

Chapter VI

Bhutias in Bureaucracy of Sikkim

In this chapter, we look into Bhutias' representation in the Sikkimese bureaucracy. The chapter examines their representation and performance as bureaucrats in various administrative structures in the pre and post-merger era.

We first look into the existing theories on bureaucracy and organisational design and structure to understand the role of bureaucracy in the contemporary world. The chapter has two sections, section I begins with the general meaning and introduction of bureaucracy in the modern world. The section deals with the Bhutias in bureaucracy in the pre-merger period. Section II deals with the Bhutias in bureaucracy in the post-merger period in Sikkim.

Section I

Pre-merger Period

The word Bureaucracy comes from the Latin word '*burr*' which means '*a dark and somber colour*' and the Greek word '*cracy*'. The word *burr* is related to the French word '*la bure*', signifying a piece of cloth laid on the desks used by government officials. Later, it was understood as the room from which the public or government officials functioned. The French Minister of Commerce, Vincent de Gournay, referred bureaucratic to public officers (Verma, 1915-16, pp.716-718). Bureaucracy has a prominent role to play in any form of government. Bureaucrats are the ones who are actual actors within the state, monitoring and imposing material and symbolic effects on the functioning of the state.

Historians maintain that 'bureaucracy' is one of the ancient systems of administration in history. As such, bureaucracy is believed to be as old as human civilization. The origin or emergence of bureaucracy goes back to the ancient period of 10,000 years. Bureaucracy played a formidable role in power stabilizing, public works implementation and developmental planning. Since ancient times, bureaucracy has played a dominant role in the execution of administrative functions. For example, in great empires and civilisations like Persian, Chinese, and Roman, bureaucracy played a key role in the administration. Bureaucracy received much attention in the twentieth century with the creation of new nation states in the world. The beginning of the

conceptualisation of a welfare state further expanded their realms of role and functions (Marx, 1957, pp.17-18).

The development of bureaucracy as an instrument of a state structure has a long historical background. The term 'bureaucracy' was used first in France in 1764. Since then, it has formed an important part in the analysis of the administration of modern states (Heywood, 2013, p 356). The administration of the state functions on the ideal of separation of works at all levels, depending upon the role of bureaucracy. Max Weber, who is regarded as one of the pioneer founders of modern discipline of sociology, states that it is the bureaucracy that enacts the actual power of the state. The bureaucracy always tries to secure the status and position of the bureaucrats at present and also in future advancements. This view tries to explain why the public in general is under those who always demand minimized powers of the officials or bureaucrats who always try to promote their status in the state (Weber, 1922 (1968), pp. 956–958, 999–101).

In the structure of state government as propounded by Max Weber, bureaucracy is organised on the basis of eight principles: the official tasks are organised on a continuous and regulated basis; the tasks are divided into different functional departments; hierarchy in the offices is maintained; functions of the departments are carried according to technical and legal rules; the resources of the organisations are distinctively separated from the members of private individuals; administration is conducted through proper written documents and files; and legal authority prevails in all the functioning of the bureaucracy. The new state of Sikkim strived to organise the state administrative structure following the principles of bureaucracy that most modern states have applied since the merger and attainment of statehood ushered major administrative changes.

Bureaucracy, since its inception, has always acted as an effective bridge between the government and the people and is engaged in the implementation and execution of policies. The bureaucrats exert considerable influence on the policy process (Heywood, 2013, p. 361). Public services in the state are always executed through bureaucracy. Without bureaucracy, the state administration cannot function (Bhattacharya, 2016, pp. 57-59).

In a bureaucratic structure, the officials are designated at different levels of administration with the principle of hierarchy which is a prime characteristic of bureaucracy. The day to day administration and the socio-economic development of the state directly depends on the effectiveness of bureaucracy.

B. K. Verma, in his book, '*Modern Indian political system: problems and prospects*' refers to Fainsod's five different forms of Bureaucracies; Representative Bureaucracies, Party State Bureaucracies, Military dominated Bureaucracies, Ruler Dominated Bureaucracies and Ruling Bureaucracies. The Sikkimese bureaucracy represented the Ruling Bureaucracies (Verma, 2006, p.117). Referring to Max Weber's definition of bureaucracy, the representatives in a bureaucracy are always appointed. He talks about the 'theory of domination'. The theory expands on the existence of power in the ruler in any established authority. The administrative apparatus comprises the people who are followers, relatives and servants of the ruler. Under the feudal system, it is mostly dominated by the feudal lords who actually act as intermediators between the ruler and the ruled (Bhattacharya, 2016, pp. 54-55).

Few studies have been undertaken so far on the bureaucracy of Sikkim in the pre-merger period. Analysis of the bureaucracy of Sikkim and the role of Bhutias in particular have been drawn from the limited sources and the discussions made by various historians on the administrative structure during the monarchy period. The bureaucratic set up in Sikkim has been talked about in the light of monks (high Lamas) holding important posts along with the *Dzongpons* (governor), *Kazis* and *Thekadars*. The holding of high posts and the distribution of power by the *lamas* (mostly Bhutias) permits us to understand that the Bhutias controlled all the bureaucratic posts under Chogyal. However, as mentioned in the earlier chapter, the acculturation of Lepchas to Buddhist customs and culture as well as inter-marriage between them, also favoured some Lepchas to occupy high posts in the administrative set up.

Providing advice to the political executive is an important function of bureaucracy. The same function was extended by the bureaucrats in Sikkim during the Chogyal period. The monks who also functioned as bureaucrats, acted as strong political advisers to the ruler. The *Kazis* and monks performed the duties of bureaucrats. It is known that one of the main roles of bureaucrats is to carry out the administrative justice. The *Kazis* and monks who formed the bureaucracy in Sikkim handled several types of cases and disputes for the common people. They controlled the financial administration as well. They were assigned with the function of collection of taxes, which is a crucial function of bureaucracy. They controlled the tax-structure, tax-administration and collection revenues in their respective *elakas*.

Since the beginning of the Bhutia rule in Sikkim, the structure and functioning of the newly established country followed the Tibetan structure, having strong administrative base on

feudalistic norms and religious sanctions. The bureaucracy in Sikkim was founded on a feudal basis with feudal lords, *Kazis*, *Thekadars* and *Lamas* (monks) acting as bureaucrats appointed by the ruler, concentrating most of the power in their hands.

Administration in Sikkim was established through the centralized bureaucratic model until the abolition of zamindari system in the 1940's and eventually the Sikkim's merger with Indian federation in 1975. The historical traces of Sikkim administration performances in several evaluations suggest a study on its successes and failures, mainly, the resistance posed by other existing ethnic groups such as Lepchas and Limboos, commoners and political organisations.

Bureaucracy in pre-merger Sikkim was mostly rule bound, exploitative, elitist, and repressive under absolutist monarchy. The Chogyal, *Kazis* and the land lords took charge of the administration where public representation was not considered. The rule of the *Kazis* and landlords, who were mostly Lepchas and Bhutias, was not much liked by the Nepalese. The resistance against the repressive bureaucracy took a major escalation from the 1940's when the first political movement broke out. The advent of the British also brought necessary changes in the bureaucratic system. Again, the abolition of the judicial and magisterial functions of the landlords brought changes in the bureaucratic system of Sikkim. Furthermore, the tripartite agreement among the government of India, leaders of political parties in Sikkim and the then Chogyal, Palden Thendup Namgyal, in 1973, which made the Chogyal the constitutional head of the country brought gradual changes in the bureaucratic system in Sikkim.

Earlier, during the monarchy system, the administration of the country was managed through twelve *Dzongs* or districts, namely, Lassu, Dallon, Yangthang, Song, Libing, Maling, Simik, and Pandom etc. These were placed under the district chief or *Dzongpen*, all belonging to the leading Bhutia and Lepcha families in the country. They were also called *Kazis*. After the initial start of Bhutia rule in Sikkim, the Lepchas came under the subjugation of the Bhutias through different ends and treaties and were included in the administration of the country.²⁶

²⁶Matrimonial alliances took place between the Lepchas and the Bhutias. So acculturation of Buddhist customs and culture of took place among the Lepchas. This enabled the group of Lepchas who had close affiliation to the ruler secure a higher status in the social hierarchy as compared to other existing communities. The marital relationship of the Lepchas with Bhutias led to birth of a new class, recognized to be as *Kazis*. The *kazis* became the elite class after the Chogyal. They were the landlords and enjoyed powers over the lands, however Chogyal remained the final authority over the landed property.

