# POLITICAL ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN KHAIRPUR (1947-1980)

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**ABSTRACT:** *This article is focussed on the role of post-colonial bureaucracy in a former princely state Khairpur (Pakistan). It is argued that the bureaucracy treated people in a similar way the colonial bureaucracy dealt with people of British India. This paper also argues that the post-colonial bureaucracy has played largely a political role since the inception of Pakistan in 1947. During the One-Unit Scheme (1955-1970) it became a tool to monopolise power, dominate people and control the resources in a similar way the colonial bureaucracy did it in British India. Thus, the post-colonial bureaucracy failed to appreciate the formation of new public space and the emergence of rural change as an outcome of technological change in agriculture.*

**KEYWORDS:** Pakistan, Sindh, Khairpur, Colonial rule, civil bureaucracy, politicisation, social change, ethnicity, reforms

## BRIEF HISTORY OF COLONIAL BUREAUCRACY

The colonial way of dealing with common people in British India was based on social hierarchy.[1] This prevented colonial bureaucracy from establishing direct relations with common people and gave birth to public discontent and political resistance. In addition, colonial bureaucracy introduced impersonal form of administration which further affected their relations with local people. Gradually, these attitudes of bureaucracy created new aspirations for political change in British India. For instance, in the 1940s the idea of new country attracted some Muslim communities mainly because they had hopes and aspirations about a new change which came to form two sovereign states in 1947. People in the geographic regions which constituted Pakistan had expectations that the post-colonial world would be a place where they would exercise freedom, and they would be treated by bureaucracy in a decent manner. In addition, people of princely states had expectations higher than the people of the regions. Thus, change was expected in attitudes and behaviours of the bureaucracy in addition to way they worked.

The idea of creating a civil service was conceived by the British to strengthen their rule and establish authority in colonial India. This service was commonly known as Imperial Civil

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[1] The term 'social hierarchy' has been used to indicate that colonial bureaucracy treated people according to their social statuses. The factors such as class, occupation, political power were considered in dealing with people.

Service and later Indian Civil Service (ICS). The purpose of the service was to promote loyalty among the chiefs of tribes, *nawabs zamindars,* and *jagirdars* towards their rulers and to protect imperial interest. Colonial officers considered power and position of these chiefs, when they came to see them in their offices. These officers only liked to meet with those landowners who possessed political influence. All the visitors to the collector or commissioner were required to keep waiting for their turn. The person who was invited first amongst all to meet the colonial officer was regarded very important person. ( Rashdi 1987: 17-18)

Thus, every landowner tried hard to meet the colonial officer as early as possible in order to create impression that he was more important than the other visitors. For this reason, the landowners also required to please the office peons. In the offices of these officers only chair holders were allowed to sit. Sitting on the special chairs indicated the privileges enjoyed by influential landowners. This code of bureaucratic conduct was followed by everyone. For example landowners were not allowed to walk on carpets spread in the colonial offices with local style shoes. In addition, the meetings were structured and formal which did not last more than few moments. This attitude of colonial bureaucracy to their loyal supporters of the British rule exposed the arrogance, pride and superiority displaced by colonial behaviour. Thus, it is not difficult to imagine the way common people were being treated by the bureaucracy.

Members of colonial bureaucracy were committed to the Imperial objectives. The higher levels of their self-motivation emerged as a main source of British power. Philip Woodruff has characterised them as guardians, who were 'expert in nothing or everything, answerable in practice mainly to themselves, foreign to the country they ruled' (Woodruff, 1954: 19). Nevertheless, they were able to provide means of an administrative power British required for ruling over India more than three hundred years. Theoretically, the members of colonial service were efficient in the development and management of resources. The impersonal character of the administration created an opportunity for colonial bureaucracy to work as a systematic and organised body of administration.

The major contribution of impersonal administration was to establish a rule of law in the urban and rural India. Thus, the administration was not only able to define the need for social control but also establish the means to achieve it. Thus, the establishment of rule of law and maintenance of order in society became an important duty of colonial bureaucracy. In performing these duties, colonial bureaucracy followed rules and regulations rather than the traditions and customs prevailed in society. This way of rule created an image of British as an efficient administration suitable to the British interests rather than a rule people aspired for. Thus, people developed feeling that India was being ruled in a very unfamiliar way. Most discouraging situation for people was to feel superiority of colonial ethos and styles. The Indian ways of doing things became inferior to the colonial styles. The social needs, sentiments and aspirations of people were largely ignored by British officers when they dealt with common people. Thus, the actions of British officers did not motivate people to cooperate with them. They could do so if they could work in a familiar way to achieve British interests.

However, it was believed that this 'machine-like character of the administration was the source of both weakness and strength' (Griffiths, 1965: 227). The impersonal administration was an opportunity for the colonial officers to grow stronger and powerful in dealing with public. This helped them to develop the administrative behaviour they needed in order to implement policy promptly. Thus, it had a positive impact on the performance of the bureaucracy. For example, administrative behaviour as an outcome of impersonal administrative thinking helped the

bureaucracy to develop an ability to neutralise the forces of culture. It was able to resist the pressures and worked to achieve objectives. Thus, the administration performed its functions of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order in economical way.

