URBAN PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION IN THAILAND

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ABSTRACT

URBAN PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

IN

THAILAND

By

Chaval Lochaya

Over the past two centuries, Thailand moved through a period of transformation. The country's cultural, social, as well as, economic systems were affected by internal and external environments which caused changes in the society. The external political climate brought Thailand to the awareness that she grossly lacked the internal strength when confronted with the test of a modern nation.

What problems Thailand had with warring states in the past were replaced by the pressure of colonization of Southeast Asia by the Western powers in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Thailand was able, however, to gradually strengthen her society and emerge more competent in international politics and domestic affairs by the end of nineteenth century.

The policy to transform Thailand into a modern state was laid down during King MongKut's reign, 1851-1864,

implemented by his son, Chularlongkorn, and the succeeding kings of the Chakri Dynasty of Bangkok.

The major work in administrative governmental reform was carried out by Chularlongkorn in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The feudal system of territorial control was replaced with control of all territory by the provincial governors who were administrators of the Ministry of Interior. At the same time, the country was united and placed under control of a modern bureaucratic system of government.

Essentially, the transformation laid the foundation for a democratic society. Thai's government had been characterized by strong bureaucratic control and domination of the decision-making process. The restructuring of government was aimed at achieving centralized territorial administration, then the government was to gradually move toward democratic self-government. In the post transformation period, 1900-1932, the new system of government went through a period of experimentation, examination and expansion of levels and functions of administration.

The two major forces which helped to shape the administrative capacities of the government were the policy of using foreign advisors in government and the institution of the king's scholarships for sending Thais abroad to study. These western trained administrators were able,

eventually, to replace the foreign advisors. More importantly, the western ideology of a democratic society and government, which these students had been exposed to, was to have a lasting affect on the character and form of government in Thailand.

The Revolution of 1932 changed the absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchial form of government. Separation of powers between the judiciary, legislative and executive branch of government was the main feature. For the first time, the government attempted to decentralize its administrative power by instituted local self-government of urban areas throughout the country. A municipal system of local self-government was introduced and given limited power and scope. After a period of experimentation, the central government found local government to be unsatisfactory and gradually moved the power of decision-making back to the central government.

The causes of failure in urban administration were numerous. First, the administrative system was created for a centralized form of government. Administrative structure was designed for maintaining law and order, and institutions meant for control and regulation were often unsuitable to meet the challenges of urban government under conditions of rapid urban growth.

Second, the process of urbanization was a new phenomenon to the Thai society. The Thais were

predominantly of a rural society. The process of population transition was preceeded by the introduction of modern technology in production and the reduction in the death rate by the use of preventative medicine. Pressured by the Western colonial powers to increase the rate of productivity and overseas trading also aided the movement toward urbanization. The rate of urbanization was gradual in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It accelerated after World War II and became significant from 1950's until the present due to the country's involvement in the Vietnam War.

Third, the short-time interval between the organization of an administrative structure for centralized government brought about by the urbanization process, were crucial factors which added to the problem of urban administration. Although the major aim of government is democracy, the administrative functions were primarily organized for the purpose of national unification. Local government assumed that the central government was willing to decentralize and that it was sufficiently stable, internally and externally, to permit confidence in its ability to maintain conditions of law and order as a normal state.

Fourth, the strongly centralized form of bureaucratic government, which had been instituted since ancient time, was entrenched in the society as a whole. The problem of urban planning, administration and accompanying decentralization could be interpreted as a direct threat to

the power of the bureaucrats, unless a new system of organization could be based on a bureaucratic form of government.

The concept of urban planning and administration is new to the Thai society. The country was predominantly rural and only within this century had urban settlement become a prominent way of life. The national social and economic plans are pointing toward an emphasis on the urban sector of the country, as the important factors in social and economic changes. Therefore, future progress in the urban settlement of Thailand should be of vital national concern.

Over the last forty-one years, the concept of urban government had spread throughout the country and has become one of the major forces of economic and social development. In order to bring suitable urban environment and to provide urban services in a way consistent with the increasing higher standard of living, it has been extended to include planning efforts at the national, regional and local levels of governments.

By 1985 approximately 20% of the population of Thailand will be living in urban areas as compared to 39% in the developing regions of the world. However, the rate of increase for the urban population is twice as fast as for the rural areas in Thailand. The contemporary pace of urbanization is faster than at any other period in the

history of Thailand. The urgency of dealing with the problems caused by the rapid rate of urbanization is emphasized by the fact that cities will soon become the dominant form of settlement for most of the people in Thailand.

The contemporary concept of urban settlement is new to the Thai society. Government has had only limited experience in the planning and administration of urban areas. The history of the Thai government has been characterized by highly centralized bureaucracy. The concept of local self government exists but only at the lowest level of the predominantly rural society. The complexity and impersonal character of urban self government have yet to find a creative expression in a society, which is gradually moving through the process of urbanization. New and better means of urban planning and administration are essential for future progress of the country as a whole.

There are two related elements which affect governmental planning and administration which are beyond the scope of this study. One is the political system of the country. The other is the problem of external security, which is directly influenced by the political situation in Southeast Asia region as a whole. The willingness of the central government to decentralize and give political autonomy to different levels of local government depends on the question of national security as well as identity.

The process of urbanization can play a meaningful role in achieving national identity, provided that the national policy for urban development is integrated with the national social and economic development policy. Although at present the urban sector is small, future progress will gradually, though increasingly, involve the provision of a sound foundation and creative environment for the growth of the urban community as well as for the rest of the nation. The need for a national policy for urban development is a reality for a developing country, such as Thailand, where resources are underdeveloped, the rate of population growth is high and urban government is inexperienced in the process of social and economic development. A national policy for urban development can serve as a communication and information focus and give direction for concerted effort.

Experience in developing countries has shown that for a national policy to become meaningful and realistic to local communities, it must have the capacity of and capability to translate goals and objectives into tangible programs for the urban communities. The use of an urban region as an integral part in the process of national development and planning has improved the local perspective of national issues and policies. Unfortunately, regional administration and planning are at their rudimentary levels in Thailand. Previous attempts at a regional form of

government has not produced a cohesive regional government. Both the central and provincial governments were not willing to redefine their political and territorial jurisdictions.

At present the strongest move toward regional planning is fostered by the National Economic Development Board. These plans recommend regional development projects which, if responsive regional administration are developed, could have become truly regional in character. In Thailand the importance of regionalism is predominantly political in nature. Often, different regions felt that the lack of regional planning contributed to the government's imposing an unrealistic national policy. Although this study does not deal directly with regional politics, it recommends feasible governmental organization and activities for future development in urbanization.

Working tools which will make the urban region functional are comprehensive planning and programs of public finance. Planning is an evolutionary process which creates alternative programs of resource allocation to carry out the development of the community. Thailand is one of these countries where planning is in the governmental domain and economic resources lie within the private sector. This situation weakens the planning process, especially in the financing of planning programs. It is essential, therefore, that the private sector and governmental agencies, particularly those which are concerned with planning and

finance, have means of efficient communication and tools to resolve conflicts and differences into constructive goals. Creative use of comprehensive planning and urban public finance programs can help provide a meeting place for co-operative effort.

The problems of intergovernmental organization and coordination are due to inefficient system of communication and the lack of delegation of responsibility. Governments facing the complex problems of urbanization tend to withhold the decision-making power from the lower or local authorities. They fear that the local units are not capable of making such complex decisions; however, in reality the opposite has often proven to be the case. Given the technical knowledge and cooperation of the higher levels of government, local authorities are well capacitated to solve their own problems. It is the lack of cooperation that oftentimes limits the decision-making ability of local government.

Effectiveness and success of any governmental activity is directly related to citizen participation and representation. Governmental planning programs most always involve the improvement of the general public and their environment. Especially in the planning process, the setting of goals and objectives, as well as the implementation of the plan, require vital citizen participation and representation.

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By

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to my parents . . .

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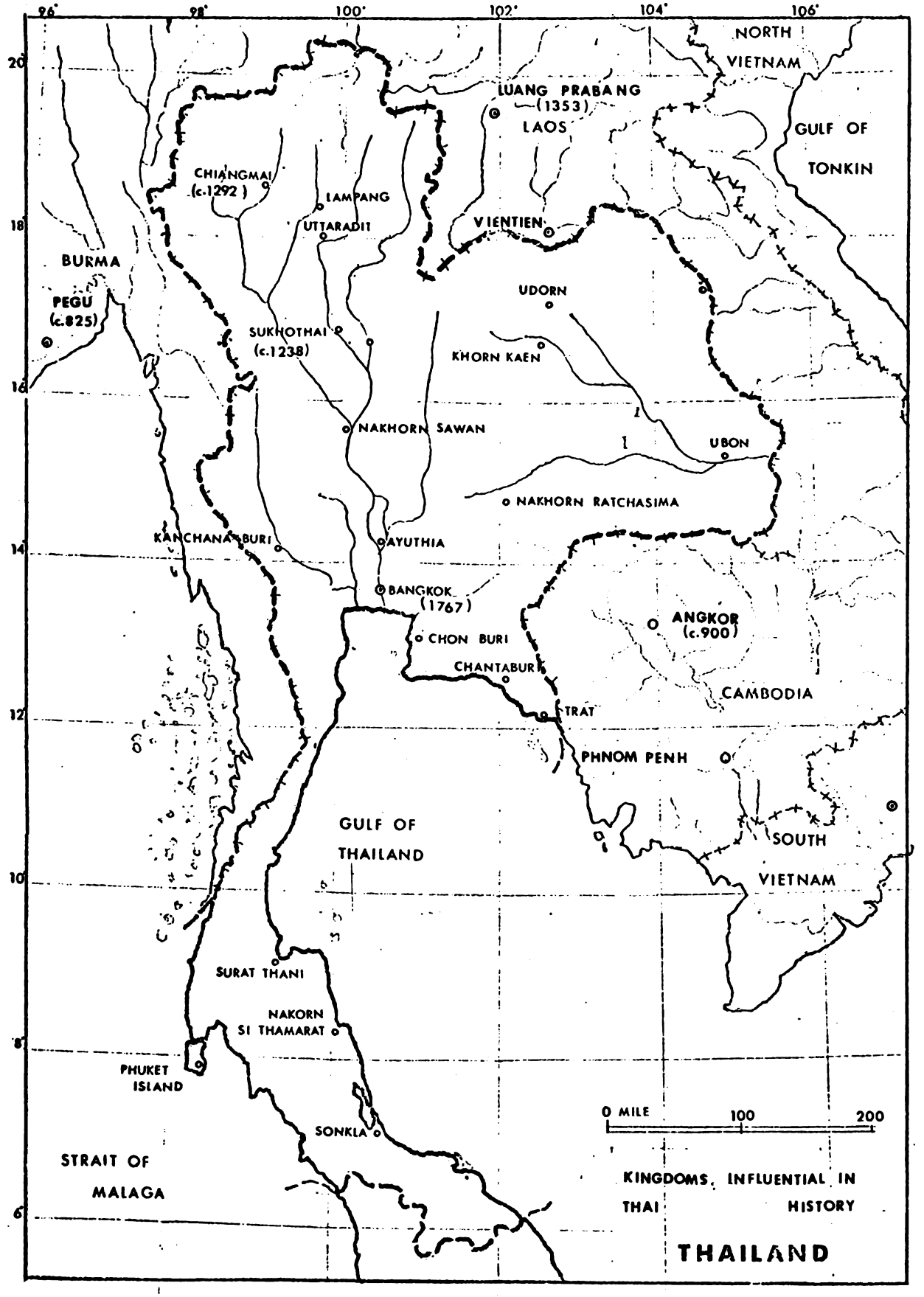
CHAPTER I

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

A. The Founding of Thailand

When the Thais migrated into what is now Thailand, they already carried with them a long experience in urban settlement of different feudal states in the southern part of China. The Thai event in the most ancient time possessed a system of land tenureship whereby every man was allowed to hold a certain amount of land, but be regulated in accordance with his rank and position. Such System characterized the early Thai states as feudalistic, with a territorial basis for organization.

The concept of urban settlement was also well understood and practiced by the Khmer of Angkor, when the Thai arrived in Southeast Asia. The Khmer had a complex and well defined system of centralized bureaucratic government which, in form and practice, represented in microcosm, the universe itself. The Khmer Empire ruled vast territories on both sides of the Mekong River. The center at Angkor ruled through its urban satellites. The symbolistic form of the government was supported by realistic scientific ability to irrigate and cultivate the plain, which provided


96°
98°
100°
102°
104°
106°
20°
18°
16°
14°
12°
10°
8°
6°
NORTH VIETNAM
LUANG PRABANG (1353)
LAOS
GULF OF TONKIN
CHIANGMAI (c.1292)
LAMPANG
UTTARADIT
VIENTIEN
BURMA
PEGU (c.825)
UDORN
SUKHOTHAI (c.1238)
KHORN KAEN
NAKHORN SAWAN
UBON
NAKHORN RATCHASIMA
KANCHANABURI
AYUTHIA
BANGKOK (1767)
ANGKOR (c.900)
CHON BURI
CHANTABURI
CAMBODIA
TRAT
PHNOM PENH
GULF OF THAILAND
SOUTH VIETNAM
SURAT THANI
NAKORN SI THAMARAT
PHUKET ISLAND
SONKLA
STRAIT OF MALAGA
0 MILE 100 200
KINGDOMS INFLUENTIAL IN THAI HISTORY
THAILAND

agricultural surplus for the society. When the Khmer lost their scientific ability, the Empire lost its power and was finally overcome by its neighbors the Thais.

B. Pre-Modern Development

The early development of Thailand was influenced by two cultures. The feudal system of China, which the Thais carried with them into Southeast Asia and the Brahman and Buddhist religions, which came from India, were adopted by the Thais to foster a sense of unity which the feudal system lacked.

The historical development was characterized by assimilation of cultural and social values from India and China and although contact with the West had been well established (a Greek became a Prime Minister in the Ayuthia period), there was no noticeable influence of the Western culture at that time.

The historical development period can be divided into three periods:

1. The Sukhothai Kingdom 1237-1350
2. The Early Ayuthia Period 1350-1431
3. The Ayuthia Bureaucracy 1431-1767

1. The Sukhothai Kingdom 1237-1350

The first unified Thai kingdom in the present homeland was established at Sukhothai in the 13th century. Under King Sri Indradithya, the Thais were able to unite

some local principalities, to throw off the Khmer rule, and to establish a patriarchal monarchy at Sukhothai. Under Ram Kamheang, one of Thailand's ablest kings, boundaries were extended and control was exercised over the greater part of present Thailand. The government of this period was characterized by a paternal king and a territorially-based feudalism. There was little distinction between civilians and soldiers; all men performed both military and civil duties under feudal nobles who owed allegiance to the king.

City and City State: In the period dominated by the rulers of Sukhothai, the "muang", literally translated as city or town, was the basic administrative unit and its elastic meaning embraced the more modern concept of kingdom, town, and province. It originally signified a city-state governing the surrounding territory, usually the land within a radius of thirty-miles or two days journey from the capital.

The capital city Sukhothai, brought under its jurisdiction neighboring muangs, which were then assigned to the king's sons to administer. In time, these muangs became almost independent kingdoms, loosely held together by the feudal principles of reciprocal defense. King Ram Kamheang vastly expanded his influence from Sukhothai, and created four satellite city states. The concept of city or city states as a functional unit of governmental

organization, as well as,a territorial domain was used as a means to create a sense of national unity in the Sukhothai kingdom.

When the prince of U-Thong transferred the new capital to Ayuthia, part of the Sukhothai kingdom was absorbed into his new domain. The first displacement of the capital typified the Thai's history and shows the instability of the country's towns. The fact that they were principally administrative centers, so important that they often gave their name to the State, differentiated them from the market oriented towns in other parts of Southeast Asia. Endless warfare between the various principalities and kingdoms undermined these towns, since they were usually sacked, burned, stripped of wealth and the population became war slaves of the victors.

2. Early Ayuthia 1350-1431

From the beginning of the Ayuthia period until the reform of King Trailok a century later, the fundamental governmental concept was based on a relatively simple four-court organization. The heads of these courts were called "Senabodi" or ministers. The four courts were the basic elements deemed to be the essence of the Thai polity.

The royal treasury "klang" held the central position, since the well being of the kingdom usually depended on the surplus it accumulated. The second court, "wang" represented the king and his authority which were usually

identifiable by the royal family and noblemen. The king represented the supreme power, yet his power was dependent upon his treasury in time of war as well as in helping to carry out his decisions.

The third court, "muang" represented the concept of the city states supporting the capital and the king. These cities served the king by carrying out his wishes as well as supplying him with taxes and armament in time of war. The city served as one of the essential organizational links, whereby the king could reach the common people. It also gave a territorial identity to the unity of the kingdom. Although traditional Thai society had been based on agricultural activities, it was the city, where important decisions and innovations were found. In time of war a kingdom was lost or won by the fall or beginning of a capital.

The fourth court, "na", literally translated means rice field, represented the general population engaged in rice cultivation. This outermost region was the base upon which the whole governmental structure rested.