The central administration was vested in the Chogyal. Under him was the Council of twelve ministers, mostly belonging to Bhutia families (Sinha, 1995). In the history of Sikkim, *Kazis* as bureaucrats were instrumental in assisting the political rule in the country. *Kazis* developed to be in the highest strata and level of administration. The lamas received high position among the other groups of people. The *Lamas* (mostly heads of six prominent monasteries) were always consulted on various issues and decisions by the Chogyal. So, within the Bhutia community, there was a presence of stratified society, with the lamas as the clergy, the *Kazis* as the aristocracy and the commoners enjoying the lowest position in the social status. The strategy for including the monks in the administration was due to the influence of huge monasteries which were under them. The monasteries functioned as both administrative and revenue collection centres. The six prominent monasteries were Pema Yangtsee, Tashiding, Phensang, Ralong, Rumtek and Phodong. The first three monasteries belonged to the Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism and remaining belonged to Kyagupa sect.²⁷ Hence, the monks and the monasteries performed important role in social, economic and political development of the country (Sinha 1975, p.39).

There were no specific recruitment and training processes for bureaucrats during the Chogyal period. People with close attachments and affinities were appointed in the high posts. The bureaucrats occupied the position next to the ruler in the administrative hierarchy, as the *Sidlon* and the secretaries. From field survey conducted in 1970-72, A.C Sinha projected that bureaucrats comprised of 36.30% of Bhutias, of which 34.68 % belonged to aristocrat families that included relatives of royal family and *Kazis* which also represented Bhutua families, 27.42% were *Kazis* and 7.26 % were represented by Newars. The entire recruitment process of the bureaucracy depended upon feudal elements. The administration of the country was conducted through various offices of the government. The identified public offices in 1970 were those of the *Sidlon* or Dewan, Chief Secretary, Departmental Secretaries, Departmental Directors and Executive Councillors (Sinha, 2008, pp. 76-77 &174).

As per documents procured in the Sikkim State Archives²⁸, prior to 1975, there existed 'the Secretariat established for carrying out the administration. An organised secretariat was

²⁷ There are two Rumtek monasteries, the monastery that is referred in the chapter is the old Rumtek monastery and the Ralong monastery also refers to the old Ralang Monastery.

²⁸ The Sikkim State Archives was established as an Archives Section under the Art and Culture Department in 1976. It was renamed as the Sikkim State Archives in 1990, presently located at Zero point, Gangtok, National Highway

established to assist the Chogyal in administration. As discussed earlier, the Dewan headed the Secretariat and was supported by various Secretariat Departments. The conduct of administration was carried through three Secretariats:

- 1) The General Secretary was in charge of police, arms and ammunition, land administration, registration, cooperative credit societies, forest, political, post, telegraphs and stationery administration.
- 2) The Judicial Secretary was in charge of education, medical health administration (including sanitation), ecclesiastical, jails, income tax, excise, bazar, veterinary, stamps, census and transport.
- 3) The Finance Secretary was in charge of the state budget processes, accounting and auditing government employee salaries. In addition to these three secretariats, a State Council of nine members existed, which provided support in secretariat administration.

The traditional administrative structure was based on the model of a five-member secretariat. Sikkim being a feudal state and the secretariat was mostly comprised of members belonging to the feudal class. The revenue collection and management of the state was vested in the members of secretariat. The local administration of the country was entrusted to the *Kazis* and the *Thekadars*, who made their own arrangements in performing their functions under their jurisdiction.

The administrative structure of Sikkim underwent severe changes due to British intervention. The change and implementation of the new bureaucratic system were initiated by John Claude White in 1888. The task assigned to him was to understand the administrative situation in Sikkim because Sikkim during those times was undergoing administrative problems. Then Chogyal, Thutob Namgyal, was living in Tibet. A new administrative structure was designed by the Political Officer, J.C White. The Chogyal was requested to come back to Sikkim and take his seat but the request was not obliged by the Chogyal. The inclusion of the ruler in the designing of the new administrative structure was much needed and felt by the Political Officer, but this could not happen since the Chogyal refused to be part of it (Sinha, 1975, pp. 19-20).

10 Earlier known as 31-A. The State Archives preserved the record holdings of 15 Secretariat Department of the Darbar period prior to merger.

Nevertheless, the existing administrative system was replaced by the new system introduced by the Political Officer, which made him the predominant authority in the country. After his return to Sikkim in 1905, Chogyal Thutob Namgyal had great difficulty restoring administrative power. It was only in 1918 that the administrative powers were transferred back to the Chogyal, then Tashi Namgyal. Till then, the administration was controlled by the Political Officer (Sinha, 1975, p.20).

The major change was seen in the land administration of the country with the initiation of the existing bureaucratic system. The functioning of the new system brought some visible exhaustion in the bureaucratic powers of *Kazis*. Chogyal Tashi Namgyal's period also saw tremendous socio-economic transition in Sikkim. The abolition of landlord's judicial and magisterial powers in 1948 led to the abolition of the practices of forced labour like *Jharlangi* and *Kuruwa*.

The Sidlon was the highest bureaucrat and ex-officio member of the State Council. After the dismissal of the first popular government in 1949, John C. Lall, ICS, was appointed as the first Dewan of Sikkim on August 11, 1949. Dewan was then the highest bureaucrat. According to A.C Sinha, the appointment of J. C Lall initiated a difference in the bureaucratic pattern in Sikkim. For administrative purposes and developmental plans, Sikkim was divided into four districts; East, West, North and South with headquarters Gangtok, Geyzing, Mangan and Namchi, respectively. The administration was in control of the Secretariat headed by Chief Secretary, with all the pertinent departments like finance, trade and industry, revenue and panchayats under its control.

6.1.1. Land Administration

Since Sikkim was a feudal state, a major transition point in the policies was in land administration. For the purpose of land administration, there were two *tehsils* as revenue districts, one each in East district and West district. The entire land in the country was adjusted and arranged as per the State Revenue Roll. The new revenue collection system based on the trigonometric survey of all lands was introduced in Sikkim. To initiate revenue collection, the revenue division was introduced under lessee system. Three classes of *Illakas* were created. These were classified as follows: Class 1 *Illakas* that was leased out, Class 2 *Illakas* that were managed directly and Class 3 *Illakas* that were managed by Monasteries. Three different systems

of collection of revenue were arranged for three different classes of *Illakas*. The detailed revenue collection system under each *Illakas* was rearranged as:

1. **Class 1-** the *Illakas* which are leased out to various *Illakadars* on fixed annual revenue, known as *Khazana*. In this system of revenue collection, fixed amount as land rent had to be paid by the lease holders annually. 91 of *Illakas* were placed under this system.
2. **Class 2-** in this type the *Illaksas* were place under direct management of the state. There were total 11 *Illakas*. The administration of the *Illakas* was entrusted to different managers of the state Bank who also maintained the records.
3. **Class 3** type dealt with the monastery estates. Seven *Illakas* were placed under this class. The monasteries were exempted from paying land rent collected from the ryots. The revenue was utilized for religious activities in the monasteries (Bhattacharya, 1994, p.110).

The re-bureaucratization of the administration system made certain land arrangements that, in the later phases became the basis for the development of the democratic apparatus.