Another contribution of ICS was to establish the new structure of administration in India based on the principles of efficiency, rule of law and team work. These skills were also transferred to the indigenous administrators who were trained in the art of colonial administration. They learnt new philosophy of work and administrative skills from their European mentors. They worked so closely that they began to share same bureaucratic culture. For example the Indian members of ICS adopted colonial attitudes, habits in a way that they replicate their style of eating and dressing, and behaving in various situations of public life.

However, the negative impact of impersonal administration was equally devastating for social and moral standing of colonial rule. The major defect of this administrative model was that it did not produce sensitiveness to the feelings, desires and opinions and public sentiments, which sometimes caused serious problems (Griffiths, 1965: 227). This iron made model of administration had no soft corner for indigenous values and beliefs. Thus, the local people feared that this model would bulldoze all norms, traditions, beliefs and customs which formed the historical identity of people of India.

These fears began to convert into a resistance to foreign rule, which ultimately challenged the dominant position of ICS. People began to oppose the way all the important positions in public service were reserved for the ICS officers. However, the ICS continued to enjoy enormous powers and privileges until the emergence of the Act of 1935. This act changed the functions of the civil service. It was fact that they [i.e. civil servants] were required to serve under, and consequently, to obey Indian ministers, whom as their secretaries, they also advised on all matters of policy relevant to their administrative duties (Government of West Pakistan, 1969: 26).

Polarisation between the emerging political leaders and colonial bureaucrats began in the 1940s. However, this struggle came to an end when British decided to windup their stay in India. Thus, the colonial administration handed over powers to Indian political leaders, who were divided into two major groups----Muslims and Hindus. The latter were in the majority and in favour of democratic rule. But the former were not willing to live under the system based on majority vote. Both the communities belonged to their different social systems shaped by their respective religious philosophies. According to Philip the two religions were alike in one respect only, that for their followers they affect 'every aspect of life---clothes, food, and attitude to the family, sacred books, language, and mythology' (Woodruff, 1954: 19).

**Post-colonial Bureaucracy and ethnicity in Sindh**
Muslim communities in British India were politically divided. Most of them lost their hopes in the way they were ruled by the colonial rulers. Muslims communities belonging to the Muslim majority areas supported the idea of new country. The *raison d'être* for the abundant support people gave to the movement which formed Pakistan was that they were told that new country would offer them freedom, justice, dignity and vast economic opportunities. They would also be fairly treated by bureaucracy. These promises were reiterated by Jinnah who could translate the hopes of his people in his following words: 'Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's Government [*sic*], responsible to the people more or

less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices.'[2] Unfortunately, the promises were never fulfilled by the successors of Jinnah. Due to the political and economic instability, people of the new country were deprived of a new administrative system different from the one which the British left in India – which was, of course, very different from the system in Britain.

Thus, the administration was developed on the basis of the colonial heritage. Political leadership was failed to shape a new administrative model suitable to new needs of a country. Bureaucracy also failed to learn from the colonial history and did not change their habits developed during the colonial era. However, some scholars have freed Government leaders (bureaucrats) from their responsibilities to organise a new system of administration in Pakistan. For example it was argued that the conditions following independence were of the nature of an emergency which prevented the governmental leaders from giving due thought to the development of new administrative system (Ahmed, 1964:26) .

The old fashioned system was adopted with a little change in its structure. The functions of the bureaucracy were modified to some extent to make it suitable for the needs of an independent country. However, it managed to control over the power corridors of state. Government of Pakistan report admitted that power of bureaucracy was further increased. It continued to exercise as strong as 'political' influence, as it did in British times (Government of West Pakistan, 1969 : 26).

Thus, bureaucracy emerged as powerful organisation, which began to take over the role of political institutions. For instance, bureaucrats formed the central government which did not represent the interests of all communities including the people of Sindh. Sindhi communities and their political leaders played a major role in Pakistan movement and Sindh was the province where the assembly passed for the first time a resolution in support of Pakistan. This resolution gave Pakistan movement a legal and constitutional cover. Thus, people of Sindh expected that their political and economic interests would be safeguarded under any circumstances. However, the attitudes of bureaucrats exposed their real faces. The first test case for bureaucracy was the settlement of post-partition migrants from India, who were settled largely in big cities of Sindh by bureaucratic government without considering the interests of native communities. Indeed, policies of bureaucrats were favourable to the interests of the migrants and thus these policies systematically excluded Sindhi interests from their educational, industrial and commercial projects. This ethnic-biased attitude of bureaucrats, prepared a ground for the domination of non-representative bureaucracy. Nevertheless, these attempts of bureaucracy began to alienate Sindhis who were deprived of their social, cultural, political and economic rights in the name of 'one religion and one language' spoken by small minority of country (The Weekly *Mujahid,* 1973).

The second test case was the establishment of one-unit scheme in 1955 that confirmed the formal entry of bureaucracy into politics. It enabled bureaucracy to play clearly a political role.[3] The weakness of political system and military interventions in country created an opportunity for non-representative bureaucracy to grow stronger. These military interventions prevented

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[2] Address to the Gazetted Officers of Chittagong, on 25 March,1948.

