was the monopoly of Brahmins who were considered to be the symbol of learning. There was no modern system of mass education through schools and colleges. It was the Britishers who initiated modern education in India, and schools and colleges were gradually established. Although schools and colleges were established, their number was small and they were concentrated mostly in urban areas. Even after thirty-two years of our independence, educational facilities do not exist in every part of the country and till today about 70.00 percent of our people are illiterate. Higher education is very costly, and it is the monopoly of urban-living, middle-class

29. See Table 3:10.
elites. In Meghalaya the situation is further worse. Although the literacy rate is little higher than the all-India average of 29.45 percent, yet the facilities for higher education in the state are concentrated in the capital town of Shillong with some facilities available at a few district towns.

In this study, we find that 0.01 percent of the fathers of the bureaucrats are illiterate, 4.55 percent are literate but without any formal education, 7.27 percent have formal education but are not matriculates, 10.91 percent are matriculates, 20.97 percent are under-graduates, 34.58 percent are graduates and 16.36 percent are post-graduates. Thus, it shows that higher bureaucracy in a caste illiterate society reflects not only a literate but also a well-educated background which is in sharp contrast with the idea of representative bureaucracy. There exists a wide gap between the higher bureaucracy and the society in general. This study further confirms the fact that the career-pattern of the children depends upon the educational attainments of the parents. This sample shows that 24.88 percent of the fathers of the I.A.S. are post-graduates; the relevant percentage in the case of the A.C.S. and the A.G.S. is 13.33 and 12.50 percent, respectively.

30. See Table 3:11.
31. In the category of post-graduate we have included all other degrees and diplomas which can be obtained only after graduation.
Again, we find a difference between the educational background of
the father and the specialisation of the bureaucrat. 32 The percentage of the
fathers of technical bureaucrats is more in the educated category than their
counterparts in the case of non-technical bureaucrats. This shows that educated
parents prefer more the specialised and professional education for their
children.

Occupation of the Fathers of Bureaucrats

Occupation is generally recognised as one of the indications of social
status. Hence, in the study of bureaucracy in a developing society like India,
occupation of the fathers of bureaucrats provides a convenient guide to the
social origin of the bureaucrats themselves. Such a study also helps us to know,
to what extent, the different strata of community provide the higher bureaucracy
of the country and whether the major professional groups are represented in the
country's bureaucracy or not. Most of the studies 33 on higher bureaucracy suggest
that the modern professional middle-class is over represented in it. But this
is opposed to the principle of representative bureaucracy in an equalitarian
society.

32. See Table 3:12.
Subramaniam, op. cit., p. 193.
In regard to the bureaucracy in Meghalaya, it is found that 11.02 percent of the fathers of the bureaucrats have been engaged in agriculture, 10.00 percent in business, 42.73 percent in Government services, 13.54 percent in professions like law, medicine, etc. and 14.54 percent in teaching. This is in great contrast with the socio-economic conditions in Meghalaya which is a rural state and where more than 80.00 percent of the people are dependent upon agriculture.

Further, if we classify the occupation of the fathers and the specialisation of the bureaucrats, it is seen that fathers of technical bureaucrats are more in modern professions than the fathers of non-technical bureaucrats. While 6.67 percent of the fathers of technical bureaucrats have been engaged in agriculture, the relevant percentage for the fathers of non-technical bureaucrats is 13.75.

Fathers' Income

Related to fathers' occupation, fathers' income is another important dimension in the study of the socio-economic background of the bureaucrats.

34. See Table 3:13.
35. See Table 3:14.
Income along with the occupation determines, to a great extent, the social status of a person and the resources available for the education of children. The career-choice of the child is largely dependent upon parental income. For getting a well-paid and prestigious job, one needs to be educated at a good college or university and the cost of good education is very high in India. It is thus interesting to study the income group from which the higher bureaucracy comes, as a representative bureaucracy must have in its fold members from different income groups of the society.