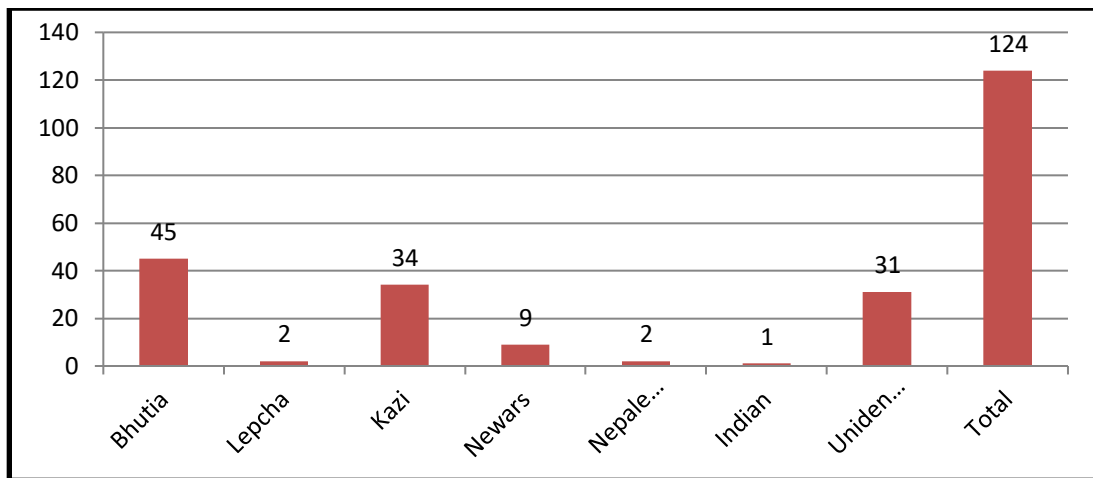
The country witnessed a new type of recruitment process which was based on the development plans initiated in the Indian First Seven Year Plan (1954-1961). Though the new set brought new changes in the entire functioning of the state, the traditional influence of the bureaucracy did not cease in Sikkim. Personal considerations at the highest level continued to dominate the selection of bureaucrats and civil servants. The predominance of Bhutias and Lepchas as power holders did not end here. As pointed out by A.C Sinha through a field study in 1970, it is clear that out of a total of 124 officials in the higher bureaucracy in the country, 45 bureaucrats, highest in number, represented the Bhutia community. The number was followed by *Kazis* with 34 and the Newars, 9 bureaucrats representing the Nepali community. Sinha further pointed out that in the analysis of the bureaucrats in Sikkim, about 63.11% of the civil servants were relatives of the ruler, 18.75% were drawn from families with feudal adherence to the ruler and mostly comprised of Bhutias (Sinha, 2008, p.174).

Table 6.1.1. Ethnic Representation in the Higher Bureaucracy -1975

Sl. No	Community	Number of Bureaucrats
1	Bhutia	45
2	Lepcha	2
3	Kazi	34
4	Newars	9
5	Nepalese	2
6	Indian	1
7	Unspecified	31
8	Total	124

Source: A.C Sinha, 2008, p 173.

Fig. 6.1.1. Distribution of Number of Bureaucrats -1975



Source: Based on the table No. 6.1.1.

From this it may be interpreted that the Bhutias were highly represented in the highest positions in the administration of the country till 1970s.

Despite many challenges and decline of political power, the Bhutias have been seen as powerful and influential figures who constituted the highest bureaucrats in the country.

Section II

Post-merger Period

Concern about the role of bureaucracy in Sikkim has been a serious issue in Sikkim in the post-merger period, as the period posed many developmental challenges. The abolition of feudalism and the appointment of a Dewan as an administrative head paved the way for many new administrative mechanisms in the functioning of the bureaucracy. Furthermore, the merger of Sikkim in 1975 led to a drastic transition in the political and economic structures, which consequently led to the restructuring of the state administration into a purely bureaucratic structure.

For about a year after the merger, the political climate remained quite stormy, which delayed the reestablishment of the administrative functioning as per the requirements. It was only after the first democratic election in 1974 that a new bureaucratic structure made its way into Sikkim and started functioning accordingly. The initial tasks in bureaucracy organization included professionalization and adjustments in civil servants in the new structure. The process received many challenges from various perspectives. Sikkim, as a new democratic state, essentially favoured professional bureaucrats to lead the state towards the process of development.

After 1975, twenty-four departments were created for administrative purposes. The departments were as follows:

1. Agriculture Department
2. Animal Husbandry Department
3. Bazar Department
4. Co-operative Department
5. Education Department
6. Ecclesiastical Department
7. Electricity Department
8. Establishment Department
9. Excise Department
10. Finance Department
11. Food Supplies and Fair Price Shops Department
12. Forest Department
13. General Excise and Motor Vehicles Department
14. Home Department
15. land Revenue Department
16. law Department
17. Legislative Department
18. Medical and Public Health Department
19. Panchayat and Rural Works Department

20. Planning and Development Department
21. Press publicity and Cultural Affairs Department
22. Public Works Department
23. Tourism Department
24. Trade Industry and Commerce Department.

(Source: Secretariat Record (Durbar Period), Sikkim State Archives ²⁹).

Sikkim was in great need of experienced people to take up the new administrative responsibilities. The local people and also the officials and bureaucrats of erstwhile Sikkim could not meet the requirement of running the administration. This led to the bringing in of more bureaucrats from the central government. The inclusion of people from outside the state in the administrative posts was not welcomed by the local bureaucrats. Nevertheless, the Sikkimese people had to adjust to the new bureaucratic services in the state, and it brought competitiveness among them for positions in the administration (Gurung, 2011, p.225).

The post-merger period was a challenge for the government of Sikkim as several attempts were made to establish bureaucracy on the lines of the ethnic distribution component. Various forms of recruitment procedures were tried to reconcile the demands of state modernisation (with a professional bureaucracy) with the specific needs of various ethnic groups. Under the new situation, the Bhutias found it easier to get entry as bureaucrats. Their status and position allowed them to occupy high posts in the state administration as compared to other communities. A.C Sinha recognised that there were two reasons for Bhutias to get into these bureaucratic posts. First, it was their affiliation to the royal family, as well as their socio-economic status and second, their educational background that gave them an edge above the other communities. Sinha further added that the highest bureaucratic posts in the state in 1975 were possessed by the Bhutias which made 36% of the total bureaucrats (Sinha, 2008, p.174).

After merger in 1975, the record of the community wise distribution of bureaucrats in the civil service cadre in 1997 enumerates that out of a total of 240 bureaucrats in Group A and Group B

²⁹ The records collected include: Census Department: 1902-1960, p. 20; Dubar Department: 1898-1939, p.172; Development Department: 1954, p.5; Education Department: 1905-1956, p.40; Excise Department:1909-1958, p. 18; Finance Department: 1909-1974, p.259; General Department: 1909-1961, p. 843; Health Department: 1955-1961, p. 3; Industries Department: 1953-1962, p. 5; Information Public Relations Department: 1955-1962, p.2; Judicial Department:1907-1943, p. 2; Land Revenue Department: 1903-1963, p. 120; Police Department: 1909-1954,p.63; Veterinary Department 1923, p. 1.

in the State Civil Service Cadre, Nepalese were represented the most, followed by Bhutias and Lepchas.

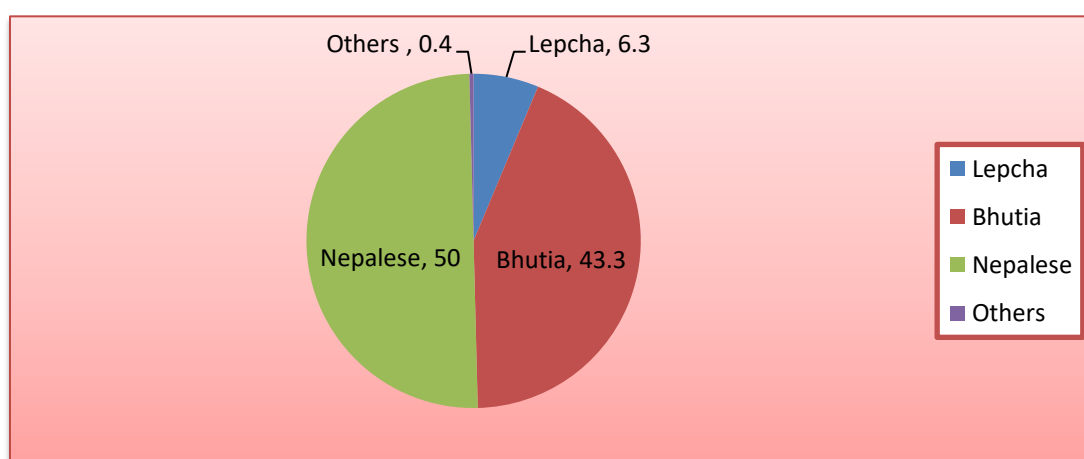
Table 6.2.1.
Community-wise Distribution of Bureaucrats in the State Civil Service Cadre – 1997

Community	Group A	Percentage (%)	Group B	Percentage (%)	Total	Percentage (%)
Lepcha	12	6.7	03	4.9	15	6.3
Bhutia	88	49.4	16	25.9	104	43.3
Nepalese	77	43.2	43	69.3	120	50.00
Others	01	0.6	-	-	01	0.4
Total	178	100.00	62	100.00	240	100.00

Source: Department of personnel and Administrative Reforms and Training- Gangtok, 1997.