[3] The one-unit scheme was declared as a project for integrating people. It divided the new country into two parts i.e., East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Under this project the provinces lost their provincial statuses and merely became administrative divisions controlled by a Lahore-based central administration. This project triggered a major political change in the politics of Sindh and Khairpur. For instance the introduction of nationalist politics in Sindh was an outcome of one-unit scheme.

democratic institutions to flourish in the country. During the military regimes, the authority and power were shared by military and civil bureaucracies, heavily dominated by Punjabis and the migrants. The classical example was the military rule from 1958-1968. During this period bureaucracy enjoyed vast powers and became most powerful institution. Bureaucracy grew stronger as a result of weak positions of the provincial governments, absence of strong local government; and the role of higher bureaucracy i.e. secretariats in administrative and policy decision making (Goodnow, 1964).

The one-unit policy known as bureaucratic domination scheme further produced consternation among the Sindhi political leaders and created a feeling of deprivation among the native communities of Sindh. This scheme emasculated the powers of provincial government and made Sindh merely an administrative division of West Pakistan. Thus, Sindh lost the historical, cultural and political importance under one-unit project. The centre created its hegemony over provinces by toppling the provincial governments during the period of 1947-1958 which led to the emergence of political movements for restoration of provincial autonomy in the provinces excluding the Punjab (Waseem, 1997: 721). People of Sindh began to demand provincial autonomy because they suffered most on account of the economic policies of the military regime. For example the urban policies of the regime were largely benefited by the migrants. Thus, Sindhis felt alienated and feared the domination of their resources by bureaucracy composed of other ethnic groups. These fears were further increased when thousands of acres of fertile lands of Sindh were distributed among the military and civil bureaucrats belonged to Punjabi and Muhajir communities. Thus, they showed strong political resistance to the further migration from Behar (India) to Sindh. They began to feel that if the process of migration in the name of Urdu and Islam was not stopped they would become like 'Red Indians' on their own soil (The Weekly *Mujahid,* 1972).

In order to control the expression of Sindhis the language and literature were banned by bureaucracy. Many books, magazines, and newspapers were burnt and Sindhi publications were banned during the on-unit administration. The writers, poets, journalists, and political workers were jailed to stop the political movement for achieving provincial autonomy. Sindhi language was discouraged and Urdu language was promoted by the military regime. This politics of language caused polarisation between old Sindhis and new Sindhis (migrants) under the bureaucratic policy of divide and rule. However, the former felt that linguistic and cultural sources of Sindhi identity were seriously endangered by the military regime. This led to the rise of Sindhi nationalism on the same pattern of Bengali nationalism and created a vehement resistance against the central government. Nevertheless, the military regime was failed to suppress the voice of public dissent (Waseem, 1997: 722). The separation of the East Pakistan from the West Pakistan in 1971 was an outcome of the military rule (1958-1970), it's centralisation of power and non-representative nature of bureaucracy which ruled over the country. After the separation of the East wing, the Punjab emerged a new majority province. In the 1970s, Punjabis began to dominate the military and civil bureaucracies. They accounted for 49.3 percent of military officers and 53.5 of senior positions in civil bureaucracy, while Muhajirs constituted 30 percent of the army officers and more than 33percent of the posts in civil bureaucracy (Waseem, 1997: 717). Thus, Sindhis began to feel that they were being betrayed by the central bureaucracy which was dominated by Punjabis and Muhajirs. For example in the 1970s Muhajirs were over represented in civil and military bureaucracy.  They held 33% of gazetted positions in civil bureaucracy disproportional to their share in population less than 8% (Kennedy, 1991: 942). Sindhis twice as many as Muhajirs constituted only 2.7% of the gazetted employees (Kennedy, 1991: 943) .

Thus, non-representative nature of bureaucracy was a major source of distrust among the people of smaller provinces. The attitude of bureaucracy towards the Sindhi interests remained same and thus, it caused hatred among the masses. People firmly believed that the bureaucracy was not only involved in exploitation of their resources but also it was behind their economic and social backwardness. Thus, they doubted the role of bureaucrats appointed by the central government to occupy the major positions in the district management, secretariat, and other key government departments in Sindh. People also believed that with the appointment of the officers from other provinces, the rights of Sindh Public service were being denied. By the end of One-unit rule, it was a popular demand that all these officers belonging to other provinces should be returned and the bureaucrats who were involved in cruel treatment of Sindhis should be punished severely (The Weekly *Mujahid,* 1972).

This demand was based on the treatment, the communities received from the bureaucracy. Because the bureaucracy did not learn any lesson from the chequered history of country and did not feel any guilt after the loss of Easter half of Pakistan. It was biggest failure of Punjabi dominated military and civil bureaucracies to protect Pakistan's ideology. It created moral and psychological implications for the nation of Pakistan. 'Indeed identification of the state in Pakistan with Punjabis to the exclusion of all others contributed to intensification and even militarisation of ethnic conflicts in the country (Waseem, 1997: 717).

**Post-colonial Bureaucracy and Reforms**
The Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was able to dominate economic and political affairs of country during the military rule. However, during this period Green Revolution occurred in Pakistan. It created social and economic changes including the emergence of middle classes. This change was not welcomed by bureaucracy and it was perceived as a threat to their power and position in society. The bureaucracy feared that the rise of middle-classes in country would challenge the system monopolised by bureaucracy in collaboration with landed and business elites. Thus, bureaucracy came up with new power tactics and strategies to de-track their challengers. However, these strategies were based on the old principle of social hierarchy which was used by colonial bureaucracy in British India. For instance, they helped their rural allies i.e. landlords to control the rise of middle classes.