Such a simple concept of government organization was suitable to a small state, but was not functional when the size and complexity of the society increased. The problem of organization became increasingly inadequate as the kingdom grew. After the Thais overcame the Khmer Empire at Angkor in 1431, this system was modified by the

Khmer system of bureaucratic government.

3. Ayuthia Bureaucracy 1431-1767

In 1431 King Trailok overcame the Khmer at Angkor, and brought back a new system of court and administrative organization. The influence of Brahman Cosmology, the concept of the divine king, became one of the driving forces of the new political system and had a lasting effect on Thailand. The microcosmic world of men and the macrocosmic universe of the gods, represented by the central position of a divine monarch, was replicated in the palace architecture, the town, and the bureaucratic structure. The design of palaces and towns was to match the universal order and provide an architectural framework within which the organization of government was to take form.

a. Centralization: The essence of King Trailok's reform was a centralized control of the outlying provinces, which until then had only lightly felt the control of the king and capital. As the first step in bringing the provinces under royal authority, the king appointed officials responsible directly to him and transferred the feudal lords, who had formally ruled there, to the lesser provinces. Beyond these extended the tributary states nominally vassals to the king, but ruled by their own hereditary princes.

Until the time of King Trailok, the different principalities of the Thai kingdom, whether presided over

by other princes or by officials of lower rank, had been governed more or less like small independent states, levying their armies, controlling their own finances and taxes and managing their own internal affairs. King Trailok made the first attempt at centralization and at the same time he brought about a separation of the civil and military administration which had previously been closely interwoven. For the civil administration five departments were instituted: Ministry of the Interior under a Prime Minister, Ministry of Local Government which was in charge of the capital and province of Ayuthia, the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of agriculture in charge of cultivation of food supply and matters connected with the tenure of land, and Ministry of the Royal Household in charge of Palace Affairs and the administration of justice. For the military, a separate Prime Minister, the "Kalahom" was set up, with several officials under him, ranking as ministers, and in charge of different military departments.[1]

b. Local Government: This centralization proved beneficial to the growth of the nation, but was burdensome to the people. They had to pay heavier taxes to support the court in the capital as well as the provincial governors. The revenues from the richest provinces were such as to

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[1]W.A.R. Woods, A History of Siam, revised edition 1933, pp. 83-98.

create fierce competition for the governorship. Provincial governors were entitled to half of the tax on riceland, all legal confiscation, 10% of the fines imposed, custom duties on ships and cargoes in the maritime provinces.

The people being forbidden to travel from one province to another had no other recourse than to flee into the jungle or sell themselves as slaves to a patron powerful enough to protect them from official exploitation. The provincial administration was patterned after that of the central government, though the different provinces were classified and staffed according to their importance. The village remained the administrative unit under both the feudal and central government schemes. The feudal system was gradually changed to patronalism, a system of patron and client. Feudalism disappeared territorially with the spread of the king's authority and with the growth of absentee landlords. When the lords were drawn to the capital it almost vanished from the provinces.[2]

Bureaucracy was not only an instrument of administration, but became a principle of social organization. Everyone in the kingdom, from the king to the common man had a definite place in the hierarchy. A system of ranks

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[2]Virginia Thompson, Thailand the New Siam, 1967, pp. 233-266.

and title for officials and royal princes, and a system of grades for common officials, indicated the status, rights and privileges of each person.

c. Modern Development: The historical development of the Thais was a gradual process. The Thais borrowed and adapted from other cultures. Although there were wars with neighboring states, Burma, Laos, and Cambodia, progress was made in the arts and sciences. As the country grew, so did government organizations. There was no immediate external pressure, which would have demanded the society to change suddenly.

The challenging pressure came with the Westerner's colonization of Southeast Asia in the 19th century. The presence of Western powers in Southeast Asia was a stark reality. To the Thai it meant that either they improved their strength and the well being of the society as a whole, or be dominated by Westerners. Thus, the policy was to transform Thailand into a modern state capable of answering to the pressure of western powers. This policy was laid down by King Mongkut, Rama IV, and was augmented by his son Chulalongkorn, Rama V, (Bangkok, Chakri Dynasty). By the end of Rama V's reign, Thailand was unified into one single modern state, the government was well staffed by specialized professional civil service, and the ground work was laid for democratic self government.

The modern development can be divided into five stages as follows:

1. The First Period, 1851-1873: During this period ground work was laid, creating favorable environment for a basic structural change. This was the period of King Mongkut's reign, during which doors were opened for the intrusion of western influences, but the basic organization of government remained intact. The period extended through the first year of King Chulalonghorn's reign, when he was under the control of a regent who perpetuated Mongkut's policy.
2. The Second Period, 1873-1891: King Chulalongkorn took over effective control of government. In this period several new, functionally specialized departments were created, with the help of western advisers, to carry out essential new activities of limited scope. Basically, these were staff departments remaining outside the established line departments of the government.
3. The Third Period 1892-1900: This period is characterized by sweeping reorganization of the core governmental structures, and the elimination of many old courts and chambers. New departments were also consolidated under ministerial control,

although a few of the courts were reoriented as ministries and some palaces were permitted to continue to exist without substantial modifications. In a sense, 1892 was a year of a "silent revolution". In more contemporary jargon, it was a time of government "takeoff". The changes were made possible by the fact that some of the new ministries were established on foundations that had already been laid, and that the more sacred structures of the old regime were permitted to continue without substantial modification. Moreover King Chulalongkorn was able to wait for the strategic moment to carry out his reforms, thereby permitting the transformation to occur without violence or much apparent break in political continuity.

4. The Fourth Period 1900-1932: The fourth period which ran from approximately 1900 until the revolution of 1932 was a stage of consolidation, readjustment and expansion of work set in the previous period.
5. The Fifth Period 1932-1973: The revolution of 1932, which changed the form of government to a constitutional monarchy, accelerated and consolidated the structural change of the bureaucracy.

> These changes which had already been launched, were characterized by the deepening of the pattern of functional specialization.[3]

In the first period the basic development policy to mobilize pressure for change was laid down by King Mongkut. The treaty of 1855 with Great Britain, negotiated by Sir John Bowing, opened the door for expanded trade, introduced extra-territoriality and abolished the royal control of custom duties, but it also undermined the traditional financial base for the royal government. By 1868, King Mongkut had signed eight such treaties with other European powers, extending similar privileges to all of them.

In 1873 when King Chulalongkorn assumed control of the government, Thailand witnessed more drastic innovation. Shortly after taking power in 1874, the king named a royal commissioner to reside in Chiang Mai. Thus began a process of national unification by extension of royal control over distant provinces which led, eventually to the creation of the Ministry of Interior and the imposition of an effective system of local territorial administration.

Equally important innovations were in the field of public administration. In 1875 the Revenue Department Office

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[3]Fred W. Riggs, Thailand, The Modernization of Bureaucratic Policy, 1966, pp. 111-131.

was established. At that time tax collections were fragmented and distributed throughout different governmental agencies, which farmed out their tax collecting power to Chinese agents. The new office was able to consolidate some taxes and carried out an analysis of potential revenue sources. The difficulties in communication with remote provinces was overcome with the western technology of telegraph, telephone and railroad lines. In 1885 the Department of Foreign Relations was set up. Another agency established during this preparatory period was a Department of Public Instruction which became the Ministry of Education in 1889.

Further governmental reorganization came during the third period of transformation, 1892-1900. On April 1, the King promulgated an edict which effectively restructured the entire bureaucracy and laid the foundation upon which the present administrative organization of government continues to rest. The core of the reorganization was the Ministry of Interior where territorial administration of the whole kingdom was focused. The Ministry was under the direction of Prince Damrong, who continued to provide effective guidance and control of this major agency until 1915. At the same time the Ministries of Finance, Defense, Communication, Education and Foreign Affair were reorganized. The four courts of Klang, Wang, Muang and Na were lessened in their functions. Only Na Court was to retain substantial function as the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Ministry of Interior combined the territorial administrations, and provided a basis within which virtually all services from other ministries were embedded. The regional, provincial and district officers were responsible within their territorial jurisdiction. Functional specialists in agriculture, health, education and other fields were attached to and administratively subordinate to these generalist officials of the Ministry of the Interior. Although these specialists were selected and paid for by their ministries, they have to go through the territorial administrative agency to communicate with their own headquarters. Thus, the territorial administrative power is well centralized and controlled by the Ministry of Interior. Thus, the internal government organization took on the form of territorial generalist officials in control of the administrative policy, coupled with an impressive growth in the scope of the specialist officials in other ministries.[4] At present, the country is divided into 72 provinces (chungwats), 448 districts (amphurs), 4,900 communes (tambons) and 50,000 villages (mubans). Each province contains an average of 5 to 10 districts; each district, 6 to 10 communes; and each commune, 12 to 20 villages. The central government has no regular appointed officials working below the district level; the district is the first, and usually the last, point of contact between the central authority and the

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[4] Ibid., pp. 111-131.

individual. Even that contact is rare, and for the villager, personal knowledge of government activity usually stops at the village or commune level.

With the establishment of the Ministry of Interior in 1892, Thailand found a viable solution to the problem of national unity. By the new system of territorial administration, Thailand replaced her theoretical suzerainty of the far provinces and states with actual administrative control.

In ancient times Thailand was divided into about sixty muangs, each dependent on Bangkok but placed under different ministries on a geographical basis. Those of the north and east were controlled by the Ministry of Interior; those of the west by the Ministry of War; and the maritime provinces by the Foreign Office. Bangkok had its own administration. In 1892, all of the administrative affairs of the provincial muangs were placed under the reorganized Ministry of Interior. Four or five muangs were henceforth grouped together and renamed "changwads" or provinces. These provinces then were organized into administrative circles or regions called "monthon".

In 1926, the number of monthons was reduced from eighteen to fourteen and the number of changwats to seventy-nine. In 1932 the number of monthons was once again reduced to ten and the number of the changwats to seventy. Soon after this the regional system of local administration was

abolished.[5]

Two of King Chulalongkorn's innovations in public administration are of special interest: the adoption of a system of Western advisors, and the creation of King's scholarships for study abroad. The practice of sending young Thai abroad had two effects; first, it developed a supply of skilled native administrators which later brought about diminished dependence upon foreign advisors. Second, almost without exception, those who received a Western education were absorbed into the government service, which strengthened the bureaucracy. The policy was to educate not only royalty, but also promising commoners.

With the increased scope and variety of government activities made necessary the employment of specialists, and the creation of schools and training centers for civil servants. A Royal Pages school established by the King in 1902 later became the Civil Service College and in 1917 became Chulalongkorn University. In 1933, the University of Moral and Political Science was established which later was named the Thammasat University. After thirty years there was a surplus of ambitious able young men, anxious for more influential roles in government who were able to carry out

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[5]Virginia Thompson, Thailand, The New Siam, second edition, 1967, pp. 233-266.

the first non-royal rebellion and brought about constitutional monarchy.[6]

While the 1932 coup was a contest between royalist and middle class commoners, the subsequent struggle in Thai politics has been chiefly a contest between the two factions of the political groups, the civilian liberals and the military conservatives. The royalist, insofar as they have participated at all, have sided alternatively with one group or the other. Since 1947 the army faction headed, until 1957, by Field Marshal Pibul and subsequently by Field Marshall Sarit has been dominant.

Since 1932, progress toward achieving the democratic ideals of the original coup had been slow and hesitant. For a time political parties were outlawed and not until 1955 were laws enacted to authorize and regulate the organization and activities of political parties. The value of a strong and loyal opposition party as a means through which the people can formulate and express their opinions and discontents in a peaceful and constitutional manner, has not been appreciated.

In a sense, the 1932 revolution did not institute democracy but simply broadened the base of oligarchy. This

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[6]Joseph B. Kingsbury and Robert F. Wilcox, The Principles of Public Administration in Thailand, 1961, pp. 20-33.

does not mean that the governments have been harsh or despotic. While it is authoritarian, the government is generally benevolent, and exhibits a genuine and paternalistic concern for the people, particularly in matters relating to their livelihood.[7]

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[7] Ibid., pp. 20-26.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

A. The Central Government

The government of Thailand is in theory, organized on the principles of separation of powers. There are separate and clearly distinct executive, legislative and judicial establishments, which along with a constitutional monarchy, compose the central government. The king is constitutionally the head of the state and all power is exercised in his name.

1. The Executive

The executive branch dominates the other divisions of the government; it makes and implements policy, holds the legislature in virtual subservience and supervises indirectly the operation of the judiciary. The executive branch is organized into different ministries whose chiefs are all members of the Council of Ministers, the Cabinet, and whose work is supervised and coordinated by the Office of the Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers frames and implements all important national policies and is the center around which the political system revolves. In addition, there are a number of quasi- autonomous agencies

which perform certain specialized functions under ministrial supervision.

2. The Office of the Prime Minister

The most important member of the Cabinet is the prime minister who holds the ultimate power of appointment, investigation and review. He countersigns all royal decrees, appoints and dismisses other ministers, presides over Cabinet meetings and controls their agenda. He also appoints and removes civil servants holding the ranks of permanent under secretary and head of department. Under the doctrine of emergency justice, the Interim Constitution of 1959 and 1973 empowers the prime minister, in times of national emergency, to take all steps necessary to maintain security and aid economic progress. The prime minister also heads the National Economic Development Council, the National Security Council and many more. The duties and functions of the Office of the Prime Minister are complex and all-embracing. It has the multi-functional duties of policy formulation, planning, coordinationand supervision. Its scope and power have grown so immensely since 1958 that the Office of the Prime Minister is in effect a government within the government.

3. Administrative Agencies

Administrative agencies fall into two categories: ministries and quasi-autonomous agencies created by statute. All ministries are organized on the same basic pattern.

The top civil service official in each ministry is the permanent under-secretary of state, who is responsible to the political minister. Aided by one or more deputy under-secretaries and a small staff, he advises the minister, handles non-political matters and represents the ministry on boards and committees. Below the permanent under-secretary and his staff are the various departments, usually three or more in each ministry. Each department, headed by a director, is divided into three or more divisions. The divisions in turn are divided into several sections. In addition, many of the departments with countrywide concerns maintain provincial and district staffs throughout the country.

4. The Ministry of Interior

The Ministry of Interior is the most important of the civil agencies, having more employees and, except for the Ministries of Defense and Education, larger appropriations than any other ministry. It appoints and dismisses the heads of all the regions, provinces and districts, including Bangkok Municipality, and exercises general control over local governmental affairs. It is also in charge of police, law enforcement and prisons; it operates a limited social welfare program and occasionally intervenes in labor disputes. In addition, the Ministry of Interior administers the power of eminent domain, engages in municipal

planning and public works, and conducts antisubversive activities.[1]

B. REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

The development of regional government is closely identifiable with the development of territorial administration, when the Ministry of Interior created the monthon, or the regional administrative agency. The organization, however, was used as a political tool to dismantle the power of different provincial lords. Bangkok wished to eliminate their powers and bring different areas under the direct control of the government. The lord-lieutenants of the monthons were able to reduce the territorial lord to submission, converting them to appointed governors and their land into the new administrative province.

Once the different lords were overcome and a new corps of provincial governors were created, who had no option but to be loyal to the central government, a new phase of intra-bureaucratic struggle commenced. The king had, to a large extent, relied on the princes of the royal family to staff the monthons, just as he had used them to fill important posts in different ministries. The new

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[1]United States Government, Area Handbook for Thailand, revised August 1966, pp. 307-323.

governors, however, were for the most part commoners, who had accepted the career system, substituting upward mobility as a career goal instead of the feudal control of the land. Their prospects of promotion to the top ranks were blocked by the grip of princes on the choice monthon posts. Moreover, the regional offices stood blocking them from district access to the ministry headquarters in Bangkok.

When the Thai government under the constitutional regime came into power in 1932, they formed an alliance with the governors to eliminate the royal lord-lieutenants of the monthons. It was apparent that the government's policy was aimed at establishing the province as the primary unit of territorial administration and making the governor the most important man. Actually, Rama VII, Prachatipok, had already started to dismantle the monthons for economic reasons prior to the revolution. Also by that time modern means of communication had made it unnecessary to have an intervening level between provinces and the center in order to secure coordination of policy. The monthons were considered an administrative and communication bottleneck and, finally, their elimination was heralded as a democratic measure which would strengthen local autonomy.

Having eliminated the monthon, the promoters of the new constitutional monarchy also made a bid for the support of the functionally specialized departments by granting them more direct access to their field personnel. As a

result of these changes, the specialized departments were able to expand their regional administrative territorial control. Consequently, each department or ministry began to create its own regional organizations. At first they simply appointed inspectors in the headquarters office, each of whom had responsibility for the department's work in a particular group of provinces. Later it seemed desirable to station these inspectors more permanently in the field and, accordingly, in 1941 a new regional organization, the "peak", was created. The country was divided into five peaks, and the ministries and departments then appointed regional committees under the chairmanship of an inspector from the Ministry of Interior.