Based on the representation of the communities in the State Civil Service, 1997, the Bhutias as a single community had the highest share in the Group ‘A’ category in the state bureaucracy. It is noteworthy that 49.4% of bureaucrats in Grade ‘A’ were Bhutias, making them the most dominant community in the state bureaucracy. The Nepalese, who are numerically larger, had the highest share in Group ‘B’ with 69.3%. Nepalese constitute 50% of the total share and Bhutias followed the Nepalese with a 25.9% share in the State Civil Service Cadre in Group ‘B’ category.

Fig 6.2.1. Ethnic Distribution of Bureaucrats in the State Civil Service Cadre -1997



Source: Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms and Training- Gangtok, 1997.

Considering bureaucrats from both the groups (Group ‘A’ and Group ‘B’), Nepalese made up 50% of the total bureaucrats in the state civil service cadre. The Bhutias had 43.3% as bureaucrats in the state civil service cadre. Lepchas on the contrary, are poorly represented in the state bureaucracy. They have the least percentage with only 6.3% represented in the state civil services.

Similarly, the data on the highest bureaucrats in the state in 1999 elicits the community wise distribution of officials as IAS, IPS, and IFS. As per the numerical strength, the Bhutias have the highest with a total of 35 officers (including all three categories). Second in the line is the Nepalese group with 17 officers, and 35 officers belong to the other categories³⁰.

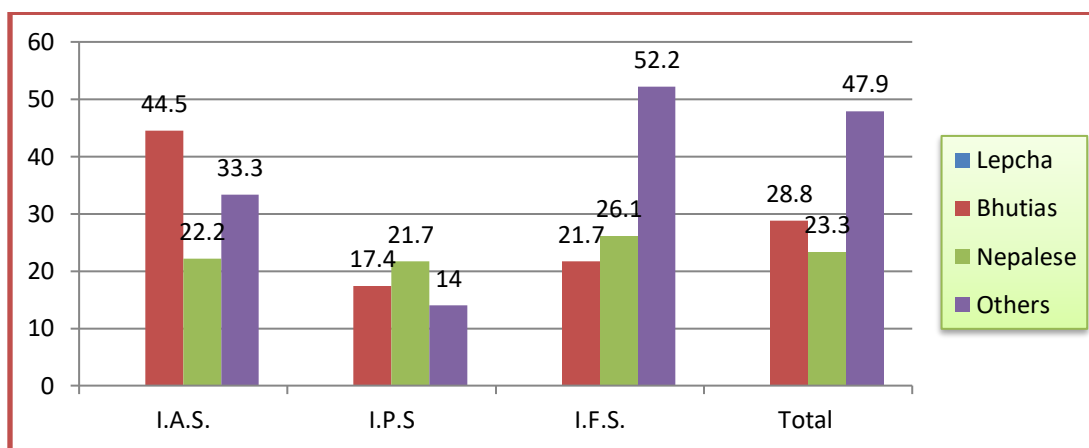
Table 6.2.2. Community Background of Officers in National Bureaucratic Cadre, 1999.

Communities	I.A.S.	I.P.S.	I.F.S.	Total
Lepcha	-	-	-	-
Bhutia	12 (44.5%)	04 (17.4%)	05 (21.7%)	21 (28.8%)
Nepalese	06 (22.2%)	05 (21.7%)	06(26.1%)	17 (23.3%)
Others	09 (33.3%)	14 (60.9%)	12 (52.2%)	35 (47.9%)
T otal	27 (100.00%)	23 (100.00%)	23 (100.00%)	73 (100.00%)

Source: Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms and Training, Gangtok, December, 1999.

It is observed that not a single person from Lepcha community is represented in any of the national bureaucratic cadre in the state.

Fig. 6.2.2 Community-wise Percentage of Bureaucrats (National cadre), 1999.



Source: Based on Table No.6.2.2.

³⁰ Others refer to the non-Sikkimese officers posted in Sikkim.

The ethnic community background of officers in the national bureaucratic cadre in 1999 highlights that 47.9% of officers are from outside Sikkim. The Bhutias had the highest representation amongst the people of Sikkim, with 28.7% and the Nepalese had a share of 23.3%. Among the Bhutias, the highest representation is seen in the Indian Administrative services (IAS) with 44.5%, followed by the Indian Forest Services (IFS) with 21.7 % and 17.4% in the Indian Police Services (IPS).

According to the available statistics provided by the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reform & Training, Government of Sikkim, in 1999 and 2005, it appears that the Bhutias continued to hold the highest number of administrative posts in the state. In total, 28.7% of administrators were Bhutias in 1999. The percentage of Bhutia bureaucrats in 2005 shows a slight decline, which is marked at 21% as compared to 1999. Nevertheless, its representation is still the highest in the state. Not only did the participation of Bhutias in state administration grow, the number of civil servants in higher bureaucratic posts also increased.

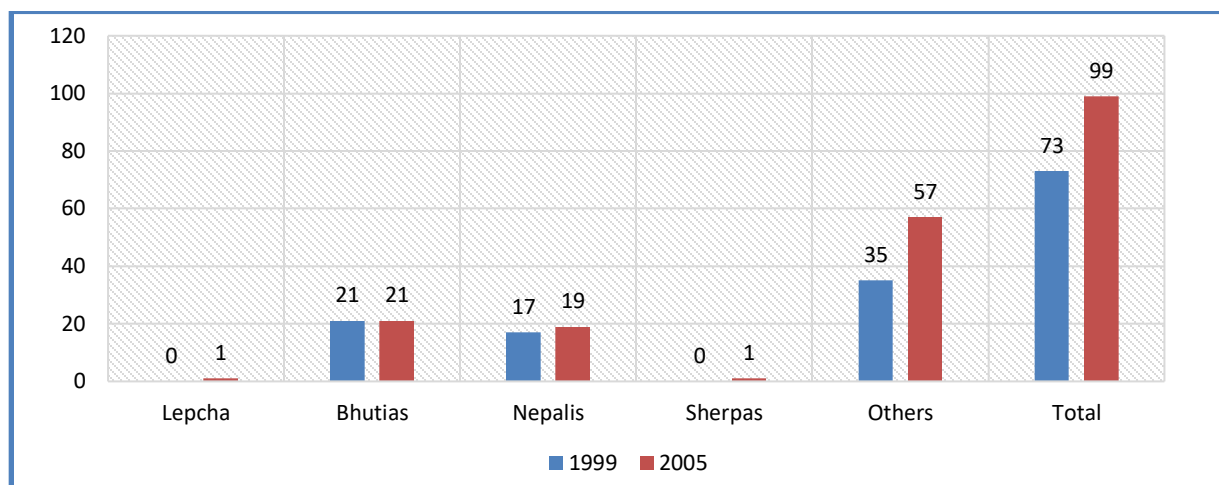
Table 6.2.3. Ethnic Background of the Bureaucrats in Sikkim – 1999 & 2005

Number of cadres and percentage								
Ethnic Communities	1999				2005			
	IAS	IPS	IFS	Total	IAS	IPS	IFS	Total
Lepcha	-	-	-	-	01(2.1)	-	-	01
Bhutia	12 (44.5)	04 (17.4)	05(21.7)	21	13(28.3)	03(12.0)	05(17.8)	21
Nepalese	06(22.2)	05(21.7)	06(26.1)	17	9(19.6)	4(16.0)	6(21.4)	19
Sherpas	-	-	-	-	01(2.1)	-	-	01
Others	09(33.3)	14(60.9)	12(52.2)	35	22(47.8)	18(72.0)	17(60.7)	57
Total	27	23	23	73	46	25	28	99

Source: Department of Personnel & Administrative Reform & Training, Government of Sikkim, 1999 and 2005

Fig. 6.2.3.