In addition, they tried to create a perception in the country that they were effective managers of law and order, thus, all important positions in the government departments should be reserved for them. CSP officers were able to occupy the important positions in Government. This indicates that Government adopted same policy of reservation of seats for CSP as it was followed by the British to accommodate ICS officers. Thus, the Government did not make any change in policy on reservation of key administrative positions. For example, the positions of district and additional district magistrates which were the key posts upon which the ICS was founded (Government of West Pakistan, 1969: 69). Similarly the number of reserved posts for CSP officers was even greater than the number of incumbents. Nevertheless, the remaining positions were occupied by the officers belonged to Provincial Service who were recruited by the Provincial Public Service Commission (PCS). These officers were less powerful and their promotions were slow. They were generally treated as inferior to the officers belonging to CSP cadre. They were considered inferior not only in rank and power but also in skills, training, education and experience.
The structural and functional differences between the two services generated the feeling of deprivation and social inferiority among the PCS officers and created hurdles in the

administration. In terms of performance of duties, they were not far behind CSP members. It was confirmed by Commission's report that 'the law-and-order situation and the revenue collections were as satisfactory, when a PCS officer was the head of the district as when it was a CSP officer' (Government of West Pakistan, 1969: 69). Therefore, the Pay and Service Commission suggested an equal distribution of the posts among the members of both the services on the basis of skills, knowledge, 'experience and aptitude.'

However, the CSP officers continued to enjoy the monopoly of power and dominant position until the new elected government came into power in 1971. During the Bhutto period, bureaucracy underwent some reforms, welcomed by people and resisted by bureaucrats. The aim of the reforms was to increase the efficiency of civil service and to reduce the concentration of power in the hands of CSP. The thrust of the Bhutto reforms was to eliminate reservation of seats for CSPs and to replace the cadres with occupational groups. These groups formed a unified grade system. Pre–service training was initiated and the Civil Service Academy was renamed as Academy for administrative training. Another, specification of the administrative reforms was the introduction of lateral entry in civil bureaucracy. Kennedy claimed that the implementation of these reforms modified the bureaucratic environment in two significant ways. First, the reform weakened the dominance of the CSP. Second, the reform increased the level of political influence on the bureaucracy (Government of West Pakistan, 1969: 14). Moreover, with the abolition of reserved seats, an equal opportunity was created for the members of the other services. It helped to reduce tensions between the various services, particularly between central and provincial services. The power and prestige of CSPs was further reduced, when the practice of adding their designation or name of service together with their names, was stopped.

Implementation of these reforms was not as easy as it seemed because the bureaucrats who were supposed to implement them were basically the targets of the reforms. Bhutto's Government was ended by another military intervention led by General Zia who came in power by violating the constitution of 1973. During the Zia regime the reforms faced further difficulties due to additional resistance engendered by new government's reluctance to support policies initiated by its predecessor (Kennedy, 1987:88).

**Political role of Bureaucracy in Khairpur**
During the colonial period Khaipur was one of the princely states of British India. In Khairpur state the administration was so effective that the crime rate was lowest in Khairpur in comparison with other parts of India. The system of crime prevention and detection was very effective in the state. Peaceful conditions and improved law and order during the state times were a result of good policing system in Khairpur state. Police officers worked efficiently to control criminals. However, when the state joined Pakistan and it was converted into a division under the one-unit policy in 1955, the law and order situation began to deteriorate rapidly.

The one-unit scheme was appeared to be of an administrative nature but it prognosticated future politics of country. According to the popular view of nationalist politics, the smaller provinces under the scheme not only lost their provincial statuses but they were also treated as colonies of the Punjab in a similar way the colonisers dealt with colonised. This argument further states that the Punjabi-dominated bureaucracy was used as a tool to control over the populations and to exploit the resources of these provinces and states. However, this scheme created a huge political movement against the new colonisers and it led to the rise of ethnic-based nationalism in Pakistan. For example the rise of Bengali nationalism and consequently the separation of the

East Pakistan was direct political outcome of the political role played by bureaucracy under the one-unit scheme.

In the 1950s Khairpur, the administrative structure was also based on colonial patterns. The district administration under the colonial rule included law and order, revenue and supervision of all government departments working in the district. In order to control crime and maintain order, district administration was empowered to use police. Thus, during the British rule over India, the district was the hub of administration and continued to be so even after independence of India and Pakistan (Sayeed, 1958: 140).

The post-colonial district bureaucracy played mainly a political role. Cooperation from district bureaucracy became an important factor for electoral success. Callard thus, argued that the powers of a district magistrate could either aid or hinder the candidacy of a politician (Callard, 1957: 297). This was one of the reasons why most of the politicians wanted bureaucracy to play a political role. Thus, the political pressure was employed to persuade or compel public servants to intervene in party politics (Callard, 1957: 297).

In the 1960s the country had been divided into 124 districts for the purpose of its administration. Each district in country had been the basic unit of administration and the focal point of all social, cultural, economic, administrative and developmental activities (Government of Pakistan. 1961.). During this period Khairpur was an administrative division which was consisting of the districts including Sukkur, Khairpur, Larkana and Nawabshah. Khairpur was one of the most important administrative divisions of West Pakistan.