This set-up, however, still provoked dissatisfaction, as governors and provincial officers continued to insist on communicating directly with Bangkok. The central government appeared reluctant to delegate sufficient responsibility to the regional offices to enable them to impose coordinative control over the provinces in each region. The result was continuing confusion and dissatisfaction, with growing tensions between officials at the provincial, regional and central levels of government. In the late nineteen forties, this regional scheme was abolished, but in 1952 the new Administration of the Kingdom Act divided the country into nine regions. Still the regional office was not given any territorial administrative authority

and was viewed by the governors as a block to direct access to the central government. This system proved quite unworkable and was eliminated in 1956. The Governors' Conference in May 1956, while supporting the government's "democratization" and "decentralization" programs, recommended that the regional offices be abolished. The governors were at the height of their power and they were able to control the technical specialists in their own office. They thus overthrew the imposition of regional control and became the prime local administrative officers directly responsible to the central government.

The present Regional Development Committees are quasi- autonomous agencies of the central government entirely supported financially by the national budget. There are five Regional Development Committees covering 61 of the 72 provinces:

1. Northern Development Committee: responsible for 16 provinces from southern Uthai Thani to northern Chiang Rai.
2. Northeastern Development Committee: covering 15 provinces from Nakhon Ratchasima to the eastern border.
3. Southern Development Committee: administering 14 provinces from Chumphon down to the Malaysian border.

4. Eastern Development Committee: covering 8 provinces from Samut Prakan to Trat.
5. Western Development Committee: responsible for 8 provinces for Samut Sakhon to Northern Suphan Buri and southern Prachuap Khiri Khan.

At present, there is no special Regional Development Committee for the central 8 provinces around the Greater Metropolitan Bangkok Area and the Chao Phraya River Valley since they already receive benefits from irrigation and agriculture from the Chao Phraya River Valley Development Program. However, a special committee for these remaining provinces may be set up in the future. The Regional Development Committees coordinate and implement regional plans and programs. Their functions are:

1. Acting as the Government's representative in the course of regional development activities assigned to each Committee.
2. Establishing policy and courses of action for the respective regions in coordination with the overall development plan.
3. Obtaining special funds in addition to the budget appropriations, both in the form of subsidies and Governmental Departmental expenditures. The special funds constitute only a minor fraction of the whole regional development budget, but their use for special programs

in each individual province can be significant.

C. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

The present local administrative body in Thailand consists of 72 provincial administrative agencies, 120 municipalities, 503 sanitary districts, 53 district administrative agencies, 4,900 communes and 50,000 villages. The main function of these local government organizations, apart from the basic activities of providing welfare and security, is to provide public utilities and services; i.e. communication, transportation, health, education, and urban development. The public services provided by these local governments are the principle factors in the economic and social development plan of the country. Therefore it is extremely important that local administration is well planned, and has adequate systems to carry out the programs, as well as being well staffed with capable administrative personnel.

It has been normal in Western countries for self-government to find its most vital expression in the autonomy of municipalities and local governmental agencies. The long history of free cities provides abundant evidence of the ability of urban populations, crowded together and increasingly interdependent, to create a mechanism for their own self-government.

In the Thai's political development, the initiative for municipal self-government did not come from within the cities but from central officials of the absolute monarchy. The first efforts to establish local self-government in Thailand were actually made under an experiment with the creation of a "sukapibahn", or sanitary district, in a commune of Samud Sakorn Province, a short distance southwest of Bangkok. Provision was made for the creation of a board, all of whose members were appointed ex officio, namely the village headmen with the commune headman as chairman. This board was authorized to collect certain taxes, largely on houses and building construction, to be used for the maintenance of local public works, such as roads, bridges, and lights, and to enforce local sanitation rules in a congested coastal fishing area.[2]

In 1908 and again in 1915 new acts were promulgated expanding the powers of the sanitary district, providing that similar boards could be established elsewhere on the recommendation of the provincial governor and the "monthon" or region head. By the time of the revolution of 1932, it is estimated that there were some forty-five sukahpibahns.

According to an act promulgated in 1914, qualified voters in each village were authorized to elect their own

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[2]Fred W. Riggs, "Thailand, The Modernization of a Bureaucratic, 1966, pp. 177-207.

headman, but the district officer presided over the election. The headmen of all the villages in a commune in turn chose one of themselves to be the commune head. Although, in this manner, the rural population was introduced to some of the forms of local self government, it may be doubted that they experienced much of its reality. The sukahpibahn, commune, and village institutions at that time were largely controlled by the central government officials.

After the revolution of 1932, more serious and sustained efforts were made to launch a system of effective local self-government. As soon as the promoters of the revolution had seized power in 1932, they publicly announced their devotion to the principles of democratic constitutional government, which was interpreted to mean local government as well as representative institutions in the national government. At the same time that they were setting up a national assembly, and planning to democratize the legislative process on the basis of national elections, they were also considering ways to institute local representative processes.

The ultimate stage of full popular sovereignty was to be reached by a gradual process of political education in which the choice of representatives by indirect elections was to be used. According to this idea, which was written into the Provisional Constitution of 1932, the villagers would choose representatives who would then meet in electorial

colleges at the district level to choose provincial assemblies; these in turn, would name members of the National Assembly. These local elections would be limited in function to the selection of national assemblymen, but potentially at least, they would lay the foundation for a system of local self-government.

The arguments for local government were no doubt supplemented, in the mind of central officials who may still at heart have espoused old principles of royal authoritarianism, by the view that the bureaucratic authority of the central government ought to be extended more deeply into rural districts and urban areas, and that some forms of carefully controlled local government would serve this purpose. By mobilizing the population for political participation and securing their involvement in programs intended to improve their own welfare, centrally designed programs and goals could be acc-mplished with lower cost and without seriously compromising the power of the national officials themselves. Accordingly we find the theme of administrative effectiveness often mixed with the ideal of popular sovereignty in arguments for enhanced local self government.

1. Provincial Government

The Municipalities Government Act of 1933 also provided for establishment of provincial councils. However they were not intended to serve as organs of self-government,

as were the municipal assemblies. Rather, the expectation was that they would provide a body of leading citizens to advise the governor in the performance of his duties. The law specified various criteria, such as geographic and professional representation and minimum standards of age, education, and orientation. Candidates were to be nominated by the governor and appointed officially by the Ministry of Interior. The governor would himself preside over meeting of the council and presumably set its agenda.

It was expected that eventually at least half of this advisory council would be elected. However, in 1938, a new provincial council act, entirely separate from the municipality legislation, provided for the councils to be fully elected. Thus, whereas the municipal councils were being curtailed in power, the provincial councils were being enhanced. Their new functions were to include consultation with the governor, endorsement of the provincial budget submitted by the governor, and advisement to the central government upon request. However, virtually no provision was made for its ability to have separate tax revenues, so that the provincial government was fully dependent on central government appropriations. As a result the council never had real political power, or performed any real function of local self-government, nor exercised administrative or legislative power. The public was disinterested with the election of the council members and after 1943 provincial elections were discontinued.

The Administration of the Kingdom Act of 1952 restored the governor to full authority in provincial affairs, with the right to control all executive officials and with full responsibility for the administration of the government work of all ministries and departments in the province. The council was to serve instead as an advisory body to the governor, the chief officials of different departments were to assist him in the administration of work in their respective departments.

The 1952 Act recognized the province as a juristic person. It thus acquired the right to own property and set up its own budget apart from the property and budget of the central government. By 1955, it was apparent that the dual status of the province as a unit of field administration and also a juristic person, created a concomitant dual role for the governor. Though a subordinate field official in one role, he became the head of a sub-state in a second role. The result of these developments between 1952-55, has been to place the governor once more in the driver's seat. But it should not be imagined that the specialist officers accepted this reversal without protest. The maintenance of gubernatorial control against persistent efforts by the functionally specialized departments of different ministries to reverse the balance remains a focus of intrabureaucratic politics in provincial government.

Although the governors were in firm control of the provincial councils, it cannot be said that they could

autocratically exercise authority without any feedback from technical officials who were directly responsible and answerable for the performance of their work to their superiors in the central government in Bangkok. Also the trend toward increasing specialization for services and better education all around for technical personnel placed the governor in fact, if not in law, more and more in the position of a general manager concerned with general supervision and control, and strengthened the independence of the technical personnel, particularly in such strong agencies as education and public health.

The Provincial Administration Act of 1955 provided for the strengthening of the role of the councils, but it also gave the governor a sharp weapon for keeping them under control, half of the members were to be appointed and half to be elected. The pattern adopted in 1932 for the National Assembly and for municipal councils in 1953, was now extended to the provincial councils. By 1956 the governors must have gained confidence in their ability to get along with the elected councilmen, for at their national conference, they adopted a resolution that all councils be elected. Shortly thereafter the law was amended to provide that provincial councils should consist of at least twenty-four members elected for five years. Municipal councils were also to be all elected.

The governors had learned that they could indeed, control the councils. Decisions of the assemblies were

classified into "bylaws" and "other actions". The governor could cancel any of the "other actions" which he considered contrary to national laws, rules or other regulations as beyond the scope of the assembly's proper function of political jurisdiction. In regard to the "bylaws", the governor could also reject any act of his assembly, but he had to submit it to the Ministry of Interior for review. In effect, the Ministry of Interior and its agent, the governor, asserted full authority to veto, without appeal, all acts of the provincial councils.

2. District Government

District governments are direct extensions of the provincial governments. (See page 18 for the administrative organization). Each district is under the general charge of a district officer "nai amphur", who is appointed by the Ministry of Interior and is directly responsible to the governor of the province. Large districts may be divided into two or more subdistricts, each under the supervision of an assistant district officer. Most district officers are graduates of the University of Political and Moral Science (Themmasat University) and they are frequently transferred from one post to another. The average tenure of a district officer is about four years.

The duties of the district officer are more varied and extensive than those of any other government official. He is the chief administrative officer and chief magistrate

of his district. He sees to it that the laws and policies of the central government are executed within his jurisdiction. He supervises the collection of taxes; issues certificates of birth, marriage, divorce and death and registers school children, and aliens. He records all deeds and wills, arbitrates land disputes, and administers local elections. Each district office has a small staff of civil servants representing some of the ministries of the central government.

The district officer convenes monthly meeting of the headmen of the communes and villages in his district to inform them of government policies and to instruct them on the implementation of those policies. Meetings are conducted in a formal manner, with little give-and-take between the district officer and headmen. Although the headmenare permitted to ask questions and volunteer information, they rarely do. This unilateral exchange of information tends to result in the neglect of basic village and commune problems and stifle initiative on the part of the headmen.

The district agencies are the crucial elements in the governmental structure of Thailand. It is here where a majority of the government policies reach the people, especially in the rural area. Also, the district agencies are the initial governmental units where the needs and aspirations of the local people could be expressed. In the process of development planning, the district office serves

as a vital focus where policies are transformed into implementation, and feedback from the commune and village levels of government could be used to eliminate wasted efforts as well as to formulate creative and realistic policies. Realizing the importance of the district officers in the introduction of social and economic innovations at the commune and village level, the Ministry of Interior has instituted a training course for them in techniques of community development, and in such sophisticated subjects as human relations, national security, the organization of civil defense and the responsibility of leadership.

3. Commune Government

Each commune "tambon" is headed by an official called the "kamnan", a village headman himself who is chosen by the other headmen of the villages making up the commune and is confirmed in office by the provincial governor. The duties of the kamnan are few, but his prestige is considerable. He is in charge of recording vital statistics of the commune, and he deals with problems of the village headmen which do not warrant the attention of the district officers. Village headmen report to the kamnan before their monthly meeting with the district officers. In general, the kamnan serves as an intermediary between the district officer and village headmen.

The kamnan is not a civil service official. The central government pays him a monthly stipend of 120 baht

(U.S. $5.70). He also receives a small commission for measuring land and keeping records. The kamnan has a small staff and is also assisted by a commune council, which is composed of other officials of the commune - the resident doctor, the irrigation headmen, agricultural headmen and one or two retired village headmen.[4]

4. Village Government

For administrative purposes the central government defines a village as consisting of at least five households, and there are approximately 50,000 villages in Thailand. Each village has a headman or "pu yai ban" literally meaning "big man of the village".

Now, as throughout most of Thailand's history, village headmen are chosen by popular election. Every resident 21 years of age or 18 if married, may vote. The term of office is formally fixed at 5 years, but in most of rural Thailand, headmen tend to remain in office until they die or resign. The government requires that candidates be 21 and able to read and write; however, village mores impose other requirements. The candidates should be married and at least of middle age. He should have served in the Buddhist monkhood and have good moral character.[5]

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[4]George L. Harris et al. Area Handbook for Thailand, 1966, pp. 319-322.

[5]George L. Harris, et al. Area Handbook for Thailand, 1966, pp. 319-322.

It could be said that village government is the most democratic form of government in Thailand but is becoming less so due to encroachment of the central government The central government, by taking upon itself more responsibility in the suppression of provincial crime and by developing the means of communication, is altering the character of the kamnan's and pu yai ban's positions and affecting village organization, which has been left quite untouched in the past.[6] The office of headman appears to be declining in importance. Expansion of the power of the central government has tended to make him little more than an appendage of the district officer.

5. Municipal Government

A law authorizing the creation of municipal government was promulgated by the National Assembly in 1933. Under this law, cities (nakorn) with a population of more than 30,000 persons were to enjoy full municipal government. Towns (muang) which comprise the capitals of provincial governments and towns where the population exceeds 10,000 and have an average density of not less than 3,000 people per square kilometer, were given a more limited form of town government. Communes (tambon) were to have even more limited

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[6]Virginia Thompson. Thailand, the New Siam, 1967, pp. 233-251.

power, and only if so authorized by the Ministry of Interior. In 1972, Bangkok and Thon Buri were combined and given a legal autonomous state of Metropolitan Area of Greater Bangkok. Chiang Mai is the only city municipality. There are 82 towns and 33 communes with municipal self-governments.[7]

The system of municipal government created in 1933 did not work well, although it clearly represented a genuine effort to delegate real power to representative bodies. The difficulties experienced at the time had been attributed to the unwillingness or inability of the government to provide the needed support and positive assistance. It appeared that the central government was disinclined to give adequate financial support to the council or to implement fully the democratic provisions of the act.

The concept of municipal government in the Provincial Constitution, reflected that of the central government. The procedures for holding meetings, questioning, debate, and even the vote of confidence were identical. The governor of the province was to name the mayor, who would choose his executive committee, subject to endorsement by the elected councils, just as the king appointed the prime minister and the Supreme Council subject to Assembly approval. In

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[7]The National Economic Development Board, The Second Economic and Social Development Plan 1967-1971, 1969, pp. 95-121.

practice, however, a major difference developed. The appointive powers of the king became purely ceremonial; the appointive power of the governor remained quite real.

Nevertheless, despite its limitations, this early period of municipal self-government was a period of experimentation. The law did give the elected municipal councils some real authority, which they were eager to use. For example, by rejecting the annual budget or a major ordinance, a council could compel the mayor and his executive committee to resign. It is apparent that just as members of the National Assembly expected that they would be able to exercise real influence over the government, so the elected municipal councillors thought that they would be able to control the city administration.

a. Finance

Popular control over government required constructive elements which were scarcely present in the Thai society at that time. Local economic-resources were inadequate, and the tax base authorized for municipal governments quite limited. The Ministry of Interior had the right to supervise municipal finances and was unable or unwilling to provide needed financial supports. Without a base for experience with political bargaining and organization of private interest groups and without a strong existing commercial and professional middle class, the municipal assemblies were greatly handicapped in exercising

their new responsibilities.

b. Assembly

Although, the larger municipalities such as Bangkok and Thon Buri were better acquainted with the concept of municipal government, this first experience of municipal government resulted in inefficiency, corruption, conflict of interests and general confusion. Assemblymen bickered over small matters or plotted against the mayor, assembly meetings were often boycotted or broken up by incessant wranglings. Mayors came and went with great frequency; some were ousted by their assemblies, others had to leave on charges of incompetence or corruption. Councillors were often incompetent and administrative services were overstaffed and poorly run. Corruption pervaded the entire system. The central government sometimes intervened with a heavy hand; the Ministry of Interior often times dissolved the mayors and committees without formality of preferring charges.[8]

Lacking real power to control the municipal administration, municipal councillors clearly became demoralized, and the public increasingly indifferent. Only a small percentage of the eligible voters took the trouble to participate in municipal elections. The central

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[8]Wendell Blanchard et al. Thailand, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture, 1957, p. 191.

government, disillusioned with the failure of local municipal government, or perhaps reinforced in their conviction that it could not work, began to intervene more and more to bring order out of the confusion.

In 1938, the municipal law was amended to require that members of municipal executive committee be chosen from among members of the elected council. The right of the council to adopt votes of no confidence was also withdrawn. Thus, the authority of the assembly as a legislative body to impose their will upon the executive officials was curtailed. The Ministry of Interior sought to justify these changes by stating that they would assure cooperative effort between the municipal councils and the executive officials thus resulting in an efficient administrative procedure. The changes enhanced the ability of the central bureaucracy to strengthen its controls over the elected municipal councils. Thus the ability of the electorate to impose accountability upon the executive officials was limited.

Nevertheless, throughout the pre-World War II period, the elected municipal councils did have some independence and they often struggled valiantly, if chaotically, for a real voice in the conduct of public affairs. However, the state bureaucracy and the municipal executive officials, combining legal and institutional resources with personal manipulation, were gradually able to subdue and render

powerless the municipal councils.