Community-wise Comparative Status of Highest Bureaucrats in Sikkim – 1999 & 2005



Source: Department of Personnel & Administrative Reform & Training, Government of Sikkim, 1999 and 2005

Sikkimese officers as IPS shows that the Bhutia community has the highest representation in 1999 and three in 2005. Two each from the ST category (Tamang, Limboo and Sherpa) and the Nepalese group are represented in this cadre.

Table 6.2.4. List of IPS Officers, 2004-2005

Designations /Post held	Bhutia	Lepcha	ST-Tamang, Limboo, Sherpa	Nepali	Others
DGP/IGP/DIGP	4	0	2	2	7
SP/SDPO	0	0	0	0	9

Source: DESME, Govt. of Sikkim, 2006.

As per the records on the bureaucratic statistics provided in the Statistical Report, Directorate of Economic and Statistical Monitoring and Evaluation (DESME), 2006, the Sikkimese representation as IAS officers in the state has declined as a whole. But even then, of the total 14 IAS officers from the state, Bhutias have the highest number, followed by Nepalese and others.

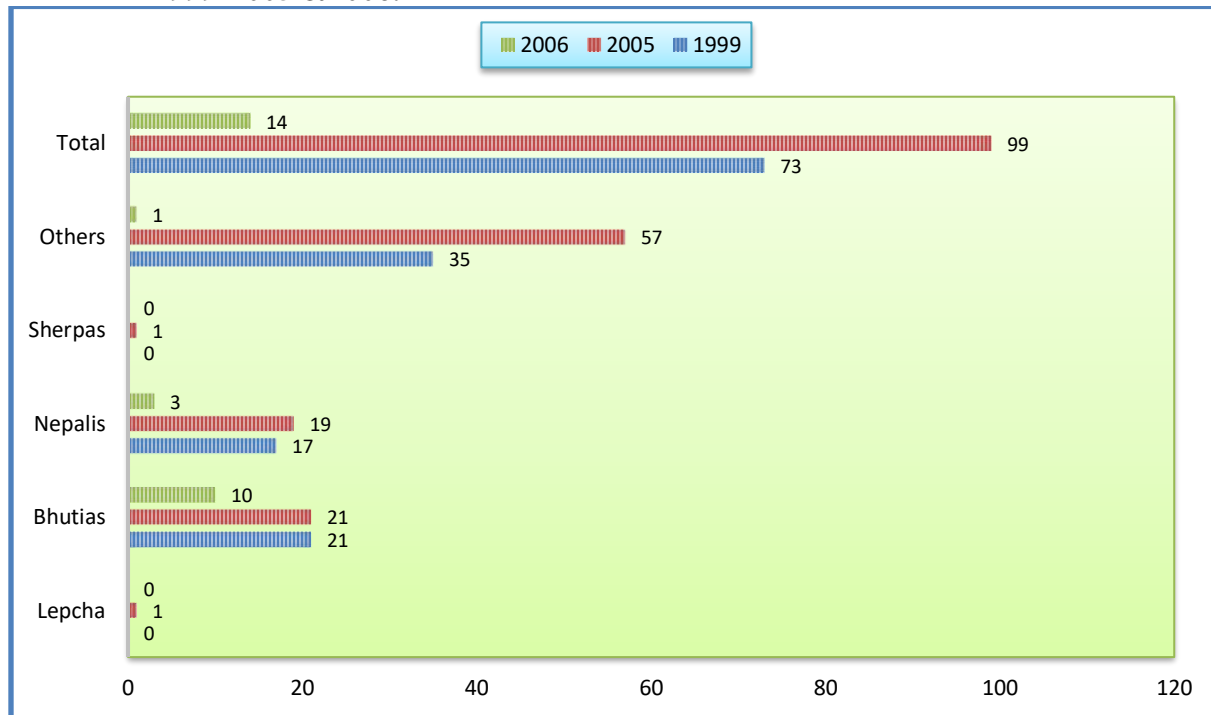
Table 6.2.5. List of Highest Cadre (IAS) in Sikkim, 2006

Community	Numbers
Bhutia	10
Lepcha	0
Nepalese	3
Others	1
Total	14

Source: Statistical Report, DESME, 2006.

The comparative study of the distribution of ethnic stock as higher bureaucrats leads to an understanding of the representation of different communities over the years. For this purpose, a comparative analysis has been made for the years 1999, 2005 and 2006.

Fig. 6.2.4. Comparative Study of the Distribution of Ethnic Stock in Higher Bureaucracy, 1999-2005 & 2006.



Source : Socio-economic Census, Directorate of Economic and Statistical Monitoring and Evaluation, Govt of Sikkim, 2006.

The figure represents a fall in the number of officials in the highest bureaucratic posts among all the three communities. A drastic fall was seen in the year 2006. From a total of 99 officials in 2005, it has come down to only 14.

In 2015, about 35.5% of Bhutia officers were represented in the department of Irrigation and FC Department in the East district alone. The Lepchas represented 12.9% and the Nepalese were 45.2%.

Table 6.2.6.
Officers & Staff Working under Irrigation & FC Department as on 30th April, 2015

Bhutia	Lepcha	ST-Tamang, Limboo, Sherpa	Nepali	Total
11	4	2	14	31

Source: Department of Personnel, Administrative Reforms and Training, Govt. of Sikkim, 2015.

After Sikkim's merger with Indian Union in May, 1975, the process of recruitment of officers for the administration of the state was initiated. It began with the establishment of State Public Service Commission (SPSC) in the year 1978, as per the Constitutional Provision under Article 315. The provision envisages having a Public Service Commission for the States. In Sikkim, the actual functioning of the State Public Service Commission began in 1982, which enabled the appointment of the Chairman and staffs from the State Government.

The organisational operations of any state depend upon the recruitment and selection of its officials, known as bureaucrats, who are entrusted with the administrative responsibilities. Systematic procedures are involved in the recruitment processes, which involve both resources and time. In this context, the SPSC accordingly fulfills the task of recruitment of such officials from the bureaucracy. The purpose of assigning such a responsible task to SPSC is that recruitment and selection itself is an important process that needs to select the right people to ensure sustained organisational performance within the state. The initiation of recruitment processes through SPSC in the state has enabled an adjustment in the inclusion of all communities. Thus, we see through various data of various departments, that all sections of society have been represented in the state bureaucracy.

Similarly, the basic purpose of selecting the bureaucrats through recruitment procedures is to produce a pool of able candidates required for the best performance of the organisation. The SPSC follows the recruitment process with immediate selection of the candidates through a final interview process. The data available provides a picture of the ethnic groups represented in the state bureaucracy.

The representation of Bhutias visa-vis other communities in the bureaucracy of the state as of 2017 is presented in the following tables. Each table gives an illustration of the department wise distribution of ethnic communities in the state.

6.2.1. Representation of Bhutias in the Department of Finance and Accounts Service, 2017

Table 6.2.7. Finance and Accounts Service as on 01.05 2017

Sl. No	Designation	Bhutias	Lepcha	Nepali (Including SC)	ST (Limboo/Tamang & Subba)	Total
1	Principal Director	0	0	2	1	3
2	Director	2	0	7	0	9
4	Addl. Director (Accounts)	4	0	8	2	14
5	Chief Accounts Officer	7	1	15	6	29
6	Sr. Accounts Officer	6	1	30	3	40
7	Accounts Officer	9	0	34	5	49
8	Total	28	2	96	17	144

Source: Department of Personnel, Administrative Reforms and Training, Govt. of Sikkim, 2017.

Bhutias hold 19.4% of the "A" grade cadre positions in the Finance and Accounts Service. The number is quite impressive as compared to other communities. Nepalese groups, including Schedule Caste (SC) have the highest number, 96 out of a total of 144 of officials in the department.