However, the administration in Khairpur began to be politicised, and the local bureaucracy lost its image as a non-political organisation in the eyes of public. Thus, the theoretical concept of neutrality became irrelevant to local level bureaucracy. The district chief executives behaved in an arrogant manner. His way of dealing with lower and lower middle-classes indicates that the administrative culture was no different from the nineteenth century culture of colonial bureaucracy. The post-partition political changes could not decrease the vast political power enjoyed by these officers. Unlike politicians, bureaucrats enjoyed the administrative and judicial powers on permanent basis.

The positions of bureaucrats were more secure and powerful. The district officer was able to control and use his political influence to get things done according to his own wishes. He played a political role in a district under his control. The local political leaders also accepted his legal authority. He managed the dynamics of local power politics. Thus, it was not difficult for him to get support from feudal lords to achieve desired outcomes of Government policy to be implemented in the areas where the local leaders had great influence. The district officer also used political influences to improve law and order in his district. He was able to mediate the local disputes ranging from family feuds to tribal conflicts and from water distribution to land revenue settlement. However, in these matters, the district officer over stepped his boundaries of power. It reinforced the beliefs of people in local custom of decision making. This role of district officer was not resisted by politicians. Thus, the district officer began to get involved in local politics.

Bureaucrats also acquired skills of influencing people. Thus, political activities pleased them and satisfied their desire to become popular persons among the masses. Their activities indicated clearly their desire for popularity, when they came into contact with public. Like

politicians traditional bureaucrats liked to address the people's gatherings. They also enjoyed the honour to preside conferences, meetings and other forms of people's gatherings. The commissioner and deputy commissioner of Khairpur addressed public at a number of occasions. They not only addressed basic democrats and their supporters in their union councils but also addressed large public meetings. For instance, the commissioner of Khairpur was reported, addressing to a large gathering of people in Khairpur  (Ahmed, 1968:122).

In the field of public dealing, the administrative style of working in Khairpur had great deal of similarities with landlord's style of doing things. The district officers liked to be popular among masses like politicians, and they took pride in activities in a same way the landlords did. However, in some cases the landlords and politicians were far behind the bureaucrats in a publicity campaign. They were trying to prove that they possessed political and leadership skills. These bureaucratic attitudes were an outcome of power jealousy and desire to exercise all political powers. Conscious or unconscious attempts made by the successive governments to decrease the powers of bureaucrats triggered their emotions and they behaved like fish out of water. In every activity and action they just promoted themselves and advertised themselves like products. Their looks indicate that they did not waste a single moment to capture the attention of masses. Consider a heroic image which was taken in the late 1960s to show the bravery and adventurous nature of deputy commissioner. This image was described as an image of 'lucky hunter' who hunted a crocodile near the Nara canal in Khairpur (Ahmed, 1968:163).

In the 1970s and 1980s Khairpur district was being considered one of the sensitive parts of Pakistan because of its recent history of tribal conflicts and sectarian violence. The rise in crime posed a great challenge for administration. This created a serious problem of law and order in Khairpur. The high incidence of crime, particularly kidnapping, pushed hundreds of villagers to migrate to cities. However, civil administration along with police failed to control over criminals in Khairpur. People believed that there were political reasons for the failure of administration to respond to criminal activities. In the 1980s it was generally agreed by people that they were being punished for their support for democracy against military dictatorship of Zia. Thus, bureaucracy was being used by military-government as a tool to achieve political objectives in Sindh including Khairpur.

However, it can be argued that district managers became so powerful and proud that they did not feel guilty and responsible for their failures. They were not able to contain the wave of crime in an effective manner. The administration was not able to manage the law and order situation because they lacked the skills required for managing crime. In fact, district bureaucracy did not work as a team to achieve objectives of law and order. Even if we believe that they worked as a team, it could be hard to expect a success of a team which was led by a person who did not know much about the geography and physical conditions of the district. Most of the deputy commissioners appointed by central government in Khairpur came from the other provinces of country including the Punjab province. They were not familiar with geographical and political conditions of the districts of Sindh. They spent time in their majestic offices more than in field trips. These new appointees had not enough experience in the field of management. In addition, the district officers appointed by federal government were not directly responsible to provincial governments.

The provincial government did not dare to take action against them for their failures. Moreover, lack of interest in the district stranger to them also caused inability of district administration to handle crime. The lack of public pressure in the form of protest against administrative red tape and inefficiency created a comfort zone for the district administration. Thus, the deputy

commissioners were reluctant to risk their lives in chasing criminals. They did not screw up their courage to fight with criminals and accomplices i.e. feudalism. The fight against the accomplices could jeopardise their political interests in the district.

Another dilemma was of frequent transfers of honest officers who tried to reform administration and improve delivery of services. Thus, before they took action against the culprits they were transferred from the district by their political bosses. Therefore, their tasks remained unaccomplished and discouraged new entrants in the district to follow the same path. It was expected from the new appointed officer that he would eradicate corruption in all its manifestations in the district. But soon he joined his duties he succumbed to political pressures and just tried to concentrate on his political activities in order to secure his private objectives i.e. plot, promotion, political power. However, the honest officers did not accept political interference in the district administration. These officers faced serious troubles. It was difficult for them to fight against the corrupt system without the help of people. There were three reasons for the lack of public support for the honest officers. The first reason was that the media was not yet able to highlight the work of efficient officers in order to procure support from masses. The second reason was ethnicity. The communities did not offer support to the officer foreign to them. The third reason was that the district officers prioritise local elites over communities when it came to establish relations. Thus, like colonial officers, they failed to establish direct contact with local people. In addition, the language created a communication barrier. These officers did not speak and understand the language of communities. They did not know much about local culture and traditions. Thus, in dealing with these communities, the district officers depended on their assistants and the landlords who gave impression that they exercised property rights over these communities.