The overall significance of the changes introduced by the 1938 Act and later actions could be summarized as a shift in emphasis from "political education", to "efficient administration". In other words, from being an experiment in local self-government designed to impose popular controls over public administrators and to stimulate the growth of democratic political institutions, the municipal government came to be seen as an inexpensive way of extending the range of bureaucratic control within the local government.

c. Bureaucratic Control

Throughout the war and the first years thereafter, conditions in municipal self government continued to deteriorate. Finally, in January 1953, a municipal reform act was adopted which brought urban government directly under the administrative control of the central bureaucracy through the provincial governors and district officers. The elected city councils were to be continued, but their powers were reduced to the vanishing point.

The mayors and their executive committees were to be appointed by governors. The municipal councils could be dissolved at any time by the provincial governors. Moreover, half of their members were to be appointed and only half elected, following the example set by the Constitution of 1932, in organizing the National Assembly. As poor

compensation for these losses, the municipalities were promised new revenue sources and greater financial autonomy, a promise that was never kept.[9]

By 1953, in other words, the effort which seemed to have begun with such bold promise in 1932 to create, at the local government level, effective centers of popular political autonomy of self government capable of imposing responsibility on administrative officials, had been severely limited by the gradual control of the central bureaucracy, under the Ministry of Interior. The Municipal Reform Act of 1953 gave formal sanction to the triumph of the bureaucratic power of the provincial governors.

d. Local Government Finance

During the 1964-1966 period the total development expenditures for all local administrative agencies was 1,488 million baht. Approximately 60% of local development expenditures came from local revenue; the balance was made up of central government subsidies and loans. It should be noted that about 58% of these expenditures occurred in the Greater Bangkok Metropolitan Area. However, Bangkok's share has been declining from 61.6% in 1964 to 58.3% in 1966.

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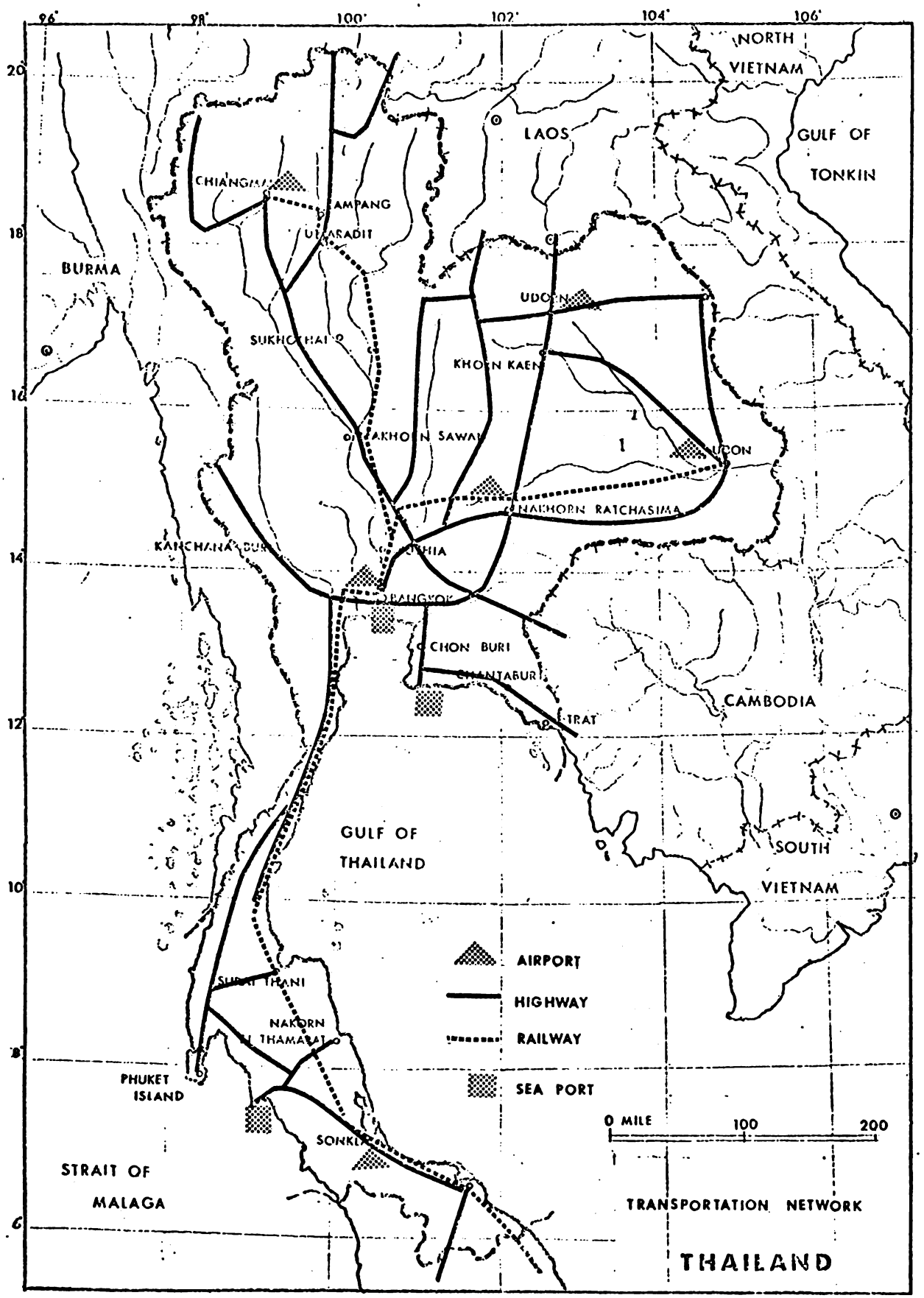
[9]Virginia Thompson, "Rural and Urban Self-Government in South East Asia," in Rupert Emerson, Representative Government in South East Asia, 1955, p. 127.

As has been pointed out earlier, local administrative agencies have only limited power to generate revenue. Most of the urban centers in the outlying provinces do not have substantial industrial or commercial and industrial developments to generate revenue for efficient operation of local governments. Most industries and wholesale markets are located in and around the Greater Bangkok Metropolitan Area. Most transportation, commerce, and service businesses are focused on Bangkok, the largest market, while the large export sector is dependent upon Bangkok, the main port facility.

The lack of regional development has created an unnecessary burden, especially for the domestic consumption market. Transport facilities are usually available to and from Bangkok, but become extremely expensive and, at times, inaccessible for a practical regional distribution system. The creation of an efficient commercial market for domestic consumption on a regional basis can be a realistic step in providing a more efficient system of distribution of goods and services. Such a market would stimulate industrial and commercial development in different regions thus resulting in generating revenues for local administration.

e. Second Plan - Local Development Expenditures

During the Second Economic and Social Development Plan the total estimated local development expenditure amounted to 4,100 million baht, of which 1,800 million or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NORTH VIETNAM
LAOS
GULF OF TONKIN
BURMA
CHIANGMAI
LAMPANG
UTTARADIT
SUKHOTHAI
UDON
KHON KAEN
NAKHON SAWAN
NAKHON RATCHASIMA
KANCHANABURI
AYUTHIA
BANGKOK
CHON BURI
CHANTABURI
TRAT
CAMBODIA
GULF OF THAILAND
SOUTH VIETNAM
SURAT THANI
NAKORN SI THAMARAT
PHUKET ISLAND
SONKLA
STRAIT OF MALAGA
AIRPORT
HIGHWAY
RAILWAY
SEA PORT
0 MILE
100
200
TRANSPORTATION NETWORK
THAILAND

Table 1

Local Administration Development Expenditures: 1964-1966

(millions of baht)

Local Agency	Year 1964	1965	1966	Total
Municipalities	303.8	382.5	409.7	1,096.0
Sanitary Districts	38.7	45.2	48.2	132.1
Provincial Administration	61.7	70.2	110.4	242.3
County Administration	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Total	410.2	503.9	514.3	1,488.4

Source: The second economic and social development plan 1967-1971, Office of the Prime Minister, p. 100.

Table II

Second Plan Local Administration Development

Expenditure Ratios for Bangkok - Thon Buri and Others

Year	Bangkok and Thon Buri	Other	Total
1967	58.6%	41.4%	100.0%
1968	59.2	40.8	100.0
1969	57.7	42.3	100.0
1970	57.3	42.7	100.0
1971	56.8	43.2	100.0
1967-1971	57.9%	42.1%	100.0%

Source: The second economic and social development plan 1967-1971, Office of the Prime Minister, p. 103.

Table III

Sources of Local Development Financing During the Second Plan

(Millions of baht)

Source Year	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	Total
National Budget	280.0	335.0	365.0	395.0	425.0	1,800.0
Bangkok - Thon Buri	117.0	132.0	143.0	155.0	168.0	715.0
Others	163.0	178.0	197.0	215.0	232.0	985.0
Reserves for new projects	-	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	100.0
Local Revenue Sources	320.0	380.0	450.0	530.0	620.0	2,300.0
Bangkok - Thon Buri	235.0	276.0	313.0	360.0	411.0	1,595.0
Others	85.0	104.0	137.0	170.0	209.0	705.0
Total	600.0	715.0	815.0	925.0	1045.0	4100.0
Summary						
Bangkok - Thon Buri	352.0	408.0	456.0	515.0	519.0	2,310.0
Others	248.0	282.0	334.0	385.0	441.0	1,690.0
Reserves for new projects	-	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	100.0

Source: The second economic and social development plan 1967-1971, Office of the Prime Minister, p. 102.

44% came from national government subsidies. It was expected that the total development expenditures would increase at a rate of 14% per annum.

The past allocation of development expenditures revealed that the amount expended in the Greater Bangkok Metropolitan Area was declining, compared to the amount spent in other areas. This is due to the national government's effort to decentralize economic advantages. Expenditures for Bangkok during the past two plans increased slightly due to urgent community improvement needs, especially road construction and garbage disposal.

During the Second Plan period, expenditures on communication and transportation were the most significant. However, when the bulk of road construction and maintenance were completed, expenditures in this category declined and other improvement activities gained in significance; e.g. community improvement, sanitation, and waste disposal.

As the local administrative agencies, especially the municipalities, took on more of the burden of public services, central government subsidies were required. During the past five years, total municipal expenditures increased at an average of 25% per annum, but revenue increased at only 15% per annum. Consequently government subsidies had to be increased 28% per annum. Most municipalities' revenue comes from taxation within the municipality. However, since a large proportion of the population lives

Table IV

Distribution of Local Administration Development Expenditure by Type of Activity during the Second Plan 1967-1971

Type of Activity	Percentage Distribution
Communication & Transportation	50.0%
Health	8.0
Education	5.0
Sanitation	9.5
Community Improvement, Recreation, and Fire Prevention	17.5
Vocational Promotion	6.0
Commerce	2.5
Waterworks & Power	1.5
Total	100.0%

Source: The second economic and social development plan, 1967-1971, p. 103.

in rural areas and come in to use the public services and facilities provided by the urban centers, these services have to serve large portions of the people who do not pay any direct taxation to support such services.

The government had recommended that the tax base of the municipalities be broadened and that the municipalities be given more power in tax collection. Also recommended was that taxes be directed upon individuals who benefit from public services and facilities.

At present, it is still difficult to say where the increase of revenue should come from. There is a definite need for further study and research to determine the nature of the problems of urban public finance, budgeting and expenditure.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT PLANNING ACTIVITIES

A. National Planning

The promotion of the rudimentary ideas of central planning in 1950 was prompted by nationalist motives. The post World War II regime led by Prime Minister Phibun wanted to regain control of the business life which had fallen into Chinese and other foreign hands. In order to gain United Nation support it was felt that detailed national planning was essential. The National Economics Council was established by an act passed in 1949. The council was intended as a technical advisory body with the duty of researching and advising government on economic questions. The aim was to bring together people with expertise on various aspects of the economy to constitute a special advisory committee.

The council was organized into five different boards. The act did not give it a professional secretariat, but there was a rudimentary departmental structure upon which it was possible to build. Apart from the central office, there were three small divisions, a division of experts and analysts, a division of statistical compilation and a

division of statistical analysis. There was only one small section provided for research and plainly nothing more was intended than examining existing records. The Statistical Compilation Division however, was more promising, having sections concerned with national resources and agriculture, transportation and industry, finance and trade, and social and public works. Before these statistics had been collected in particular departments there was no responsibility for coordination. Much more coordination was needed, but this division represented a starting point.

Early in 1951 an agreement was signed with the United States, and several programs of aid were suggested. If the Thai government was to retain control it was necessary that it undertake the coordination of these different programs. A committee,closely associated with the National Economic Council was, therefore, created and called the Thai Technical and Economic Coordination Committee (TTEC). Coordinating activities included bringing in foreign experts and sending young Thais for specialized training abroad, introducing several changes and innovations in the organizational structure of the government, and in economic planning over the next ten years.

Another step in the direction of national planning was the establishment of the National Income Division of the NEC. The first national income estimates ever made for Thailand were presented to the NEC by an American financial

advisor, Joseph S. Gould in 1952. Gould's report not only established several methods and procedures, but resulted in the establishment of a permanent National Income Research Division of the NEC in 1954.

The World Bank Mission arrived in Thailand in July 1957, and after a year of field work, submitted a comprehensive report on national economic planning in Thailand. One of the most important policy recommendations made by the Bank Mission was the establishment of a central planning agency to make a continuing study of the nation's economy and draw up plans for its development. It was to be directed by a National Development Board composed of a few ministers seriously concerned about the problems of economic growth and chaired by the Prime Minister. The Bank Mission also suggested that a professional Secretariat be established to act as the technical arm of the National Development Board.

In October 1958, shortly after the change in government, some of the recommendations of the Bank Mission were implemented. The National Economic Development Board (NEDB), charged with the functions of a central planning agency, was created in July 1959. Briefly, the NEDB operates at three levels. At the top level is the Board comprised of the Prime Minister, two Deputy Prime Ministers, the Secretary-General of the NEDB and other government and

non-government members appointed by the Council of Ministers. In practice the Board seldom meets, and so its functions are delegated to the nine-member Executive Committee which includes the Secretary-General of the NEDB. The Executive Committee meets regularly and has the authority to supervise the work of the Planning Secretariat and a number of 'ad hoc' and standing committees including the TTEC. Thus in reality the Executive Committee, rather than the Board, actually recommends the various plans, programs, projects, and policies to the Council of Ministers for final approval.

The Central Statistical Office and the TTEC become part of the NEDB as recommended by the Bank Mission. However, when the new Ministry of National Development was created in 1963, the major departments and agencies concerned with development plan implementation - such as those for highways and irrigation, and utilities as well as the TTEC were reorganized under this ministry. At the same time, the Central Statistical Office also became a department within the Prime Minister's Office, leaving the NEDB with only the Office of Planning and National Income. The NEDB super-structure, the Board and the Executive Committee, nevertheless remained the same.

Development of the first Six-Year Plan included only the resources and expenditures of the central government supplemented by foreign grants and loans to the public sector. Major production and financial targets were

established and government policies and development activities were designed to implement those targets. Significant progress was made during the first half of the Six-Year Plan. The proposed five percent annual growth rate in national income was achieved. Actual production exceeded Plan targets, partly due to favorable weather and world market conditions. Domestic and external stability were maintained and the country's financial position was greatly strengthened.

With a better understanding of the planning process both within and outside the NEDB and with the availability of more reliable data and more carefully prepared projects, targets during the second phase of the Six-Year Plan (1964-1966) were revised to 6 percent per annum rate of growth in national income. Yet, the planning strategy continued to promote economic activities in the private sector through the maintenance of economic and financial stability and the expansion of public development expenditures for infrastructure facilities. The revised Plan also contains a careful analysis of public sector resources and uses of funds, as well as evaluation of the balance of payments from the point of view of ensuring a high growth rate without endangering domestic and external stability.

Despite these improvements, the Second and Third National Economic and Social Development Plans (1966-1970, 1970-1975), still contain a number of imperfections. In particular, attempts will be made to establish a more

effective system of progress reporting and performance evaluation. Work will need to be done in the coordination of manpower planning with economic planning, the widening activities in the private sector, and the establishment of functional relationships among policies, measures and anticipated targets both for the individual sector and for the economy as a whole with the targets of the latter being expressed in terms of the increase in national production and income, living standards and other significant indicators of economic and social progress.

Defining Thailand's planning process is a difficult task, impeded by a number of basic problems for which there are no easy solutions. First of all, planning methods and procedures involve novel concepts which have not been adequately practiced by the Thai authorities and people. Even if the planning ideas and methods were understood and appreciated, the planning tools and agents, such as statistical data, suitable institutions and trained administrators, are not sufficiently available in a relatively underdeveloped country like Thailand.

Moreover, in Thailand there is a lack of a sense of urgency in regard to planning, which can be attributed to the generally satisfactory economic conditions prevailing in the country. As a consequence, there is a failure to recognize the immediate need for planning to cope with the emerging problems that may become serious in the future.

In practice there is only a partial government commitment to planning, and popular support and involvement in the planning process is lacking.[1]

Robert J. Muscat cites centralization of governmental control as one of the major problems in planning.