Though this survey has tried to find out the annual income of the fathers of the bureaucrats, it is very difficult to establish their annual income for the following reasons. Firstly, the difficulty arises because of the different sources of income, and secondly, there is a tendency on the part of the respondents either to over-estimate or to under-estimate the parental income. However, on the basis of the responses received from the respondents, the fathers' income of the bureaucrats have been divided into three groups: low, middle and high. Fathers with an annual income upto ₹5,000/- were grouped into low; fathers with an annual income above ₹5,000/- but below ₹10,000/- were grouped into middle; and fathers with an annual income above ₹10,000/- were grouped into high category.
According to this scheme, we find that 43.62 percent of the fathers of the bureaucrats belong to the middle income group while the percentage of low and high income groups are 30.91 and 17.27 percent, respectively. If we take into account the annual income of the fathers and specialization of the bureaucrats, we find that technical bureaucrats come more from the higher income group than the non-technical bureaucrats. This is probably because of the fact that specialized or technical education is more time-consuming and more costly, and consequently, less offered by the students of low income group family.

Educational Background of the Bureaucrats

Educational background of the bureaucrats is another important factor in understanding the socio-economic background of the bureaucrats. It is more so in a country like India where educational facilities are unevenly distributed. Here we shall study the nature of schooling and educational qualifications of the bureaucrats.

Nature of Schooling

The higher bureaucracy in India is, by and large, composed of the

36. See Table 3:15.
37. See Table 3:16.
intellectually best endowed graduates, for entering into the higher bureaucracy, the candidates have to face a tough competition and need a high level of intellectual ability. The development of intellectual ability depends, to a great extent, upon the nature of education at the school and college level. "It is at the school stage that the foundation of the super-structure of the university education is laid down. For, what an individual learns in schools like what he learns at home from the members of his family, weighs heavily in determining which relatively full-time, functionally significant social roles he will be able to fulfill." 38

But there is difficulty in classifying the schools. The common classification of public and private schools seems to be unsatisfactory because what is public in one context may be private in a different context. Of course, there is no foolproof classification as every classification has some shortcomings. However, we would classify the schools here on the basis of the medium of instruction i.e. English-medium schools and the vernacular schools.

Though the quality of education does not depend upon the medium through

which knowledge is imparted, it is generally believed that some personal traits like neatness, discipline, fluent speaking, social grace, proficiency in sports and games, etc., are developed more in the English-medium schools than in the vernacular schools. And this is the reason why the well-to-do-families are eager to send their children in English-medium schools.

In the present sample, we find that 55.45 percent of the bureaucrats have had English school background and 41.62 percent of the bureaucrats have had vernacular school background. Again, the non-technical bureaucrats are more from English school than from the technical bureaucrats. While 57.50 percent of the non-technical bureaucrats have had English school background, the percentage of technical bureaucrats with English school background is only 50.00 percent.

This difference in schooling between the technical and non-technical bureaucrats can be explained by the fact that 70.00 percent of the technical bureaucrats are from outside the state i.e., from other parts of India where there are good vernacular schools unlike Meghalaya. Secondly, for entry into the technical bureaucracy, candidates need not appear in an examination as in the case

39. See Table 3:17.
40. See Table 3:18.
of non-technical bureaucracy. Since the introduction of competitive examinations for recruitment to the Indian Civil Services, English continued to be the medium of examination. It was in the recent past that U.P.S.C. has accepted the languages mentioned in the VIIIth schedule of the Constitution besides English as the medium of examination for the I.A.S. and Allied Services examinations. In case of Nagalaya, English is the only medium of examinations for recruitment to Civil Services. And sometimes, English as the medium of examination acts as a disadvantage for candidates who are otherwise deserving. Suggesting regional languages as the medium of competitive examinations, A. Avasthi observed, "I can say from personal experience that even the best boys in M.P. Universities fail to qualify in competitive examinations because their medium of instruction is Hindi. Thus a large portion of highly educated youth is virtually barred from representation in those services because it [sic] does not [sic] know English adequately. There is close relationship between the English language, which till other day was the language of our rulers, anglicisation and snobbishness."