6.2.2. Representation of Bhutias in the Department of Transparency Officer/ Appellate Authority/ SPIO/ASPIO

The number of officials in the department of Transparency Officer/Appellate Authority/ SPIO/ASPIO³¹ highlights that the department comprises a total of 469 officials in total. The highest number of officials are SPIO's, Additional Directors and Joint Directors.

³¹ The officers include Appellate: Director, Additional Director, Additional Chief Executive, Chief Executive Officer, Pr. Registrar, Additional Registrar, Joint Registrar, Special Secretary, Additional Secretary, CEO, PCE,

Table 6.2.8. List of Transparency Officer/ Appellate Authority/ SPIO/ASPIO – 2017

Sl. No	Designation	Bhutia	Lepcha	Nepali (Including SC)	ST(Limboo/ Tamang& Subba)	Others	Total
1	Transparency Officer	6	3	16	2	2	29
2	Appellate Authority	20	4	44	5	6	79
3	SPIO Additional Director, Joint Director	56	7	95	18	5	181
4	ASPIO	66	10	80	21	3	180
5	Total	148	24	235	46	16	469

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2017.

Categorically looking at the distribution of officers, the Bhutias have a total of 148 officers, while the Nepalese have the highest number of 235 officers, followed by Scheduled Tribe (ST) with a total of 46 officers and Lepchas with 24 officers and others. Though it is clear that the percentage of Bhutias, Scheduled Tribe, Lepchas and others category officers is less in number in comparison to the Nepali community, it is relatively high when it is compared with their respective population.

6.2.3. Representation of Bhutias Officers in Important Departments in the State-2018

An insight on the representation of people (ethnic community wise) in important departments in the state in 2018 shows that the Nepalese as a whole have 140 officials, the Bhutias with 85 officials, the ST with 38 officials, the Lepchas with 17 officials and others have 4 officials representation.

Table 6.2.9. Community-wise List of Officers in Important Departments-2018

Posts held/ designation	Bhutia	Lepcha	Nepali	ST (Sherpa, Tamang & Limboo)	Others	Total
Non-MLA - Chairmen/Chairperson /Advisor with the rank of Dy. Minister of State	4	0	6	0	0	10
SFS Officers- Forests, Environment and Wildlife Management Department	48	9	52	13	2	122
Officers, Human Resource Development Department.	13	4	50	11	2	78

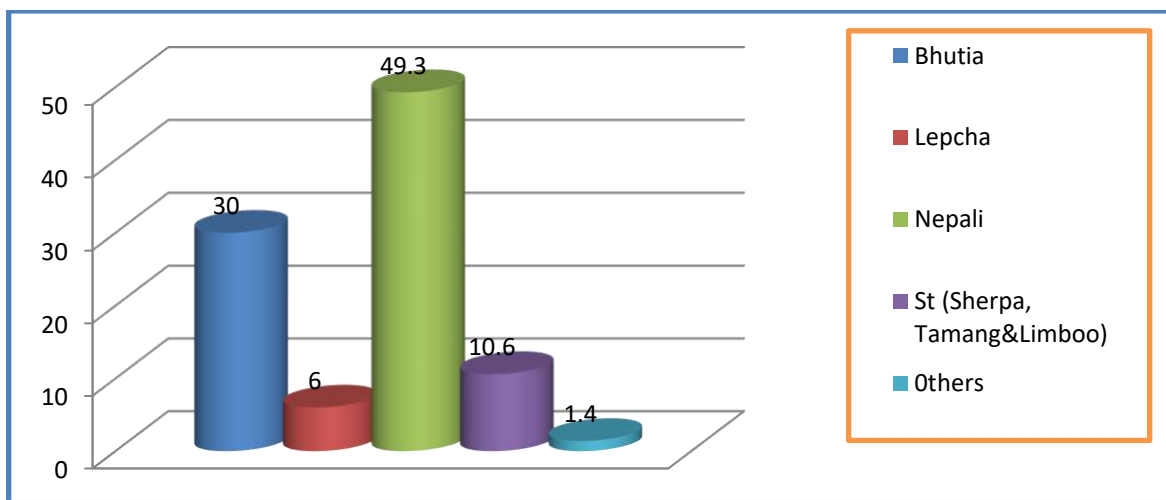
Secretary-Cum-Commissioner, Director of Accounts, CCF-cum-PD, Principal Director, Secretary, Additional Chief Engineer, D.C, ADGP/CID, C.E, Municipal Commissioner, GM, Managing Director and DGM.

List of officers of Buildings and Housing Department	17	2	27	4	0	50
Total	85	17	140	38	4	284

Source: Department of Information Technology, Govt. of Sikkim, 2018.

Relying on existing numerical data of ethnic communities in the important departments in the state, it can be said that all communities have representations in the state bureaucracy. The only difference seen is that there is a difference in the numbers. The Nepalese group as a whole has the highest number of officials. Bhutias, as a single community have the highest number. Lepchas are the least represented ethnic group in the state. A graphical illustration is also presented (Figure 6.2.5) to understand the representation of the ethnic groups.

Fig.6.2.5.
Percentage Representation of Ethnic Communities in Important Departments in the State-2018



Source: Department of Information Technology, Govt. of Sikkim, 2018.

Nepalese make half of the bureaucrats in the state’s important departments, while Bhutias make 30%, STs make 10.6% and Lepchas make only 6%. Hence, the administrative environment in Sikkim sees the inclusion of all categories and communities in the state.

Throughout the post-merger period, the state government is seeking new growth opportunities by recruiting new staff to achieve growth in the state. In the midst of these significant developmental processes, ethnic representation in different organizational sections has also taken place.

6.2.4. Bhutia Bureaucrats in Sikkim-2019

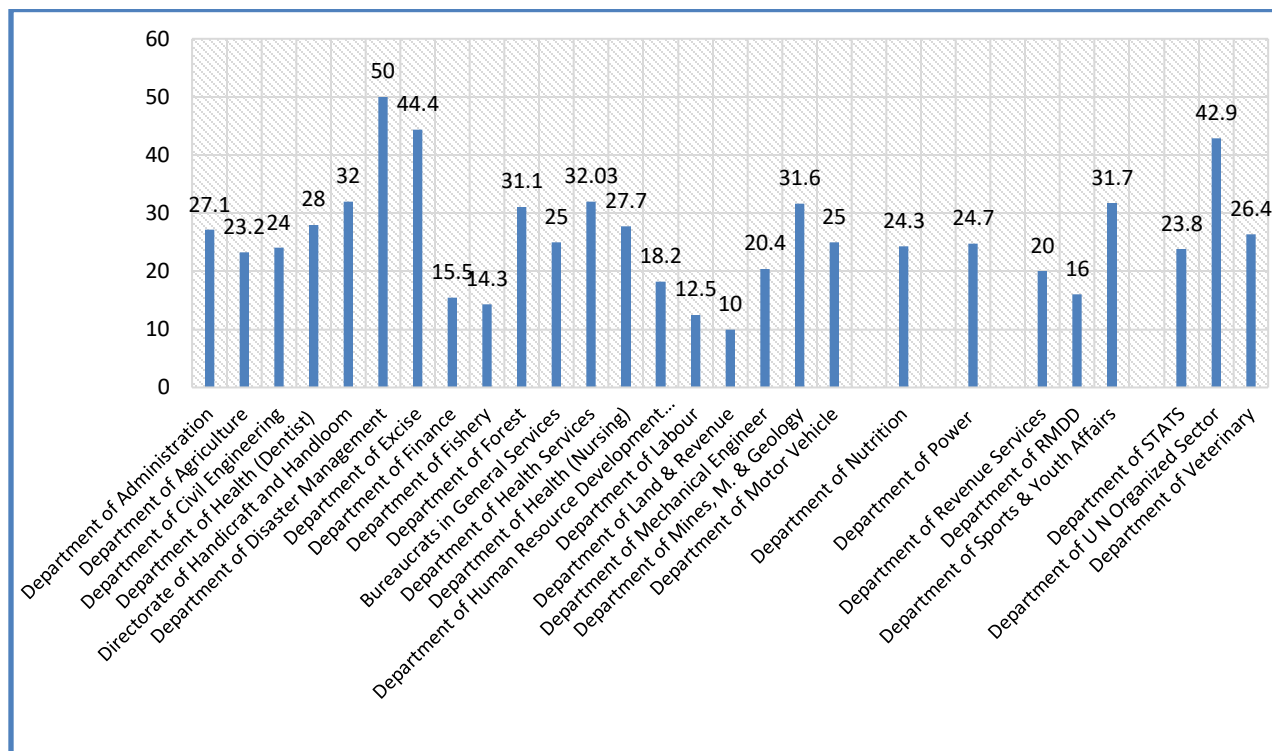
To further the analytical study on the Bhutias in bureaucracy in the post-merger period, bureaucratic statistics of 2019 have been referred to in the study.