> "An important factor has been the great concentration of power in Bangkok. Changwat, amphur and village government personnel are closely supervised by the central government, and except for the lowest village officials,are all appointed by Bangkok, in most matters they have very little, if any, discretionary authority. Between the lack of any real autonomy, and the virtually complete dependence of all local government levels on central government finance, there is little scope or incentive for the development of local initiative in economic or other matters. In the absence of any other significant organizations besides government capable of generating group action, the extreme centralization of the Thai government system may be cutting off a potentially vigorous institutional source of local government."2

One of the basic problems is that Thailand's rate of population growth has been increasing rapidly. Should the current increase of over three percent per annum persist, it is predicted that Thailand's population will number 50 million by 1980 as compared to its present population of

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[1]Prayad Buranasiri and Snoh Unakul, "Obstacles to Effective Planning Encountered in the Thai Planning Experience", The Philippine Economic Journal, Number Eight, Second Semester 1965, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1965, pp. 327-334.

[2]Robert J. Muscat, Development Strategy in Thailand, 1966, pp. 279-280.

37 million. This rapid rate of growth and the accompanying increase in the dependency ratio will aggravate the existing basic problems. While consumption, educational needs, and employment opportunities must be expected to expand rapidly, it will be increasingly difficult to raise adequate savings to finance the required investment.

On the supply side, production of goods and services in Thailand is handicapped by a low level of productivity and an inefficient marketing and transportation system. Consequently, yields are relatively low, production costs are higher, and undue wastage is prevalent. The problem of low productivity is aggravated by the period of prolonged exploitation. Thus, there is an urgent need for the government to expand and strengthen its program for improving productivity, particularly in the conservation and rehabilitation of natural resources, the provision of infrastructure, the support of research and extension services, and the training of managerial and technical personnel.

Taking into consideration the basic economic problems just cited, it is clear that even to maintain the relatively high per capita income growth rate of the past, Thailand will have to increase the efficiency of capital use, intensify its effort to mobilize resources and strengthen the judicious allocation of investment resources. In view of the critical political situation in Southeast Asia, national development planning should be an important factor in fostering national

security through economic and social progress of the population as a whole.

In spite of the planning problems just reviewed, the National Economic Development Board has been able to accomplish significant results. The planning efforts have helped to inculcate a planning outlook among the government officials most closely responsible for the formulation and implementation of the development programs. In particular, this inculcation has gradually induced a tendency toward more interdepartmental coordination. The very existence of the Plan has served to increase both public and official awareness of the national economic problem and Thailand's potential for economic development. The NEDB's screening procedure has successfully eliminated a number of dubious projects which were economically unjustifiable.[3]

Lastly, it is obvious that without both private participation and a strong and enlightened political leadership wholeheartedly committed to its course, development planning cannot become a truly viable and effective process. Planning authorities require a clear sense of direction and an organized, disciplined approach if they are to solve development problems and maximize economic benefits.

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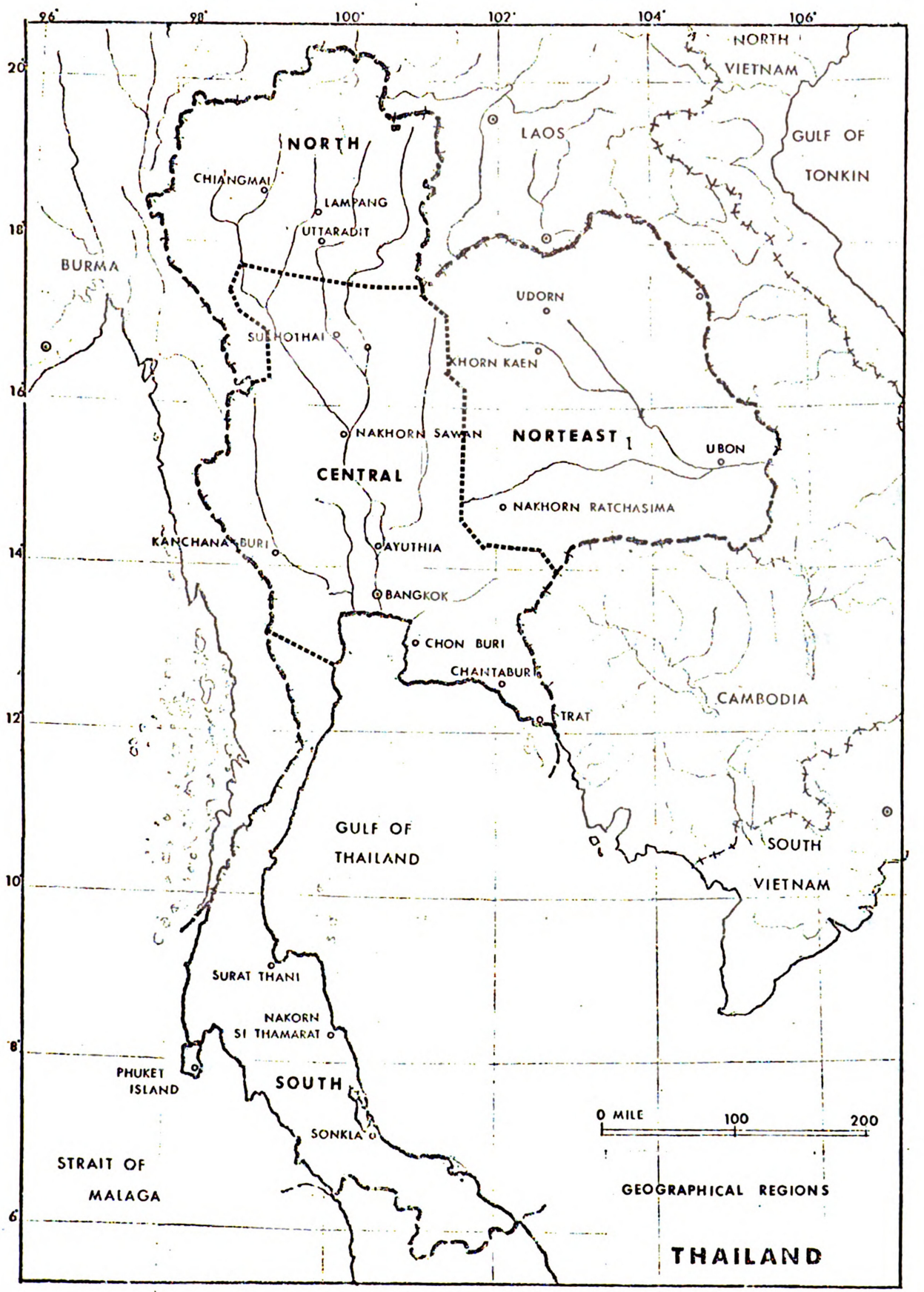
[3]Prayad Buranasisi and Snah Unabul, "Obstacles to Effective Planning Encountered in the Thai Planning Experience", The Phillippine Economic Journal, Number Eight, Second Semester 1965, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1965, pp. 333-340.

B. Regional Development

Northern Region Development Policy: The major part of the northern Region is highland and dense forest. Agricultural land is scarce and because of the rapid expansion of population growth, only 9.6 rai (2.5 rai equals one acre) per family is now available. The Northern Region Development Policy will attempt to increase agricultural production in order to provide a sufficient standard of living, promote maximum use of available natural resources, and develop remote areas such as those settled by the hill tribes.

Northeastern Region Development Policy: The Northeast is the largest but poorest region of the country. Its population comprises nearly one-third of the whole nation, but the average per capita income is only one-half of the national average. The majority of the people engage in subsistence farming. The aim of the Northeastern Development Policy, therefore, is to raise the standard of living as quickly as possible through various development programs. Scarce natural resources and inferior topographic conditions necessitate such projects as potable water supply, communications and power. Furthermore, subversive activities and infiltration in this part of the country make the policy for Northeastern Development a matter of top priority.

Southern Region Development: The topographic and economic conditions of this area, especially the Southern border provinces, differ considerably from those of other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regions. Even though this area was formerly neglected, the government is presently attempting to develop the south along with the other regions. The policy for this region stresses social development, particularly education. On the economic side, programs are being set up for highway improvement, self-help communities, and replacement of present rubber trees with new high yielding varieties. Further, fishing and mining will be encouraged, and programs for improvement and construction of deep seaports are underway.

Eastern Region Development Policy: Another area of importance to the national economic system is the eastern region, which can be extensively developed, especially in coastal commerce and industry. In the northern border area where poverty and hardship still persist, the policy will emphasize improvements in communication.

Western Region Development Policy: This area is plentiful in natural resources such as land, forests, and water. Therefore, the policy objective is for the more effective use of these natural resources, especially water resources to encourage further agricultural activities.

Region Development Budget

The financial support of the Regional Committee program is not limited to the budget of the Regional Committees but is also based on central government allocations in such fields as construction of road, establishment of universities

Table V

Second Plan Regional and Local Development Budget Summary

(millions of baht)

Type of Budget Year	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	Total
Regional Development Fund	70	75	75	85	95	400
Government Subsidies for Local Administration Development	280	335	365	395	425	1,800
Accelerated Rural Development Fund	150	150	200	250	250	1,000
Remote Area Development Fund	35	40	45	50	50	220
Specific Area Development Fund	10	10	20	20	20	80
Total	545	610	705	800	840	3,500

Source: The second national economic and social development Plan 1967-1971, Office of the Prime Minister, p. 110.

and other infrastructures. During the Second Plan period, a budget of 400 million baht for regional development projects will be included in the central budget, but the main portion of regional development expenditures will be financed through the different local administrative agencies. Projects which are regional in nature, but which are financed through the central government budget, must benefit not only the provinces of that region but also contiguous provinces as well.

C. Urban Development and Planning

In 1957 the Municipality of Bangkok with the assistance of the USOM Office, engaged the expert service of a planning company, Litchfield Whiting Bowne and Associates, to lay down future plans for the Bangkok Metropolitan Area. The result of three and one half years of investigation and planning was the Greater Bangkok Metropolitan Plan 1990.

1. Objectives

The Plan examined land use, governmental organization, and policies necessary for future government administration and implementation. The consultants also recommended the creation of a governmental agency for urban and regional planning, with the following objectives:

1. That the agency be a central agency whose policy should be for all ministries in development of the country.

2. That close coordination of the agency with the National Economic Development Board and the Office of the National Budget, is an essential ingredient in the success of the long term plans as well as the annual budget.
3. That such agency be created under the Office of the Prime Minister.

2. Functions

In 1962, after a year of experimental work, the Thai Government, under the Reorganization of Ministries and Departments Act, October 1, 1962, created the Department of Town and Country Planning, a civil organization under the Ministry of Interior. The department is charged with the following functions:

a. To prepare the regional and physical planning program as a part of the National Social and Economic Development Plan.
b. To prepare the regional plans and the master plan of the cities throughout the country consistant with national policy and approve the master plans submitted by the provinces.
c. To prepare the special project plans requested by governmental agencies, to approve the projects planned by other units, and to ratify the alteration of the municipal boundaries.

d. To plan and develop the city according to the approved master plan and special project plans.

e. To amend the regional plan and the master plan.

f. To follow up, evaluate and solve the problems of implementation.

g. To give advice on city planning to the governmental units.[4]

Since only five of the nine asked for divisions of the Department of Town and Country Planning have been approved, the department could not implement work covering the entire country. The resulting work leaves much to be desired in quality, quantit-, and scheduling of planning programs. The department was severely limited in meeting the first objective. Therefore, after being established for one year, the department has been rearranged by adding 3 more internal divisions. Another informal division, the Regional Planning Division, was set up on the 1st of October 1970. To cover all physical planning activities, the department now consists of the following nine divisions:

1. The Office of the Secretary, and correspondence and finance.

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[4]Department of Town and Country Planning, Ministry of Interior. History, Function and Future Programs, 1971, p. 7.

2. Research and Analysis
3. Engineering
4. Comprehensive Planning
5. Programming
6. Mapping (internal)
7. Project Planning (internal)
8. Planning Control (internal)
9. Regional Planning (internal)

3. Work Accomplished

The department has already prepared 35 comprehensive plans for the provincial administrative seats and urban areas throughout the country and has revised the 1960 Greater Bangkok Metropolitan Plan 1990, Approximately six comprehensive plans are being completed a year.

There are 607 project plans of specific urban problems prepared for new construction. Thirty-nine projects are for new construction in fire-damaged areas. The Project Plan Division also works closely with the Department of Community Development in preparing community development centers.

Base maps of 200 towns or parts of towns for planning preparation have been prepared. In addition, 250 maps, including maps attached to Royal Decrees, have been completed which show municipality boundaries and sanitary districts.

The enforcement of planning work includes inspection and control of urban development to comply with the plans

prepared by the department. Approximately ten comprehensive plans are inspected a year. The Planning Control Division also inspects the project plans and the development plans of fire-damaged areas.

Lastly the department has been involved in drafting new planning legislation. The draft version was submitted to the Cabinet in January of 1970 for approval and National Assembly enactment. However, the proposed legislation was rejected by the Assembly in 1972. At present planning is based on the Town and Country Act 1952.[5]

Thus it has been approximately 11 years since the government saw fit to create the Department of Town and Country Planning, and to provide land use planning for urban communities, according to the social and economic development plans. In the past decade the department has been fulfilling its duties in accordance with the above prescribed objectives. However, the administrative capacity of the department is severely limited in carrying out its work, especially in view of the changing needs and aspirations of the society; therefore, there is an urgent need to improve the administrative ability and revise the objectives of the department, in accordance with the long-range national social and

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[5]Department of Town and Country Planning, Ministry of Interior. History, Function and Future Programs, 1971, pp. 16-21.

economic development plan. The needs could be summarized as follows:

4. Planning Coordination

The social and economic development plan of each nation depends upon the regional, urban and specific project plans for definite directions and alternatives. Thus development and investment will be in harmony with the nation's natural resources, labor market, agricultural production, and industrial production, as well as domestic and foreign markets.

At present, according to the set objectives of the Department of Town and Country Planning, it is not possible to produce work of the desired quality and quantity and also coordinate the work required by the National Economic Development Board of the Office of the Prime Minister. Therefore, the scope of the department should be expanded to satisfy at least this requirement.

5. Comprehensive Planning

The department should have the ability to achieve a comprehensive land use plan for all urban areas in the whole country. In preparing such a comprehensive land use plan, it is necessary to plan for all communities; large metropolitan areas such as Bangkok, as well as, small communes and villages. It is hopeful that such a plan will have a sound base and analytical details capable of being used by different agencies, both public and private.

It should give creative alternatives, so as to bring development benefit for the whole nation. Such a comprehensive plan will enable the high ranking decision-makers to have analytical tools in preparing future planning policies and programs. Such a plan would provide the needed coordinating link among the policy makers , the analyst, and the man in the field.

6. Advocacy Planning

There is a definite lack in the emphasis of advocacy planning. The public and community decision about the desired alternatives for their future growth should be an important input in the planning process. Such input is important in designing planning parameters and constraints. It can also serve as an important feedback loop for the improvement of policy formulation and implementation of the plan.[6]

7. Planning Law

At present the Department of Town and Country Planning is exercising its legal power through the Town and Country Planning Act of 1952. The "1952 Act" gives a general sketch of the possible activities a governmental agency may pursue in creating an orderly urban environment.

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[6]Department of Town and Country Planning, Ministry of Interior. Administrative Restructure of the Department of Town and Country Planning, 1972, pp. 11-13.

It should be kept in mind that the majority of the people in Thailand live in rural communities and law makers hesitated to vest any sizeable power to the urban sector. Also the law was a forerunner of its kind. In practice, it gives the governmental agency almost no police power, or power of eminent domain. The few instances for which the power of eminent domain is granted are cases of national emergency, or areas destroyed by fire or flood and officially declared "disaster areas".

Therefore, over the last eleven years, the Department of Town and Country Planning has been operating on a very limited basis, of an advisory capacity and as consultant to other agencies. Needless to say it has no power to enforce the implementation of its work. It depends entirely on the local administrative agencies to carry out its plans and proposals.

Within the last few years the department recognized the need to improve its working ability. Correction of limitations in the 1952 Act is one of the major improvements on the agenda. By this time the department has passed the "experimental stage" and if it is going to be constructive, it must have the power to carry out the planning process in its totality.

The second important aspect is that the country needs a well defined law to guide an orderly development of

the urban settlements in the very near future. Thailand is rapidly becoming urbanized. Urbanization has been identified and closely correlated with the national socio-economic development, planning, and growth. It is vital that such a process of urbanization be guided in accordance with the national objectives and aspirations.

The department, with the help of the Ministry of Justice, has revised the present law. The new urban planning act deals mainly with two aspects. One, the administrative process of planning which defines who's who, for all parties concerned, and two, the power of eminent domain. The act refers to three existing laws: the General Power of Eminent Domain Act, The Royal Highway Act (right of way acquisition), and the Building Construction Regulation Act.

When presented to Congress in 1972, the proposed law was unanimously defeated. The criticism was that the eminent domain vests too great a power in the government agency concerned, and that the individual property rights are hampered. At the moment the solution to the problem seems to be to structure a "gradual" law that would allow the power of eminent domain as the department proves its competency in exercising such power.