Thus, for entry into the non-technical bureaucracy, candidates with English school background have some edge over the candidates with the vernacular school background and this accounts for the fact that more non-technical bureaucrats have had English school background.

Educational Qualification

The study of educational qualifications also helps us in understanding the socio-economic background of the bureaucrats. The minimum educational qualifications prescribed for the I.A.S. and Allied Services and the State Services is the ordinary first degree of an university. But recent studies suggest that the recruitment system for higher bureaucracy favours those candidates whose qualifications are higher than the minimum qualifications formally prescribed.

In the present study, 47.27 percent of the bureaucrats are post-graduates, 48.18 percent are graduates and 2.73 percent are under-graduates. All the under-graduates belong to the Engineering Services who were promoted to their present positions, while the bulk of the post-graduates belong to the I.A.S., the least belong to the Engineering Services. Against 72.00 percent post-graduates in the I.A.S., there are only 20.00 percent post-graduates in the Engineering Services.

The second largest number of post-graduates are in the Health services i.e., 70.00 percent, followed by the A.C.S. and the A.I.S., in which the percentage of post-graduates are 46.67 and 40.00 percent, respectively. The largest number of post-graduates in the I.A.S. confirms the fact that the I.A.S. like its predecessor the I.C.S. has in its fold highly qualified bureaucrats.

42. Taub, op.cit., p.72.
44. In the category of post-graduates, all other degrees and diplomas are included which can be obtained only after graduation.
45. See Table 3:19.
On the other hand, we find that post-graduates are more in non-technical bureaucracy than in technical bureaucracy. Against 51.25 percent post-graduates in non-technical bureaucracy of this sample, there are only 36.67 percent post-graduates in technical bureaucracy. Thus, it appears that a simple graduation is enough for entering into the technical bureaucracy while it is not so in the case of non-technical bureaucracy. One of the possible reasons for the fewer number of post-graduates in technical bureaucracy might be the longer time required for graduation in the technical field which makes the technical graduates fit for successfully competing for the examinations for entering into the public service. Another reason for this is the imbalance between demand and supply of the technically qualified personnel.

**Summary:**

The socio-economic background of the bureaucrats reveals that the higher bureaucracy in Meghalaya, far from being representative in character, is a monopoly of the urban middle-class elites. After three decades of independence, there is very little change in the nature of higher bureaucracy. Still the rank of higher bureaucracy is virtually closed to men and women from the rural and

45. See Table 3:20.
other backward segments of society. Almost half of the bureaucrats in our sample have post-graduate degrees while more than half of the bureaucrats' fathers are either graduates or post-graduates. Our survey shows that higher bureaucrats come more from the modern professional middle-class families.

Professions like government services, teaching, law, medicine, etc., account for about seventy percent of the bureaucrats' fathers' occupation with an annual income of Rs. 5,000/- and more. Only 11.82 percent of the bureaucrats are found to have had agricultural background while 19 percent have background of business. Along with the modern professional middle-class background, about 80.50 percent of the bureaucrats come from urban areas. But this restricted nature of the higher bureaucracy in terms of its socio-economic background is in sharp contrast with the societal condition of Meghalaya in particular and India in general.

This contrast between the socio-economic background of the higher bureaucrats and the societal condition is one of the problems the higher bureaucracy faces in Meghalaya because it raises the question of bureaucratic effectiveness in the implementation of development programmes which are essentially rural in character. This urban middle-class background underscores the ignorance of the higher bureaucrats about the conditions of the rural people and their problems.

And without understanding the people, their conditions and problems, it is doubtful whether the bureaucrats can develop an empathy for them. Writing on the
Civil Service of Pakistan, Goodnow observed, "The members of the CSP are far removed from the villagers who constitute the bulk of Pakistan's population. It is difficult for these civil servants to grasp the concept that the nation's future must be based on a substantial change in the character of the village and the outlook of its residents."

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