The ethnic-based politics also affected the performance of bureaucracy. Pakistan's federal level bureaucracy was dominated by Punjabi ethnic groups. Sindhis and Baloch were marginalised in both higher and lower level bureaucracies of Pakistan. Thus, the unrepresentative nature of bureaucracy has affected its professionalism and it has generated a feeling of deprivation among people of smaller provinces. This situation has made the role of bureaucracy doubtful in the eyes of general public. They had no clear idea about the role of bureaucracy. They feared that if there is no meaningful change in the attitudes of bureaucracy, the country could be further dismembered. These social and political factors have caused institutional haplessness.

In Khairpur and Sindh there were two sources of district leadership: Federal bureaucracy and provincial bureaucracy. Their relationship could be delineated in social and psychological terms. Both branches of administration have superiority and inferiority complexes which could be seen from their style of work and interaction with public. In addition, their professional jealousies prevented them to work as a team. In a situation where political pressure was employed, the responses of CSP and PCS officers were clearly different. However, those officers belonging to either federal or provincial branch of bureaucracy who gave up, formed alliances with political elites and remained in power as long as they pleased their political bosses. These officers adopted policy of favouritism and remained kind on those subordinate officers who were able to grease their palms. The transfers and postings done by ministers was a technique of controlling power of a bureaucracy. Nevertheless, those officers fewer in number, who resisted pressures, were transferred from one place to another and some time waited long for new postings. These officers were either inexperienced in the field of politics or inadaptable to the culture of corruption. Thus, the inexperience of officers and frequency of their transfers also became one of the causes of administrative corruption (Goodnow, 1964: 232).

Motivation was another determinant of bureaucratic performance. The administrative leaders came to control administration rather than to motivate the members of the administrative teams to improve the services in Khairpur. The district teams lacked the spirit of cooperation and they did not work on the principle of a team work. Their leaders had no vision and lacked the ability to inspire people to work together to achieve the common objectives of law and order. The leadership deficiencies affected the social and administrative dynamics of district administration. Social relationships within the teams were also affected by the bureaucratic norms and hierarchy. They did not let the team work to develop in the district administration. Thus, the leaders of district promoted hierarchy and passing of orders to their subordinates without delegating authority to them. Their conservative approach to work reduced the possibilities of change.

The members of district bureaucracy were not supposed to innovate the way of working in the district. Their efficiency was measured by their bosses from their obedience rather than competence or compassion for public. They were expected to be promoted not on the basis of performance but on the basis of how obedient they were to their bosses. These standards of measuring performance promoted a culture of *pir and khalifa.* Change in this type of culture was not tolerated by the leaders. Therefore, the habit of doing same thing and developing concept of routine work prevented district officers from providing effective leadership (Ahmed, 1964: 12).

### Bureaucracy and Social change in Khairpur

In the 1960s, the district administration as branch of civil bureaucracy was supposed to work as an instrument of social and economic policy. In addition, it exercised the authority on behalf of the state. Theoretically, bureaucracy at lower-level was involved in the collection of land revenues, the maintenance of law and order, and the co-ordination of all government activities within the district, the stimulation of economic development, and the encouragement of local initiative (Braibanti, 1966: 161) .

Rural development was an inseparable part of an overall process of social and economic development. It was the duty of bureaucracy to develop economic resources, human resources and physical infrastructure of the country to increase growth rate of domestic production plus to accelerate social and economic changes by fostering village development. Pakistan's experience of economic development suggests that rural development was a field that poorly managed. Nevertheless, rural development practice had undergone several major shifts in Pakistan as it sought a mode of accommodating to the traditional power-oriented district bureaucracy (Braibanti, 1966: 200).

In the field of rural development, bureaucracy was given a free hand and powers to introduce controlled democracy. The district bureaucracy was made in charge of social and economic development. In addition, the commissioner presided over the divisional level meetings about law and order and development activities. However, the deputy commissioner used to preside over the meetings of district council. He was the chairman of the district council and he presided over the district council meetings.

In the late 1960s Khairpur's administration was divided into 6 talukas. Each taluka had both union councils and town committees. The members of these town committees and union councils were elected. These institutions came into existence on the basis of Basic Democracies Order, 1959. On the basis of this order a district council was established. During the office term

1966-1969 the number of elected members was 30 and the number of official members was 25. These official members were appointed by the commissioner. The chairman of the council was either commissioner or deputy commissioner and its vice chairman was an elected member. It was announced that the vice chairman was also given some powers to carry out his duties. However, his work was subject to the supervision of the chairman (Ahmed, 1968: 89).