CHAPTER IV

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Rapid urban growth is second to the rate of population growth as a major changing force on the social, economic and political structures of Thailand. Both population and urban growth are highly related. Rapid urbanization is probably a function of the high rate of population growth; while rapid urban increase may be due to the heavy exodus from rural areas burdened with excessive population growth. Although Thailand is one of the least urbanized countries in the world, like many of the developing countries it has begun to experience rapid urban growth in this century. Yet, documentation of the extent and character of urbanization remains one of the major research challenges. Among the countries in Asia, Thailand well illustrates the United Nations Commission conclusion that, "the magnitude of the problems of internal migration and urbanization in the ECAFE region was not matched either by the quantity and quality of the existing data on these phenomena or by the analyses which have so far been undertaken."[1]

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[1]U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and The Far East, Report of the Expert Working Group on Problems of Internal Migration and Urbanization, SA/Dem/EGIM/L.22 (Conference held in Bangkok, Thailand, 24 May-5 June 1967), p. 71.

History has shown that in the developed countries, rising levels of urbanization were closely associated with social and economic progress in a wide range of areas.[2] Whether urbanization operates as a causal factor in producing such improvements or whether it is merely a part of a broader process of change remains for further investigation. Because of the limited data available to test the relationship between urbanization on the one hand and social and economic development on the other, it is difficult to presuppose what type of association would characterize Thailand. The answer probably lies in the future work of improving research and data collecting thereby making it possible to obtain a clearer understanding of the effect of urbanization on the social and economic structures of Thailand. Moreover, if urbanization is occurring at a considerably faster rate than changes in the socio-economic structure, over urbanization, might be one of the major problems Thailand will have to face in the near future.

A. Over-Urbanization

The social and economic conditions occurring during the urbanization process in developing countries differ substantially from those experienced by the industrially

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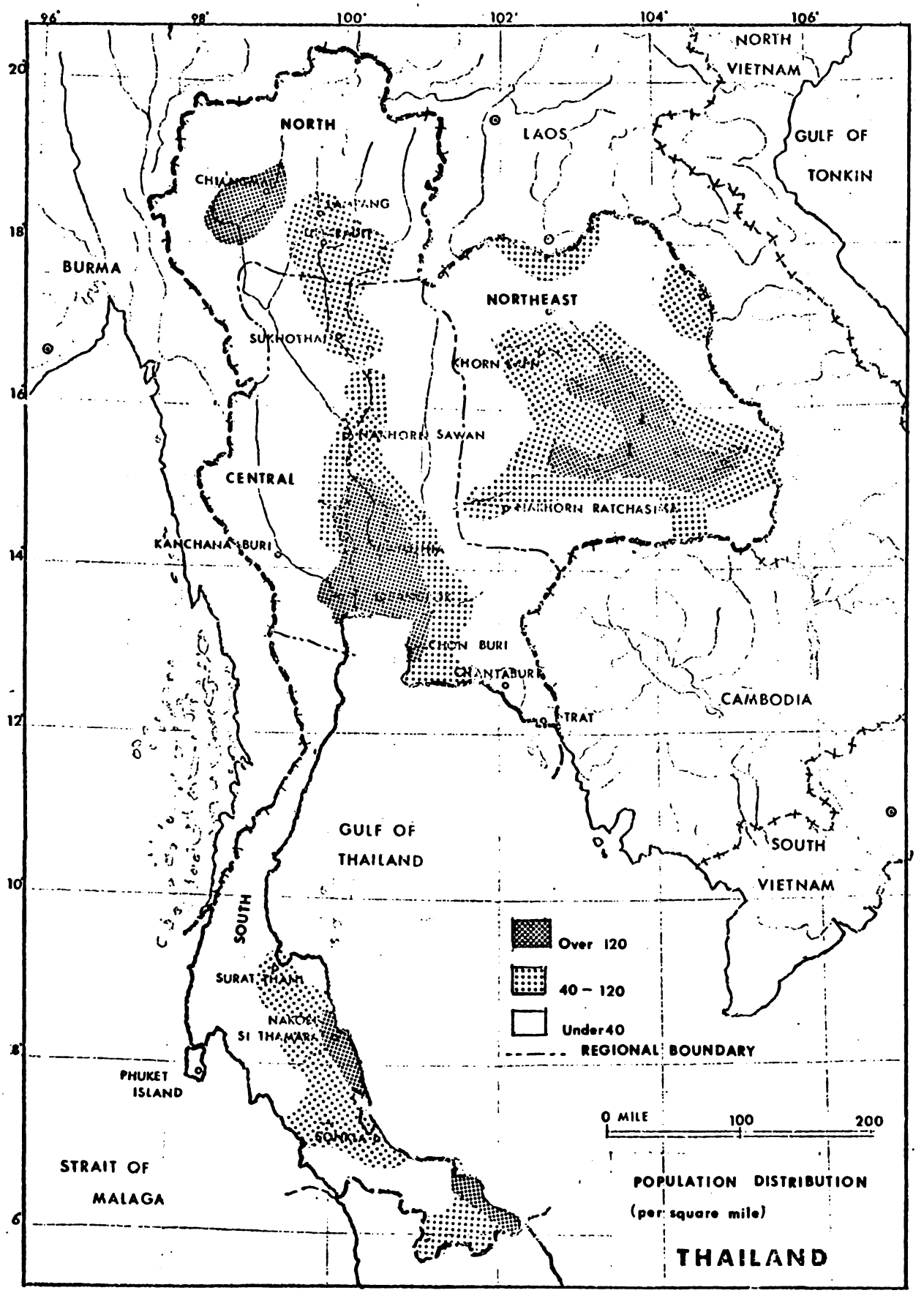
[2]Phillip N. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, Editors, The Study of Urbanization, 1967, pp. 1-47 and 519-554.

advanced countries during their major urban growth. The 19th century industrial revolution in Western Europe and North America took place at a relatively moderate pace synchronized by world-wide trade. Now, however, the great migration into the capitals of Africa, Asia and Latin America is most intensive and rapid in areas where natural resources are undeveloped and where the economic and technological resources and human skills are inadequate. The cities of developing countries have outpaced their development.

In developing countries, rapid population increase in both rural and urban areas, not technological innovations and industrial growth, is mainly responsible for urbanization. With both city and countryside overpopulated a high level of unemployment and underemployment exists, productive capacity is low and great demands are placed on the economic and political system. Various crises have to be met by the government. The achievement of national unity and identity, a more equitable distribution of consumption goods, and the creation of a wider infrastructure, all make heavy demands on a country's natural resources.

Much of the blame for urban problems in developing countries is ascribed to rural-urban migration, supposedly due mainly to the push from the countryside rather than to the pull of the city. As people migrate to the cities, they create an immense pressure on urban services. Lack of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PHAKHORN SAWAN
CENTRAL
PHAKHORN RATCHASIMA
KANCHANABURI
CHON BURI
CHANTABURI
TRAT
CAMBODIA
GULF OF THAILAND
SOUTH VIETNAM
SOUTH
SURAT THANI
NAKORN SI THAMMARAT
PHUKET ISLAND
STRAIT OF MALAGA
Over 120
40 – 120
Under 40
REGIONAL BOUNDARY
0 MILE 100 200
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
(per square mile)
THAILAND

adequate facilities creates slums and squatter colonies, and perpetuates traditional rural patterns of life and complicates urban social and economic changes.[3]

These theories of over-urbanization in developing countries have been prevalent for some time. However, more recently, questions have been raised about their validity, especially by the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Development Policies and Planning in Relation to Urbanization. Objection to the "over-urbanization" theory are based on its generalization from Western experience, which may very well prove to have been exceptional in the combined experience of the world. As for the suggestion that urbanization in developing countries is due to push rather than pull factors, actual observations has shown that the interplay of factors is a more complex process. The United Nations Seminar concluded that:

> "To derive a theory from past developments and consider it fully applicable to present and foreseeable conditions could lead to fallacious conclusions. . . . Since at all times cities have served as promoters of necessary change, the growth of cities need not be viewed as an entirely negative phenomenon."[4]

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[3]United Nations. Administrative Aspect of Urbanization, (ST/TAO/M/51) 1970, pp. 4-8.

[4]United Nations. Report of the Interregional Seminar on Development Policies and Planning in Relation to Urbanization, (ST/TAO/Ser.C/97) 1966, p. 18.

B. Urbanization For Modernization

Urbanization can be viewed as the growth of urban centers and urban population, but it can also be considered as a process of modernization: a change from rural to urban attitudes. Social and economic growth in urban areas creates a perspective in which development is not just an increase of capacities and production but an improvement of the human condition and environment.

Urbanization has a key role to play in the achievement of goals in development. As urbanization increases, it is accompanied by specialization and differentiation of social structure and function. The complexity arising from these processes generates a need for coordination. Hence, by changing human organizational ability and providing the conditions for concerted effort, urbanization increases the capacity for functional cooperation in the pursuit of complex goals.

The role of urbanization in the attainment of developmental goals is already apparent in the increasingly changing view of urban growth itself. Instead of looking upon urbanization as a process of growth causing a number of problems needing solution, another approach has recently suggested that this process be influenced so as to bring about development. The meaning of urbanization itself is undergoing change. The concept of urbanization as a process of urban growth is being replaced by urbanization as an

instrument of social change and development.[5]

C. Population Growth and Distribution

In 1970 most of the Thais lived in two major population concentrations. First was the Central Region stretching along the aluvial plain stretching almost three hundred miles northward from Bangkok, narrowing from a width of about one hundred miles in the south to fifty miles in the north and becoming at the same time less densely populated. The second major concentration was within a 125 mile radius of the river basin around Roi-Et on the Korat Plateau in the Northeast Region.

Minor population concentrations were along the eastern coast of the southern peninsula around Nakhornsrithamarat and Songkhla area and in the Chiangmai area of the North Region. Most of the concentrations were low land settlements along the flat plain of the river basin. The only dense settlements which were higher than 650 feet above the mean sea level were to be found in Chiangmai. Most densely settled areas had direct access to sources of water. The Central Plain was the most fertile area, with the annual flooding of the plain by the rivers which carried rich natural fertilizer from the forest to the north.

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[5]International Union of Local Authorities. Urbanization in Developing Countries, 1968, p. 7.

1. Population Growth

The last half of the nineteenth century was of decisive importance in the history of South-East Asia. Colonial rule spread into the region and at the same time trade was becoming increasingly more global. Cheap shipping rates, and the new commercial markets attracted Chinese from the coast of southern China to the countries bordering the South China Sea. The Chinese went to these countries to become, in an overwhelming number of cases, not farmers but businessmen, tin miners, rubber planters; in short they became entrepreneurs who filled the previously lacking service sector. They caused an increase in food demand, which resulted in the development of a large commercial rice market in the region.

The impetus to the population growth of Thailand was brought about during King Mongkut's reign in 1851 to 1868. Many treaties were concluded with European powers, notably the British, which substantially opened the country to foreign trade and cultural influences, thereby accelerating the impact of the Western socio-economic and political institutions as well as technology on the country.

> "The importance of these treaties can scarcely be exaggerated, since they paved the way for a flood of transformations which followed. Sir John Bowring, who negotiated the treaty with King Mongkut, writing that its provisions involved a total revolution in all the financial machinery of the governments. The basic provision of the treaty was an agreement to permit free trade by private merchants, subject only to

> an import duty ad valorem on imports. Thus the system of royal monopolies and the special privilege on many of the highest officials and nobles were gradually replaced by private merchants." 6

This meant that the government would have to devise a new financial system to obtain its revenue, thereby necessitating a basic change in the system of taxation and financial administration. By encouraging rice production and export, not only the demands of foreign merchants were met, but at the same time taxation on exports more than helped to augment the revenues. Rural Thais proved remarkably responsive to the new demand and subsistence farmers began to produce food surplussed for the cash market. The increase in rice production was realized by extending the cultivation of paddy land and intensifying labor in the Central Plain above Bangkok. Beginning in the 1950's the highway system supplemented the railways and the rivers.

2. Urban-Rural Population

In 1960 only 12.5% of the Thai population lived in urban areas in contrast to just over 20% of the population in all the developing regions of the world. Although the projected total level remains low, Thailand's urban growth rate is high, averaging about 5% per year, which is above

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[6]Riggs, F. W. Thailand, The Modernization of the Bureaucratic Polity, 1966, p. 19.

the rest of the world's developing regions. Yet, because the rural growth rate is also considerably higher than that of the rest of the world, the speed of urbanization seems to be less marked in Thailand than elsewhere. However, the increasing rate of rural-urban migration should not be overlooked in the accelerating rate of urbanization.

3. Level and Rate of Urbanization by Municipal Area

When using the Municipal Area as the equivalent of an urban place and population, the level of urbanization in Thailand increased from 9.9% in 1947 to 12.5% in the census count of April 1960. Between 1947-1960, the urban population grew at an average annual rate of 5.0% compared to the rural population which grew by 3.0% each year. According to the registry accounting, urban residents in 1960 constituted 13.1% and this level had risen by 1967 to 14.4%.

Changing levels of urbanization can also be assessed by comparing the number of places of given size and the distribution of population among them. Of the 119 places designated as Municipal Areas in 1947, almost three-fourths had fewer than 10,000 persons, and 95% were under 20,000. Based municipal size, urbanization, with the notable exception of Greater Bangkok, was at a very low level. By 1960 the picture had changed considerably; of the 119 designated Municipal Areas, just under half had

Table VI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN PLACES & URBAN POP. BY SIZE & PLACES

(1947, 1960, 1967)

Size of Places (Pop. in 1000's)	Distribution of Urban Places				Distribution of Urban Population		
	1947	1960	1967	(Total) Pop.	1947	1960	1967
Total Urban Places	116.0	119.0	119.0	1734000	3378000	4673000	
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1000.0 & over	-	0.8	0.8	-	53.2	55.9	
750.0-999.9	0.9	-	-	45.1	-	-	
75.0- 99,9	-	-	0.8	-	-	1.8	
50.0 74.9	-	0.8	0.8	-	2.0	1.6	
40.0- 49.9	-	0.8	5.1	-	1.3	5.7	
30.0- 39.9	0.9	6.7	10.1	2.2	7.0	8.9	
20.0- 29.9	3.5	9.3	12.2	5.1	7.9	7.4	
15.0- 19.9	6.0	11.8	11.8	7.1	7.1	5.0	
10.0- 14.9	17.2	22.7	22.7	13.7	9.6	7.3	
5.0- 9.9	40.5	37.0	29.4	19.7	9.6	5.8	
Under 5.0	31.0	10.1	5.9	7.7	1.4	0.6	

Source: Sidney Goldstein, Urbanization in Thailand, Bangkok, 1972, p. 9.

Table VI Continued

PLACES IN THE SAME SIZE OR SHIFTING TO HIGHER SIZE CLASS, (+1=UP ONE SIZE CLASS, +2=UP 2 OR MORE SIZE CLASS)

	1947-1960			1960-1967		
	Same	+1	+2	Same	+1	+2
Number of Total Urban Places	.37	.53	.26	.60	.54	.50
1,000 & over	-	-	-	-	-	-
750.0-999.9	0	1	0	1	0	0
75.0- 99.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
50.0- 74.9	-	-	-	0	1	0
40.0- 49.9	-	-	-	0	1	0
30.0- 39.9	0	0	1	2	6	0
20.0- 29.9	2	1	1	3	8	0
15.0- 19.9	0	2	5	2	10	12
10.0- 14.9	4	9	7	15	11	1
5.0- 9.9	20	20	7	30	12	2
Under 5.0	11	20	5	7	5	0

Source: Sidney Goldstein, Urbanization in Thailand, Bangkok, 1972, p. 4.

TABLE VII

COMPARATIVE DATA ON PERCENT URBAN & CHANGE IN URBAN-RURAL POPULATION 1960-1985 IN DEVELOPED & DEVELOPING REGIONS OF THE WORLD

Year	Developed Regions	Percent Urban Developing Regions	Thailand
1960	59.6%	22.9%	12.5%
1970	65.7	28.9	14.5
1985	73.9	39.0	18.9
(1960-1985's Percent Change (increase-decrease)			
Rural	-15.7%	52.7%	102.7%
Urban	63.0	204.3	231.4
Annual Average			
Rural	-0.7%	1.7%	2.9%
Urban	2.0	4.6	4.9

Source: Population Division of the United Nations, "Urban and Rural Population Individual Countries 1950-1985 and Regions and Major Areas 1950-2000." ESA/P/WP:33/REV/ Sept.22, 1970, tables A & B.

fewer than 10,000 people and only 80% were under 20,000. By 1967 the number of places with under 10,000 persons was reduced to just over one-third, the number with 10-20,000 inhabitants remained constant at one-third, but the number with 20-50,000 population increased from 4.4% in 1947 to 27.8% in 1967.

D. Census and Registration

Many attempts have been made to estimate the population of nineteenth century Thailand and there is a general agreement that the population inside what is now Thailand probably rose from 4 million inhabitants to somewhere in the vicinity of 6 million during the two centuries preceeding 1900. The series of censuses which began in 1911 has shown that there was a slow but accelerating pattern of population growth at least throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. The rate of population growth has been of the same magnitude as that experienced by the Philippines and Burma and not the startling demographic change which took Indonesia from 4 million in 1800 to 28 million in 1900 and over 100 million in 1968.[7]

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[7] J. C. Caldwell. "The Demographic Structure," Thailand, Social and Economic Studies in Development, ed., T. S. Silcock (Canberra 1967), pp. 27-28.