Table 6.2.10. Bhutia Bureaucrats in Sikkim-2019

Sl. No	Department	Total bureaucrats	Bhutia bureaucrats	Bhutia Percentage %
1	Department of Administration	59	16	27.1
2	Department of Agriculture	125	29	23.2
3	Department of Civil Engineering	297	71	24
4	Department of Health (Dentist)	29	8	28
5	Directorate of Handicraft and Handloom	22	7	32
6	Department of Disaster Management	4	2	50
7	Department of Excise	9	4	44.4
8	Department of Finance	155	24	15.5
9	Department of Fishery	7	1	14.3
10	Department of Forest	119	37	31.1
11	Bureaucrats in General Services	132	33	25
12	Department of Health Services	206	66	32.03
13	Department of Health (Nursing)	47	13	27.7
14	Department of Human Resource Development Department (HRDD)	99	18	18.2
15	Department of Labour	8	1	12.5
16	Department of Land & Revenue	10	1	10
17	Department of Mechanical Engineer	54	11	20.4
18	Department of Mines, M. & Geology	19	6	31.6
19	Department of Motor Vehicle	8	2	25
20	Department of Nutrition	99	24	24.3
21	Department of Power	150	37	24.7
22	Department of Revenue Services	15	3	20
23	Department of RMDD	25	4	16
24	Department of Sports & Youth Affairs	41	13	31.7
25	Department of STATS	42	10	23.8
26	Department of U N Organized Sector	7	3	42.9
27	Department of Veterinary	91	24	26.4
	Total	8872	468	5.27

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Fig. 6.2.6. Bhutia Bureaucrats (in %) in Various Departments in the State, 2019.



Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

In 2019, Bhutias representation in the department of Disaster and Management was found to be the highest, i.e 50% of the total. 44.4% are in the Department of Excise and 42.9 % are in the unorganised sector. The Bhutia community accounts for 40 to 50 percent of the bureaucrats in these three departments.

Departments such as the Department of Land Revenue (20.4%), Revenue Services (20%), Mechanical Engineering (20.4%), Department of Administration (27.1%), Agriculture (23.3%), Civil Engineering(24%), Handloom and Handicraft (32%), Forest (31%), Bureaucrats in General Services (25%), Health Services (32.03%), Health (Nursing) 27.7%), Mines and Geology (31.6%), Motor Vehicle (25%), Nutrition (24.3%), Power (24.7%), Sports and Youth Affairs (31.7%), Department of STATS (23.8%) and Veterinary (26.4%) have 20 to 30 percent of Bhutias as bureaucrats.

The departmental representation of Bhutias vis-a-vis other communities as bureaucrats in various departments in the state in 2019 is presented from tables 6.2.11 to 6.2.38.

Table: 6.2.11. Department of Administration-2019

Name of The Post	Community											Total	
	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Rawat	Lepcha	SC	Khatiwara		Rai
Additional Registrar	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Joint registrar	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	2
D.C.S.O.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Deputy registrar	3	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	10
Administrative officer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Senior audit officer	4	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	10
GVA	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
State project manager	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Manager	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
DRCS	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Block development officer	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Audit officer	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	4
ARCS	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	3
Municipal executive officer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
District office	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Assistant registrar	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	3
Bazar office	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Administrator	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	16	1	14	1	4	2	2	1	3	1	8	53	

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table: 6.2.12. Department of Agriculture-2019

Name of the Post	Community											Total	
	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sherpa		Rai
Principal director cum-secretary	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Chief executive officer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Additional director	5	-	3	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	14
Additional executive director	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joint director	4	2	8	1	1	1	3	-	2	-	-	2	24
Programme coordinator	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Deputy director	9	-	10	3	1	5	1	-	2	2	1	1	33
Deputy project director	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
HDO	5	-	15	3	-	-	2	-	2	1	2	7	37
Agriculture development	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	7

officer													
Organic regulator inspector	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	29	2	40	10	4	7	6	1	5	6	3	12	125

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.13. Department of Civil Engineering-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Pce-cum-secretary	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Principal chief engineer	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	5
Chief engineer	3	-	4	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	11
Assistant chief engineer	3	-	6	3	2		1	2	1	1	1	1	21
Senior engineer	6	-	10	2	3	2	4	2	1	1	-	4	35
Deputy engineer	23	-	16	3	4		4	1	7	3	-	9	70
Assistant engineer	33	1	48	6	13	13	2	4	8	12	2	9	151
Total	71	2	85	14	23	15	12	12	17	19	3	24	297

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.14. Department of Health (Dentist) -2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Koirala	Others	Lepcha	SC	Rai	Total
Supertime grade-I	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Selection grade I	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1		5
Selection grade-II	3	-	-	-	1		1	-	1	2	1	9
Senior dental surgeon	3	1	1		1	1		1	1	-	-	9
Dental surgeon	1	-		2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	8	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	3	2	29

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.15. Directorate of Handicraft and Handloom -2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Tamang	Sangmo	Lepcha	SC	Khatiwara	Rai	Total
Joint director	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Joint director joint welfare officer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Deputy director	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	4
Assistant director	5	4	1	2	1	-	-	1	1	15
Total	7	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	3	22

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.16. Department of Disaster Management-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Lepcha	Sherpa	Total
District project officer	2	1	1	4

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.17. Department of Excise

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Dulal	Bhandari	Basnett	Total
Special secretary	-	1	-	-	-	1
Deputy commissioner	1	1	-	-	-	2
Assistant commissioner	3	-	1	1	1	6
Total	4	2	1	1	1	9

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.18. Department of Finance -2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Magrati	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sapkota	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Principal director	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Director	2	-	4	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	10
Joint director	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Additional director	2	-	3	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	14

Chief account officer	4	-	3	1	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	16
Chief pay & account officer	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Senior accounts officer	4	-	14	5	4	1	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	8	41
Deputy director	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Chief finance officer	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Deputy chief pay & account officer	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Account officer	9	1	24	3	2	6	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	9	59
Total	24	2	50	9	14	11	13	1	3	2	3	2	1	20	155

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.19. Department of Fishery -2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Kharel	Rai	Total
Director	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Joint director	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Assistant director	1	-	1	1	1	-	4
Total	1	1	1	1	1	2	7

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.20. Department of Forest -2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Others	Lepcha	SC	Rai	Total
Pr. Secretary & project director	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
PCCF & chief warden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Secretary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Inspector general of	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
PCCF & chief forest cum-officer (FCA)/chief warden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Director general	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Forest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
OR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

Commissioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Conservator of forest	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Conservator of forest, FCA officer	-	-	-	1		-	-		-	-	-	1
Resident commissioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Director	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Conservator of forest	-	-	1	-	-	1	1		-	-	-	3
Conservator of	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
RY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Project director, -I	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Project director, -II	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Secretary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
NAL director	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1		3
Director	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		2
Forest officer	18		12	2	1		3	1	3	3	4	47
Conservator of	15	1	6	3	1	2	2	1	6	2	2	41
Total	37	1	19	8	3	3	6	20	9	8	6	119

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.21. Bureaucrats in General Services-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Director	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Additional director	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Joint director	7	-	3	3	2	1	1		3	4	3	5	32
Deputy director	16	-	12	3	9		3	6	7		2	7	65
Deputy general manager	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
AST	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
AD/APO	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Assistant director	4	1	4	-	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	4	20
Seal cover	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Social welfare officer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
RTO	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Superintendent cum-probation officer	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	33	2	21	8	14	2	6	9	10	5	6	16	132