Thus, the vice chairman just worked as a subordinate officer. Although he was elected by people, could not work according to the expectations of people because of the bureaucratic hurdles. The establishment of bureaucratic dominance over elected people indicates the level of belief in democracy and devolution of power. The powers were monopolised by bureaucracy and they were not devolved at the grassroots level. Bureaucrats had no confidence in the electoral democracy which aimed at the empowerment of people. The bureaucratic report named as *'The Decade of Progress'* did not show a real social, economic and democratic progress. It could be renamed as decade of dominancy. The report has used picture techniques to mention the achievements of the officials involved in development sector. The most common pictures repeatedly shown in the report are used to witness the hard work done by bureaucracy single handed. For instance, the camera never missed the opening ceremonies of development schemes performed by the commissioner and deputy commissioner in Khairpur. Nevertheless, the development activities performed by elected members were hardly noticeable through bureaucratic lenses. However, the elected leaders only appeared in the picture along with district officers when these bureaucrats desired to hear some praise and admiration from them. One of these rare photographs was reflecting the image of an elected leader. The photo was captioned as: 'The Member of Provincial Assembly (MPA) and chairman Union council presenting *spasnama* (vote of thanks) to the deputy commissioner' (Ahmed, 1968: 82).

In the 1960s the military government needed institutional support to hammer out the opponents of military intervention and to monitor and regulate new political changes in rural and urban areas. This role could only be performed by bureaucracy better than performed by any other government agency. The attempt was made to transform the bureaucracy from an agency of law and order to an agency of socio-economic change (Jahan: 92). Thus, new shift in administration of social and economic policy added a new feather in the cap of district administration. The burden of an additional development task was put on the soft shoulders of district officer. The district administration accepted an additional power to control huge development funds with a little or no accountability. However, the role of local government institutions had been negligible in the overall picture of rural development.

The bureaucracy had opportunity to play a vital role in local capacity building and training manpower in order to shift this responsibility to the local institutions. Nevertheless, the bureaucracy sabotaged all efforts for strengthening rural institutions. This additional power further increased their political influence hence, the district officers and other revenue officers displayed arrogant attitudes. They had no compassion and competence required to perform the work of development. This caused the social disgrace of bureaucracy.

However, for the accomplishment of new objectives, district bureaucracy was to formulate a strategy and plans according to the social and economic needs of the district. The development activity was in fact the work of development specialists along with the elected representatives of people, but the task was entrusted with revenue officials who were not professionally development specialists. In addition, they were already occupied in important duties. They also enjoyed magisterial and administrative powers. Besides, the office of the district officer also

possessed a large number of discretionary powers, which emanated from the gaps between the process of legislation and the growing needs of society. The social status of district administration was higher because its leader belonged to the superior service. He enjoyed prestige and his office was respected by all people domiciled in his district (Birkhead, 1966: 12).

According to bureaucratic perception, the maintenance of power and position of district officers and protection of political interests of their class were major objectives of their staying in power. They did not want to surrender their powers to other institutions. Thus, majority of CSP officers did not work for reforming the system which could radically change their status and that of their service (Birkhead, 1966: 211). Fostering socio-economic development and encouraging education and literacy was meant as a decline of their social prestige. The programme of social and economic change through education and rural development was perceived like a death warrant for pride of bureaucracy. This programme was perceived as a double edged sword. Successful implementation of a policy required them to develop educational, commercial, and political institutions. 'In so doing, however, bureaucracy created or strengthened the very institutions that would eventually challenge its monopoly of administrative power, yet, if the country's institutions were not strengthened, there was the very real danger of revolution (Goodnow, 1964). '

In Khairpur bureaucracy maintained the old customs of society and retained the power and influence of feudal institutions. People expected that bureaucracy will bring a change in administrative, judicial and social institutions and help them to free themselves from the clutches of feudalism. Unlike their expectations, bureaucracy adopted the same behaviour and attitude of feudal lords. Thus, bureaucrats did not make any difference in managing expectations of people. People expected that old customs which gave feudal lords power and influence would be banished from society in the favour of rule of law and social justice. This desire of people became unfulfilled when bureaucrats not only preserved the old customs but also practised these customs in order to justify the legitimacy and its relevance to society. For example an old institution of *jirga-* one of the major sources of feudal power, was also used and entertained by bureaucrats like feudal leaders as a method of conflict resolution. The use of traditional ways to end conflicts decreased the hopes of people about the rule of law and destroyed their trust in bureaucracy to inspire change in society. According to the report '*Decade of Progress, 1958-68*' in Khairpur, Assistant District Magistrate (ADM) and Sub-Divisional Magistrates (SDMs) disposed off 26 out of 31 *jirga* cases during the year 1967 (Ahmed, 1968 : 80).

It was also expected from bureaucracy that it would bring a change in the rural power structure which was dominated by landlord. Like colonial civil service, Pakistan's bureaucracy believed in social hierarchy and accepted the political role of landlord which was greatly institutionalised by the British in the nineteenth century. However, the landlords continued to exercise political powers at a village level even after the end of British rule in 1947. He used his *autaq*[4] as a centre of political activities. This institution was used to modify the behaviour of villagers and to exercise political influence on farmers who used the *autaq* for meeting with

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[4] Autaq was a guest room of village headman or landowner. However, this institution performed various social and political functions in the villages of Sindh.

other people and enjoying leisure. Thus, the *autaq* performed social, psychological and political functions.

It was expected that bureaucracy would reduce the fear of farmers and reduce the influence of *autaq* culture in rural dynamics of power. Bureaucracy did not help people to save themselves from exploitative rural politics produced and organised by *autaq* culture. Nevertheless, bureaucrats used institution of *autaq* as a place for enjoying leisure and hospitality provided by landlords. They respected the dignity and power of this institution. Thus, *autaq* was able to function as a centre of political activities and a unit of local decision-making.