A comparison of the two tables from the Census and the Adjusted Census Count shows that while the censuses have always given a reasonable impression of the general magnitude of the population, the varying degree has produced a completely erroneous impression of the rate of population growth. Actually, the population seems to have grown at a constant high rate, averaging 2% per year for at least a generation prior to the World War II and over 3% per year since then. Thus, the size of the population has not changed suddenly from a nearly stationary position.

Two distinct periods of population growth are identifiable. Between 1850-1947 Thailand demonstrated the ability to increase her food production and created a surplus of rice for export, experienced the reforms of the socio-economic institutions and the direct impact of the Western political, social and economic ideology, and witnessed the high fertility rate of the population. In the period between 1947-60 modern medical technology decreased the mortality rate and led to a much steeper rate of population increase.

Under the Registration Act of 1909, all Thai's are required to register with the local district officers all births, deaths, and changes of permanent address. In the past, the registry system has been one of the weakest systems for recording demographic phenomena. World War II set back the registry system markedly and by 1955 it had

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF POPULATION AND PERCENT IN AGRI HOUSEHOLDS:

Whole Kingdom	Total Population	Male	Female	Population Residing in Agri Household	% of Total
	26,257,916	13,154,149	13,103,767	19,589,705	74.6

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND PERCENT OF IN AGRI HOUSEHOLDS:

Whole Kingdom	Total Households	Agri Household	% of Total Household	Area in Sq Km	Population Per Sq K
	4,616,654	3,410,309	79.3	514,000	51

Area in Sq Miles	Population Per Sq M
228,444	114

*(Stat.Year Book of Thailand, 1967-68, Nat. Stat. Off. Prime Minister, pp. 42-45).

TABLE IX

THAILAND, ADJUSTED CENSUS & POPULATION GROWTH RATES 1919-1960:

Census Date	Pop(1000) (Adjustments by Bourgeois-Pichat)	Average Annual Rate of Population Growth Since Previous Estimate (Adjustments by Bourgeois-Pichat)	(Adjustments by Das Gupta & Colleagues)	
1919	9,966*			
1929	12,433*	2.0		
1937	14,549*	2.0		
1947	17,657*	2.0	17,890	2.1
1960			27,170	3.2

*The only adjustments made were to population under 10 years of age.

Sources: Bourgeois Pichat J. 1959. "An attempt to appraise the Accuracy of Demographic Statistics for an Underdeveloped Country, Thailand," Paper presented to the U.N. Seminar on Evaluation and Utilization of Population Census Data, Santiago. Das Gupta, A. & Sen. Gupta, S., 1965. "Population Projection for Thailand, & Study of the Elements & Criteria." Paper presented to the U.N. World Population Conference, Belgrade.

TABLE X

THAILAND TOTAL POPULATION 1880-1960:

		(In millions)	(% growth)
1850	Estimate (Ingram)*	5.5	
1911	Census	8.266	0.7
1919	Census	9.207	1.4
1929	Census	11.506	2.2
1937	Census	14.464	3.0
1947	Census	17.443	1.9
1956	Survey	(20.095)	-
1960	Census	26.258	3.2*

J. C. Ingram, Econ. Change in Thailand Since 1850, Stanford, 1955.

*Calculated from the National Statistical Office Data, 1947-1960.

only recovered to the position of a quarter of century earlier. Birth registration is now improving fairly rapidly owing to the need of the birth registration certificate for school admission. In 1960 it was estimated that only 75% of the births and 60% of the deaths were recorded.[8]

However, some confidence can be placed in the registry data for the purpose of identifying general patterns of change in the level of urban population. Based on comparison of the 1960 census and registry count, the registry enumeration of the urban population appears to be about 95%

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[8]A. Das Gupta et al. "Population Perspective of Thailand", Sankhya: The Indian Journal of Statistics (Ser. B) 27 (1965), pp. 146.

complete. Since these registry data on the population of Thailand provide the only basis for measuring post-censal developments, they can be used to assess patterns of urbanization between census periods.

1. DATA AND MEASUREMENT OF URBAN PLACE AND POPULATION

The concept of urban settlement as an integral part of an agrarian society is a twentieth century phenomena in Thailand. The difference between rural and urban populations is not distinctly defined in terms of measurement, characteristics or collection of vital statistical data, or the census of Thailand. In the six censuses of Thailand, between 1911 and 1960, the nearest equivalent to an urban place is the locality designated as a municipal area for administrative purpose by the Ministry of Interior. These localities are:

1. Cities (Nakhorn) of which there is only Chiangmai
2. Towns (Muang) which consists of provincial administrative seats regardless of size - 68 Muangs for the remaining 72 provinces.
3. Communes (Tambol) communities designated as a municipal area by the Ministry of Interior - of which there are 49.
4. In 1972 Bangkok and Thonburi were combined and were given the status of a Metropolitan Area of Greater Bangkok.

There is distortion in using the municipal unit as an area measurement for urban population. Other areas may

have reached an urban level of population concentration, but lack designation as a Municipal Area, thus were not included. As a result, the measurement of change between 1947-1967 is largely restricted to the same units. However, since most additions would probably be in the very smallest categories, the overall effect of omission, except for the analysis on areal units rather than population, may not be great. Change of the geographical size by extension of the municipal boundaries, is a measurable base for estimating the annexed population. The area annexed generally does not coincide with any areal unit for which independent data are available.

The urban population is classified by the census into different types of households. They are listed according to the place of residence and to the occupation of the household as follows:

1. Metropolitan Area of Greater Bangkok.
2. Urban resident in a non-agricultural household.
3. Urban resident in an agricultural household.
4. Rural resident in a non-agricultural household.
5. Rural resident in an agricultural household.

MIGRATION

Another ambiguity in measuring the level and rate of urbanization is the lack of rural-urban migration information in the vital statistics and census. The data do not permit the distinction between residents of municipal areas

and non municipal areas. The only measurement is between provinces. This is a serious problem, since the urban population of most provinces constitutes only a small portion of the population.

The only possible measurement of rural-urban migration is in the Bangkok area, since the municipality constitutes 80% of the province, and it can be assumed that most migration is to the city.

In 1960, two types of migration information were available; the life-time migrants and the 5 year migrants. Of the 2 million persons living in Bangkok 25% have been born in provinces other than Bangkok. Bangkok also lost persons to other parts of the country. The gross exchange between Bangkok and the rest of the country, judged by life-time migration, involved 631,000 persons, but the net gain to the capital was only 342,000 persons. The inflow of 486,000 persons is 3 times the outflow of 144,000. This high level of out migration indicated that movements to a large metropolitan area is considerably diminished by the movement out. This suggests that large numbers of migrants who were not able to secure jobs in the city after a certain period returned to their villages or other city.

The availability of the 5 year migration information permits examination of movement into and out of BKK for the period of 1955-1960. The heavy recent migration to the capital is emphasized by the fact that the number of migrants between 1955-1960 equals 1/4 of the total life-time migrants.

The rapid growth of Bangkok has accelerated and recent migrants represent an increasing proportion of the total migrant population of the capital.

Second to the natural increase, migration to the urban area is a major factor contributing to the increasing rate of urban growth. A high rate of fertility compounds the effect which these migrants have.

For the whole kingdom the difference in fertility level between migrant and non-migrant women was minimal. The number of children born to migrant women was 4,308 per 1,000 compared to 4,255 for non-migrant women. The tendency for the migrant average to be somewhat higher occurred in 4 out of 5 urban-rural categories. The differences were minor in all but the rural agricultural category where the 4,850 migrant average was considerably above the 4,361 average for non-migrants.

For both non-migrant and migrant groups fertility was lowest in Bangkok and became higher with increasing rural status. Thus the average for the most rural non migrants was about 1,000 higher per 1,000 women than those in Bangkok and the differential between migrants was even greater, almost 1,400. The urban-rural differential for both migrants and non migrants were thus more marked than any of the differences characterized by the migrant and non migrant group.

TABLE XI

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 MARRIED WOMEN, LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS, 1960 URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCES

	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Non-Migrant	Migrant
	Bangkok		Rural- Non Agri	
Total	3,310	3,487	3,847	3,969
Total Standardized	3,443	3,340	3,998	4,039
	Other Urban Non Agri.		Rural Agri	
Total	3,777	3,845	4,361	4,850
Total Standardized	3,813	3,725	4,434	4,713
	Urban Agr.		Total Kingdom	
Total	4,307	3,881	4,255	4,308
Total Standardized	4,113	3,665	4,339	4,205

Source: Sidney Goldstein, Interrelation between migration and Fertility in population Redistribution in Thailand.

CHAPTER V

ALTERNATIVES & RECOMMENDATIONS

In Thailand the urbanization process was accelerated, first, by the economic development and international trade of mid-nineteenth century and secondly, by the impact of medical science and Western technology. Urban government was introduced to the predominantly rural society only when the government turned to a constitutional monarchy in 1932.

Over the last forty-one years, the concept of urban government has spread throughout the country and has increasingly become one of the major forces of economic and social development. In order to bring suitable urban environment and urban services in ways consistent with the increasing higher standard of living, it has been extended to include planning efforts at the national,regional and local levels of government.

By 1985 approximately 20% of the population of Thailand will be living in urban areas as compared to 39% in the developing regions of the world. However, if we look at the rate of increase we will find that the urban population is increasing twice as fast as the rural population

in Thailand. The contemporary pace of urbanization is faster than at any other period of the history of Thailand. The urgency of dealing with the problems caused by the rapid rate of urbanization is emphasized by the fact that cities will soon become the dominant form of settlement for most of the people in Thailand.[1]

The contemporary concept of urban settlement is new to the Thai society. Government has had only limited experience in the planning and administration of urban areas. The history of the Thai government has been characterized by highly centralized bureaucracy. The concept of local self government exists but only at the lowest levels of the predominantly rural society. The complexity and impersonal character of urban self-government have yet to find a creative expression in a society which is gradually moving through the process of urbanization. New and better means of urban planning and administration are essential for future progress of the country as a whole.

There are two related elements which affect governmental planning and administration that are beyond the scope of this study. One is the political system of the country. The other is the problem of external security, which is directly influenced by the political situation in

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[1]United Nations, Administrative Aspects of Urbanization, (ST/TAO/M/51) 1970, pp. 7-10.

the Southeast Asian region as a whole. The willingness of the central government to decentralize and give political autonomy to different levels of local government depends on the question of national security as well as identity.

The process of urbanization can play a meaningful role in achieving national identity, provided that the national policy for urban development is integrated with the national social and economic development policy. Although at present the urban sector is small, future progress will gradually, though increasingly, involve the provision of a sound foundation and creative environment for the growth of the urban community as well as for the rest of the nation. The need for a national policy for urban development is a reality for a developing country such as Thailand, where resources are underdeveloped, the rate of population growth is high and urban government is inexperienced in the process of social and economic development. A national policy for urban development can serve as a communication and information focus and give direction for concerted effort.

Experience in developing countries has shown that for a national policy to become meaningful and realistic to local communities, it must have the capacity and capability to translate goals and objectives into tangible programs for the urban communities. The use of an urban region as an integral part in the process of national development and

planning has improved the local perspective of national issues and policies. Unfortunately regional administration and planning are at their rudimentary levels in Thailand. Previous attempts at a provincial form of government has not produced a cohesive regional government. Both, the central and the provincial government were not willing to redefine their political and territorial jurisdictions.

At present the strongest move toward regional planning is fostered by the National Economic Development Board. These plans recommend regional development projects which if responsive administrative units are developed, could become truly regional in character. In Thailand the importance of regionalism is predominantly political in nature. Often, different regions felt that the lack of regional planning contributed to the government's imposing an unrealistic national policy. Although this study does not deal directly with regional politics, it recommends feasible governmental organization and activities for future development in urbanization.

The working tools which will make the urban region functional are comprehensive planning and programs of public finance. Planning is an evolutionary process which creates alternative programs of resource allocation to carry out the development of the community. Thailand is one of those countries where planning is in the governmental domain and economic resources lie within the private sector.

This situation weakens the planning process, especially in the financing of planning program. It is essential, therefore, that the private sector and governmental agencies, particularly those which concerned with planning and finance, have means of efficient communication and tools to resolve conflicts and differences into constructive goals. Creative use of comprehensive planning and urban public finance programs can help provide a meeting place for this cooperative effort.

The problems of intergovernmental organization are due to inefficient communications and the lack of delegation of responsibility. Governments facing the complex problems of urbanization tend to withhold the decision-making power from the lower or local authorities. They fear that the local units are not capable of making such complex decisions; however, in reality the opposite has often proven to be true. Given the technical knowledge and the cooperation of the higher levels of government, local authorities are capable of solving their own problems. It is the lack of cooperation that often times limits the decision-making ability of local government.

Effectiveness and success of any governmental activity is directly related to citizen participation and representation. Governmental planning programs most always involve the improvement of the general public and their environment. Especially in the planning process, the setting

of goals and objectives, as well as the implementation of the plan require vital citizen participation and representation.

Certain characteristics of the process of urbanization have specific relevance to administration. The first of these is change. Urbanization is a process of demographic, social, economic, and physical change, which requires complex governmental action. Dealing successfully with change has not been a traditional role of the bureaucratic structure of government. Institutions meant for control and regulation are often unsuited to meet challenges of government under conditions of rapid growth. If urban administration is to be effective, it must provide innovative and competent leadership, skill in the formulation of research and policy, as well as purposeful attitudes on the part of public officials in dealing with the problems which face them.

A second effect of urbanization on government is the complexity of the tasks and problems facing government. In some instances, the government has to provide new urban services such as mass transportation, construction and management of high rise dwellings, epidemic control, etc. In others, traditional urban services provided by simple methods, such as water supply, sewage, and garbage disposal, expand and become more complex so that more complicated arrangements have to be devised. All of these changes require greater specialization of both manpower resources

and organization, and also frequently demand innovations in methods of financing.

Third, a further administrative implication of urbanization arises from the need for coordination and cooperation to combine governmental activities in a purposeful manner. Administrative efforts in the city are highly interdependent. In the urban context, water and sewage, homes and jobs, constructions and transportation are intricably interrelated. A fundamental issue of urban administration, then, is the intricate balance between specialization and coordination. The work of government is divided among agencies with specialized functions, frequently operating at various governmental levels and within different geographical boundaries. If urbanization progresses rapidly, urban services often require an area-wide focus, demanding a redefinition of jurisdictional boundaries. Since governmental agencies usually operate at various levels, the changes arising from urbanization may bring about interagency competition and conflict. Ways and means for resolving these conflicts must be found to ensure that agency efforts are coordinated for common purposes.[2]

A. National Policy for Urban Development

It is increasingly evident that rapid urbanization calls for governmental action at all levels and that definite

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[2] Ibid., pp. 7-9.

policies be formulated not only to solve urban problems but also to utilize the positive aspects of urban growth in fostering social and economic development. Possibly, the most important policy issue which faces Thailand in the field of urbanization is the extent to which the government should attempt to influence the direction of urban growth.

Generally speaking, two conflicting objectives will have to be reconciled in the design of such a strategy. One is the rapid increase of per capita income of different occupational sectors or regions, the other is a decrease in the imbalance between levels of development of various regions within the country. The decision as to which goal will be given priority depends on the historical and geographical development and on the economic and political situation of a country.[3]

Whatever the objectives may be, an important requirement of a rational urban development is a clearly defined policy, which comprehends national plans for urban settlement and articulates the complimentary roles of national, regional and local governments for its implementation. In Thailand the National Economic Development Board has been entrusted with the formulation of such policy. The translation into concrete planning programs and budgets overlap ministerial

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[3]International Union of Local Authorities, Urbanization in Developing Countries, 1968, p. 20.

boundaries. Major implementation activities are under the Ministry of National Development as well as the Ministry of Interior which directly controls the administration of local governments and the Department of Town and Country Planning.

Because of the range, level, and complexity of the governmental activities necessary to deal with urban problems, it is increasingly apparent that the authority of the government should not be over-centralized and that collaboration is necessary among its various agencies. The proper allocation of responsibility in urban affairs largely depends upon the specific social, economic and political conditions of the country. An important consideration is the availability of trained and competent personnel, as well as fiscal and technical resources at various levels of government. Urbanization is exacting in its demands on the bureaucratic structure, and particularly on the components responsible for the development of policies. It calls for functional cooperation and intergovernmental partnership in the performance of complex tasks.

B. Urban Region

Almost all international conferences on urban problems held during the past decade have recommended that national policies, programs and budgeting be established for the urban region as an integral part of general strategy for development planning. Most developing countries have adopted a national

economic development plan, but urban problems have only been integrated to the level of local issues.[4]

One approach, to which important attention has been given in many countries, is the regional organization of various urban activities. Administrative organization of an urban region involves the extension of governmental jurisdiction over areas which are related, or likely to be related, for the effective provision of urban services. Hence, a regionally organized system of government may comprise a large city, the built-up area of a city together with the partially urbanized sectors around it, or an area with several adjoining cities together with the open spaces between or around them. The urban region may involve one or more services, and one or more governmental processes or structures.[5]

Regional organization is important, not only in terms of its area and services but also in terms of its effective contribution toward the establishment of communication between government, civic and private agencies, and to the relationships likely to further the effective achievement of public goals. An important feature of the

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[4] Ibid.