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.22. Department of Health Services-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Mukhia	Others	Lepcha	SC	Manger	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Supertime group-1	9	-	5	-	-	1	1	-	3	2	-	-	-	2	23
Supertime group-II	5	-	3	1	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	15
Sel. Grade-II	23	2	13	2	6	4	2	-	3	4	7	-	3	5	74
Senior grade	17	1	10	3	3	3	2	1	1	3	1	-	-	4	49
Junior grade	12	1	2	4	8	1	3	-	1	2	2	1	1	7	45
Total	66	4	33	10	20	10	8	1	9	11	10	1	4	19	206

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.23. Department of Health (Nursing) -2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Community Nursing Officer	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	3
Joint Director	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Nusing Superintendent	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5
Senior Sister Tutor	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Deputy Nursing Superintendent	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	4
Senior. C.H.O.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Assistant Nursing Superintendent	8	1	6	2	-	2	1	1	1	1	3	26
CHO	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Total	13	1	10	4	1	4	2	4	1	1	6	47

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.24. Department of Human Resource Development Department (HRDD) -2019

Name of the post	Community														Total
	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Mangar	Others	Lepcha	SC	Dhakal	Sherpa	Rai	
Director	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Additional director	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	8
Joint director	3	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	10

Deputy director	6	-	8	-	1	3	3	1	3	2	1	-	-	3	35
Assistant director	5	-	12	1	2	1	6	-	-	5	1		3	8	44
Total	18	1	22	1	5	4	12	1	4	9	3	1	3	11	99

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.25. Department of Labour -2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Subba	Kunwar	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Joint labour commissioner	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Deputy labour commissioner	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
Assistant labour commissioner	1	2	-	-	-	1	4
Total	1	3	1	1	1	1	8

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.26. Department of Land & Revenue-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Others	Lepcha	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Revenue officer cum additional director	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	10

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.27. Department of Mechanical Engineer-2019

Name of the post	Community													
	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Basnett	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Principal Chief Engineer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Chief Engineer	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
Assistant Chief Engineer	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	5
Senior Engineer	2	1	1		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	8
Deputy Engineer	1		2	2	1	-	-	-	1	2	3	-	-	12
Assistant Engineer	5	3	6	2	2	1	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	24
Total	11	4	10	4	6	1	1	1	2	5	4	3	2	54

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019

Table 6.2.28. Department of Mines, M. & Geology-2019

Name of The Post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Adhikari	Lepcha	SC	Khanal	Sherpa	Total
Principal Director	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Director	-	-	-	-	-	-	1			1
Additional Director	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1		2
Joint Director	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	4
Senior Chemist	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Senior Survey Officer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Assistant Survey Officer	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Assistant Chemist	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Assistant Engineer		-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Assistant Geologist	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	5
Total	6	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	19

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.29. Department of Motor Vehicle-2019

Name of The Post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Subba	SC	Total
Jt. General Manager	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Deputy Director	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Assistant Director	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
Deputy RTO	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
ARTO	1	1	-	-	-	1	3
Total	2	1	2	1	1	1	8

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.30. Department of Nutrition-2019

Name of The Post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Subba	Others	SC	Basnett	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Joint Director	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	4
Deputy Director	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	4
Senior Physiotherapist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Assistant Director	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	6
Physiotherapist	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	4
Medical Stores Officer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Technical Officer	11	-	14	3	10	4	3	-	-	8	63
NMLO	4	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	3	13
HEO	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6
Total	24	3	17	5	12	5	6	3	2	13	99

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.31. Department of Power -2019

Name of the Post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Pce-Cum-Secretary	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Pce, Distribution, Incharge Of Hq, West, Trans/Sreda/East/O & M	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Pce, Gen& Trans, Incharge of N/S & Llhp/Rongli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Chief Engineer	2	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Assistant Chief Enginner	1	-	5	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	11
Senior Engineer	8	2	3	1	3	-	-	1	1	1	-	4	24
Deputy Engineer	12	3	10	-	7	-	2	2	2	-	1	4	43
Assistant Engineer	13	1	22	2	5	3	4	-	4	3	1	4	62
Total	37	7	43	4	18	3	7	3	8	5	2	13	150

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.32. Department of Revenue Services-2019

Name of the Post	Bhutia	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Lepcha	SC	Rai	Total
Joint Commissioner	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Deputy Secretary	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	4
Deputy Commissioner	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	5
Assistant Commissioner	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	4
Total	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	4	15

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.33. Department of RMDD-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Lepcha	SC	Rai	Total
Assistant director	4	10	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	25

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.34. Department of Sports & Youth Affairs-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Shanker	Lepcha	SC	Sapkota	Rai	Total
Additional Director		1		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Joint Director	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Deputy Director	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1			3
Assistant Director	10	2	1	4	1	3	1	5		1	3	31
Block Development Officer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Principal		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bazar Officer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	13	4	1	4	1	4	1	6	1	1	4	41

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.35. Department of Statistics-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma	Pradha n	Taman g	Subba	Others	Lepcha	SC	Dhakal	Rai	Total
Director	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Additional Director	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Joint Director	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	5
Deputy Director	5		4		2	1		1	1	-	1	15
Assistant Director	3	1	4	1	4	3		2	1	-		19
Assistant Commissioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Block Development Officer	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	10	2	8	2	6	5	1	3	3	1	2	43

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.36. Un Organized Sector-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Chettri/ Sharma	Lepcha	SC	Total
Joint Director	-	-	-	1	1
Deputy Director	1	1	-		2
Social Welfare Officer	-	-	-	1	1
Superintendent Cum-Probation Officer	1	-	-		1
Gendrung	1	-	-		1
Officer on Special Duty	-	-	1		1
Total	3	1	1	2	7

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.37. Department of Veterinary-2019

Name of the post	Bhutia	Thapa	Chettri/ Sharma Gurung	Pradhan	Tamang	Subba	Others	Lepcha	SC	Sherpa	Rai	Total
Principal Director	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Director	4		1	2		1	-	-	-	-	1	9
Additional Director	1		2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
Joint Director	4	2	2	2			2		3		2	18
Deputy Director	7	2	2	2		4	1	1		2	3	25
Chief Veterinary Officer	1											1
Veterinary Officer	7		4	2	3	2		2	1		2	23
Farm Manager/ MPO			2			1		2			3	8
Total	24	4	13	4	8	5	6	3	5	4	2	91

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

Table 6.2.38. Ethnic Representation in IPS -2019

Bhutia	Lepcha	Thapa	Giri	Chhetri	Rai	Gurung	Tamang	Others	Total
2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	30

Source: Department of Personnel and Administration, Govt. of Sikkim, 2019.

The tables and figures above give the total number of officials in different departments and also highlight the representation of each ethnic group in these departments. The recent data (2019) shows the Bhutias in the leading positions in almost all important departments in the state.

The objective of this chapter was to provide the share of Bhutias in the new bureaucratic system in the state. In particular, we were looking into the role of Bhutias as bureaucrats as they used to enjoy during the monarchical rule in the pre-merger period. In Sikkim, even after the end of their kingdom and the emergence of a democratic set up, the Bhutias are seen as the top administrators in the state. Though a minority group in terms of demography, their positions as top bureaucrats is retained. In almost all departments of the state government, they are well represented as the single highest community. The data reviewed indicate consistency in Bhutia's role as a top bureaucrat in different departments in the state. The dominant feature of Bhutias occupying the highest posts in the state can be explained from two perspectives. First, from a developmental angle, the Bhutias have been imbibed with the experience of administration in the pre-merger period. Secondly, in spite of Sikkim being a multi-ethnic society, the Bhutias have maintained share as administrators in modern Sikkim. The available data shows that Bhutias' share in the state administration continues even when the present bureaucratic system is quite distinct from previous one.

Thus, even though the representation of Bhutias in bureaucracy during the Chogyal period was relatively higher compared to the present period, Bhutias continue to maintain their place in the high bureaucratic posts in modern Sikkim. Despite the simultaneous coexistence of different ethnic communities and the prevalence of State Civil Service examinations and recruitment process, they have been able to build bureaucratic capacity to implement the priorities of different political regimes and in facing the task of democratisation and modernisation