The decisions were taken about land disputes, theft, honour killing, family matters and village development issues. In all these cases the courts were bypassed and they could not emerge as powerful institutions in rural society. In addition, this institution was used as ears and eyes of district administration. It worked as two-way flow of information. People were communicated and informed about the government land policies and other public policies through this institution. The traditional role of *autaq* remained unchanged until the emergence of middle-classes in the late 1960s. Economic and social changes as an impact of technological change in agriculture produced remarkable change in the attitude and perception of people (Ahmed, 2012: 310-311).

These economic and social changes were resulted from technological change in agriculture. The technological changes not only increased the agricultural productivity but also helped farmers to reduce their work load. As a result, farmers were able to enjoy leisure time and satisfy their social needs. Unfortunately, there was no administrative plan at the district level to manage this huge work reduction and leisure change positively. One of the positive social changes was a development of a real public sphere with the development of hotel culture as a substitute for *autaq* culture. These tea hotels and shops were main sources of entertainment and enjoying leisure. They provided opportunity for people to spend their leisure time in these hotels and consume media programmes in order to satisfy their leisure needs.

In the 1970s, these programmes increased the information of people and taught them new experiences of life. Programmes also helped the people to reform their way of life and learn new manners and styles of life. This helped to change their habits and attitudes towards society. This space was further developed with the introduction of new idea of sharing personal problems. Thus, this idea developed an alternative choice to *autaq*. For instance, they discussed the educational issues. They sought advices about the education of their children and talked about the state of education in the town and village schools. Sometimes, they also approached the teachers to help in building good character of their children. They were of the view that teacher-parents relations were keys to develop future of students. Thus, teachers were widely respected by people and they were trusted. In addition, the farmers also consulted each other when they faced health problems. Most of the small health problems were solved with the help of the advices and prescriptions given by the elders or other wise men. They normally used herbal medicines which were available at local shops. These issues actually so linked people that they could not escape. These social interactions and people to people contacts reduced the interventions of feudal lords.

Most of the issues discussed above constituted private affair in the nineteenth century partly because people were not confident enough to bring them into public sphere but mainly because of the lack of strong institution of public sphere. The development of hotels in the twentieth

century institutionalised the process of transformation and increased the confidence of people who were linked by social and cultural way of life. The hotels offered a new alternate space to the middle-class people who were looking for a place where no fear of domination could be felt. The *autaq* of landlord was not an open place for talking and discussing every issue. Only those matters were discussed which pleased the landlord and his admirers. Similarly, the religious institutions were limited by their religious services. They could not be developed as places where social, political and cultural issues could be debated and discussed openly. Rise in sectarian divide further reduced the possibility of these institutions to serve the purpose of public sphere.

Unlike these religious and feudal institutions, hotels emerged as new space for secular and free ideas where neither religious nor feudal norms were able to influence the public debate and discourse. Nevertheless, this cultural space was further enhanced by fairs and festivals which were celebrated at the shrines of *sufi pirs*. These sources generated unprecedented social change. However, bureaucracy was unable to respond positively to this social change. These opportunities could be fully utilised by bureaucracy to create social awareness. Bureaucracy could also launch social and economic projects aimed at skill development and job creation.

The contribution of this new space in the rise of consciousness of middle-class was threefold. First and foremost contribution of the space was to reduce the dependence of local people on a narrow space provided by landlord's *autaq*. They began to use new space for enjoying leisure activities. This also reduced the opportunities of landlords to enjoy their stranglehold over the villagers and exploit them for their own interests. Farmers were also freed from the services they provided to landowners for free. Secondly, the new space proved strong front against the rise of all forms of political extremism which were being imposed in order to explode the harmony and tolerance in society. Thus, new spaces provided a platform to the tolerant and moderate masses who disapproved of the forced versions of belief. Thus, for reconstruction and reformation in society, it was important to strengthen and encourage the role of new spaces for the development of new ideas and creating progressive thinking. These social spaces could contribute in a number of ways to end most of problems people faced these days. For instance, if bureaucracy had launched some projects earlier with little investment, the results would have been very positive. Thus, these spaces could be used as bastions of peace and tolerance against the spread of extremist forces in society.

For example, in the 1980s, local and upper level bureaucracies could convert the hotel culture into a source of information and social reform. They could modify behaviours and shape the attitudes of people through technological means of information and literature. Formation of new attitudes through process of motivation and inspiration could be a useful strategy to contain the rise in all forms of extremism in society. The role of these hotels to provide entertainment could be made more effective in order to contain criminal menace that ravaged the people. Psychological studies have indicated that the criminal tendencies are likely to develop when people are lonely or frustrated about the system or they have nothing to do in life. People unsatisfied from their lives are susceptible to crime. Rodriguez mentions researchers such as Driver and his colleagues arguing that there was a relationship between enjoying leisure activities and satisfaction of psychological needs (Rodriguez, 2008: 166). Thus, hotels played a significant role in reduction of criminal tendencies. Thus, the rise in good entertainment facilities and flow of positive information and awareness provided at hotels and other social institutions has a strong relationship with a tolerant and peaceful society required for social and economic prosperity.

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