[5] United Nations. Administrative Aspects of Urbanization, 1970, pp. 14-29.

regional organization of urban administration is the need to coordinate the extensive, specialized, and complex urban services. Traditional reliance upon the formal allocation of authority in hierarchical fashion is the most frequently used approach to administrative organization. Coordination, however, may also be achieved in other ways. For example, comprehensive planning, especially when integrated with a work program or a budget, is an effective coordinative device. Coordination may be achieved by effective communication, or even by personal and social attributes, exemplified by a dominant personality or group becoming the main influence on organized activities.

1. Types and Functions of Regional Organization

The urban administration systems found in various parts of the world reflect the cultural values and political traditions of the nations which have instituted them. However, the need for providing urban services effectively and efficiently is increasingly leading toward some degree of regional organization and responsibility for urban services. The four types of regional systems may be classified as follows:

a. A regionally organized system of administration. In such a system urban services are administered over the built-up sector, the urban development area around it, and the rural areas affecting or likely in the future to be directly affected by urban developments. The planning of the urban

area and the administration of the urban services take all these sectors into consideration and attempt to integrate their resources and potential in the light of regional needs.

b. Comprehensive local government. In this system urban services are administered through one or more general purpose local government units. There may be one or more local governments encompassing the urban region. Sometimes, there may be a regional association of local governments, which has coordinating powers. The distinctive character of this type of urban administration is that operational responsibility is predominantly local, even if central or subnational field divisions may be found in the region. Urban administrative systems in the group can be further differentiated according to the extent of decentralization of powers granted to the regional authorities or the local bodies within the region.

c. Multi-jurisdictional system. In this system regional organization involves a mixture of central and local government units undertaking services within the whole urban area. Often the main coordinating authority may lie with a central government official, a provincial official or governor, who has authority to control and supervise local government units within the region.

d. Field administration system. Regionally organized field administration implies that urban services are the main responsibility of and are coordinated by an agency or field

office of the central government. Administration is usually under the direction of local chief executive directly responsible to higher authority in the central government. Operating agencies within the region are dependent upon central budgets. Such local authorities as exist in the region have little formal influence on significant urban services.

In India, a system of area management has been proposed, under which rural and urban areas are treated as an integral unit for administrative purposes of planning and implementation. Besides the administrative efficiencies achieved under this system, there are also benefits of social and political significance, such as the integration between urban and rural areas and the development of an organic sense of community over the region as a whole.[6]

The four types of regional organizations are not distinct and separate entities. In practice, they could be found in varying combinations. The multi-jurisdictional system of regional organization, emphasizing the municipal, provincial and the central government seems to be the operating administrative system in Thailand at present. It has allowed the highly centralized national government to work in conjunction with local authorities. At the same time

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[6]United Nations. Administrative Aspect of Urbanization, 1970, pp. 20-23.

the local unit is able to learn from experience and to develop its competencies. Within a foreseeable future, local agencies could be expected to increase their capability and responsibility in urban services. A comprehensive regional system of administration has been the central concept of administrative development in Thailand. With the rapid process of urbanization, a comprehensive regional system may well become the main operative element in the future administrative structure of Thailand.

2. Regional Coordination

In an administrative system without regional organization, fragmentation contributes to duplication of effort; it obscures areas of responsibility and creates rivalries and conflicts both between and within various services. Sound urban administration largely depends upon a proper appreciation of the need for interdependence between services. In the past, coordination of administrative effort was attempted by the imposition of hierarchical controls or by the complete amalgamation of units into larger bodies. But a true understanding of the interrelationship between services, based on a proper analysis, enables administrators to focus their attentions on crucial points. Service, for example, may be integrated on the basis of technical requisites or functional attributes. Governmental efforts may also be linked together on the basis of interdependence of functions, procedures, resources, the clientele, development.

3. Regional Administration and Comprehensive Planning

One of the most important justifications for a regional approach to urban administration is the need for comprehensive planning. With the pressure from inmigrations of rural people, the problems of urban sprawl, urban services and activities are assuming a wider perspective than the local viewpoint. Economic, social and technological factors are also bringing about more effective integration, especially in the formation and implementation of planning.

C. Comprehensive Urban Planning

The need for comprehensive planning arises from the rapid growth and changes brought about by urbanization. Effort to deal with urban problems involve a wide range of governmental and non-governmental actions. All aspects of urban administration stress the continuing need for policy innovation, coordination, and evaluation. In many areas of the world comprehensive planning is increasingly becoming accepted as an instrument of improvement in the performance of governmental function in dealing with the complex aspects of urbanization.[7]

The various units of government should subject the entire process to continuing review, and evaluation and

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[7] Ibid., p. 73.

adjust plans and projects whenever necessary. Review and evaluation forms the transition to a new cycle of planning and decision-making on the basis of a continuous stream of feedback information. This concept of planning diverges from the notion that planners are merely a group of consultants and technicians located apart from the rest of the administration, and stresses that planning is an on going action-oriented process, directly involved in the day-to-day activities of the administration.[8]

In Thailand, government's policy has a direct effect on the economy; at least to the extent that the public sector's control over real resources, presents some form of planned intervention in the free market processes. Thailand is still in a pre-industrial stage; an increased rate of agricultural productivity and growth in the commercial and industrial sectors is necessary for the improvement of social welfare, and private activity alone is neither sufficient nor efficient enough to move the economies in the desired directions. Government planning may have to embrace not only the public but also the private sector as well.

1. Relationship among National, Regional and Local Plans

The linkage between plans of various levels of government are crucial factors in the ability of planning to

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[8]International Union of Local Authorities. Urbanization in Developing Countries, 1968, p. 23.

stimulate agreement and coordination in intergovernmental systems. In addition, these linkages are crucial to correlation between physical and economic plans and the activities of different levels of governmental authorities. Such linkages are complex organizational problems. And total centralization of planning tends to be divorced from both relevant information and local needs.[9]

In urban regions, economic and land use planning are of special importance. A full inter-relationship between different levels of planning is essential. This is especially true in mixed enterprise systems, such as Thailand, where decisions on economic investments are largely in the private sector, while the preparation of plans for land utilization is mainly a governmental function. In systems of local administration without strong regional government, planning tends to be exclusively local, although it is well recognized that urban functions can not be arbitrarily divided on the basis of local political boundaries.

The integration and coordination of a medium range plan for economic investment and a long range land use plan are the most difficult problems facing a developing country, such as Thailand. The nature of the annual budgetary system

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[9]AnnMarie Hauch Walsh. The Urban Challenge to Government, 1969, pp. 200-201.

make it necessary for all plans to consider their translation into annual fiscal components. Growing countries, such as Thailand, need to develop a planning vocabulary within the financial system which will help in translating, public planning programs into the national and local budgetary terms. The proper financial and operational activities must be carried out in such a way that specific plans are derived from, or are at least consistent with, the long range plans. Moreover, the division of plans into different, comprehensive time periods is helpful in utilizing feedbacks from the short range plans in the revision and formulation of long-range plans. In this way, experience in administration and plan formulation is used to the fullest extent and implementation benefits directly from revision.[10]

2. Function of Comprehensive Planning

The concept and execution of comprehensive planning is directly related to the specific functions which they are supposed to perform. Planning in a free market economy is predicated on the assumption that the general public will accept the purposes and cooperate in the implementation of the plan. Hence a plan must be a teaching document as well as a statement of intent. It must throw light on the purposes

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[10]United Nations. Administrative Aspects of Urbanization. (ST/TAO/M/51) 1970, pp. 72-74.

of particular economic policies and institutional changes for the benefits of all sectors whose cooperation is needed in the course of implementation.

Another function of a plan, consists of lessening the uncertainty facing individual and institutional decision-makers through the dissemination of information. The thinner the markets and the less the information available about investment and government policies, the greater the difficulty which confronts the decentralized private and public decision-makers in estimating the desirability of specific investments or general public activities. Since the risk of failure is an important deterrent from action, planners must make available that information which diminishes the area of uncertainty.

When rapid changes are occurring and resources are scarce, the government must plan the development of the urban areas. There is a vital need for comprehensive policies or development programs which take into account the jurisdictional, economic, political and social aspects of urban problems. Comprehensive planning with its research, analysis, establishment of priorities and administrative programs for implementation is instrumental in the development of such policies and programs. By relating goals to resources, defining options for decisions and providing guidance in the establishment of developmental priorities, comprehensive planning may provide the basis for sound

cooperative, consultative and participatory efforts that make easier the implementation and administration of the plan.

In many developing countries, planning institutions have frequently been a source of innovation, which produces new solutions and overcomes the inertia of governmental red tape. As they develop more effective systems of information, processing, improved technical skills, and a well balanced perspective of the developmental process, planning institutions often become important sources for novel approaches to urban problems. Apart from introducing innovations, some planning agencies, such as the National Economic Development Board and the Department of Town and Country Planning, have stimulated the development of new urban administration agencies which became effective in achieving urban development goals.

3. Implementation of Comprehensive Plans

Urban development plans require two types of activities. One, the execution of the approved plan by governmental authorities. Two, the regulation and control of land use according to the physical plan. In Thailand the control and regulatory aspects of planning receive greater emphasis, while the execution effort tends to be overlooked. In this way, institutions for enforcement of zoning codes, building regulations, and sub-division requirements are readily found in different municipalities, while programming and

implementing agencies are often inadequate. One reason for the lack of attention paid to the plan execution is the relative difficulty in obtaining timely and complimentary decisions from the different governmental units. In the execution of a plan the number of officials involved, the governmental levels they represent, and the procedures and methods they follow, create a complex system of decision-making. The decisions required in carrying out a plan usually include:

a. Detailed project design and scheduling by technical operating agencies.

b. Approval of the project, designed by provincial or national ministries, which apply for grants of loans.

c. Authorization of the program in budgetary and appropriation legislation, by one or several participating governmental levels.

d. Decisions on the provision of staff and the scheduling of work by implementing agencies.

e. Procedures for review and evaluation as well as the readjustment of plans, programs and projects.[12]

D. Urban Public Finance

The financial resources of the cities in Thailand are not, as a rule, keeping pace with the increasing rate of

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[12] Ibid., pp. 82-84.

urban growth and the demands on urban services. For the most part, these cities have a large service sector and little industrial development which limits the local tax base. Financial weakness also stems from an unrealistic financial policy and ineffective administration. New approaches to planning and novel budgeting techniques are needed to generate increased revenue. Furthermore, the control and evaluation of fiscal activities through accounting, auditing, and other processes designed to provide accurate information must be included in order to improve existing programs and maximize future resource allocation.

1. Planning, Programming and Budgeting Systems

The budgetary process is one of the key elements in implementation. A frequent source of difficulty is the fact that budgeting is an annual process, while the implementation requirements of most plans involve a longer time span. A promising approach to the integration of plans into the budgeting process is the planning, programming, and budgeting system. This involves the collection of more and better information on such basic factors as population, natural resources, economic activity, and administrative operation, as well as more detailed data on the operations and programs of government and business. It also necessitates the development of indices capable of measuring the benefits from public and private activity. The feasibility of the PPBS in Thailand will be strongly affected by the

level of technical expertise and also by the degree of political acceptability.

On a less comprehensive scale and with more direct relevance to government operation at the urban level, a performance budgetary system has been used to coordinate the government's planning and operation. Instead of concentrating on the expenditure of inputs as with the traditional line-item budget, performance budgeting identifies the output of an organization and relates them to the inputs. In government operations where the quality and quantity of outputs can be easily measured, such as the miles of road constructed, the number of houses built, or the amount of water supplied, performance budgeting system has proved to be of great value. It has less success, however, in linking inputs to outputs in intangible services, such as health, welfare, education, police and fire services.

2. Revenue Sharing

There are generally two possible approaches to a solution of the financial weakness of urban local governments. One is to strengthen the local taxation system; the other is to increase the amount of assistance from the central government. Property tax may be improved; collection can be made more efficient; some new supplementary taxes may be imposed. Yet it is increasingly evident that if most local urban governments are to provide adequate services, more assistance is needed from the upper levels of government.

The use of revenue sharing schemes should be considered in the light of the need for obtaining the best result from tax efforts at all levels of governments. In Japan local authorities are encouraged to increase local tax revenues by the use of a tax sharing formula which bases the amount which can be drawn from the fund to a specific percentage of estimated local revenues. The Japanese system, known as the "Local Equalization Grant System", is used by the central government to allocate public funds more equitably among different levels of government. Deposits to the fund are made on the basis of a certain percentage of three national taxes; personal income tax, cooperate income tax and liquor tax. They are distributed to local authorities by the national government according to a set formula. Each year the central government in Japan checks each local government budget, to calculate the minimum standard requirement for the operation of each local unit. This is calculated on the basis of:

a. The size of the population, the area of a local unit, the number of local government employees, the number of public school teachers, and the quality public facilities.
b. The unit cost of each public facility or public employee.
c. Geographic features such as temperature, location and population density which may affect local government.

Each local unit can apply for assistance from the fund, in the form of a block grant, by calculating the balance between the minimum financial needs and the expected local revenue.[13]

A somewhat different system is used in Finland, where grants are based on acceptable standards of expenditure fixed by the central government. Some countries, such as Israel, the Sudan, and the United Kingdom, require that local units match grants proportionally with local resources.

At present, grants from the national government in Thailand are allocated at times in response to requests from the local government and at times according to the political importance of the locality. The establishment of a system of standardized revenue sharing would be an important step in fostering financial security and certainty for the process of urban development in Thailand.

3. Public Service and Capital Improvement Program

Public services can be used as a means of channeling human activities by providing opportunities for the inhabitants of the city to take advantage of capital improvement programs which include the street system. The public utilities system, the transportation system, the location of

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[13]International Union of Local Government Authorities, Local Government Finance, 1969, pp. 25-30.

open spaces, recreational facilities and public buildings.[14]

The program of public services must consider the relationship of capital improvements to current operating and maintenance costs and to the operating budgets for all city services. The capital improvement program and the public services program lead, in turn, to a capital budget. The capital budget schedule is usually planned for a five or six-year period. Plans for public expenditure are executed under the annual budget, apart of the capital budget which is authorized by enacting appropriation legislation.

An important responsibility of the planning agency is to carry through, in cooperation with the city administrator and other city departments, the process that leads from the comprehensive plan, through the capital improvement program, the public service programs and the capital budget, to the annual budget and the actual construction of the facilities. If realistic implementation of the comprehensive plans is to be accomplished, the necessity for coordination of the planning agency with other agencies cannot be overemphasized.[15]

E. Intergovernmental Organization & Coordination

There is a need to organize shared responsibility among different levels of government in order to deal

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[14]The Institute for Training in Municipal Administration. Local Planning Administration, Mary McLean, ed., Third Edition, 1959, pp. 19-20.

[15]Ibid.

effectively with urban problems. In various systems of urban administration, effective partnership rather than intergovernmental conflict is essential for success. This demands full use of common resources, coordination of comprehensive planning effort and more effective communication between governmental agencies. It is becoming more and more obvious that owing to the increased scope, cost and technical complexity of urban programs, the involvement and participation of various levels of government and the sharing of responsibility for such services has proved to increase efficiency and effectiveness as well as provide greater benefit for the community.

Where there is shared responsibility, it is normal for local institutions, whether units of local government or field agencies, to assume responsibility for calling attention to local needs and for initiating proposals to alleviate local problems. The lack of regional government and the highly centralized control of the government in Thailand have contributed to the difficulty for local government to share adequate responsibility in urban development programs.

1. Local Responsibility of Public Service

The allocation of public responsibilities to various levels of government should spell out what is expected with precision, and at the same time allow flexibility which enables the governmental unit to meet unforseen needs. A

sound approach to meet this dilemma is to specify legally the services which local governments must perform and to give them, in addition, general powers to undertake other local functions that are not being performed by higher authorities.

In the first place, functions that are plainly local in character, such as provision of drinking water, market facilities, irrigation works and local streets, should be allocated to local authorities. Certain activities such as research and training, may best be discharged by central agencies. Services requiring highly specialized skills, and large capital investment of relatively wide area organizations usually cannot be desolved upon lower levels of local authorities.[16]

Numerous studies have indicated that planning is one of the most important processes for which responsibility should be shared between central, regional and local authorities. Specific aspects of urban plans may be initiated at any governmental level, but it is usually desirable that comprehensive and integrated plans should originate at the lowest possible level of government to ensure that they effectively meet salient problems. Ideally, a plan thus originated includes a wider range of factors, matters of

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[16]United Nations. Decentralization for National and Local Development, (ST/TAO/M/19), 1962, p. 25.

local concern would thus be more effectively integrated into metropolitan and regional programs. In this way the basis for coordination is built into the plan itself and the implementation of the plan can be anticipated and eventually controlled.

In developing countries, there is a lack of local regulatory measures. Local zoning, building and sanitation codes are frequently rudimentary. In some instances, this may be due to the lack of general statutes at the central level; this in turn offers little incentive to local authorities to enact local regulations. Generally, the weakness of local measures may be due to local aversion to adding more regulations to those already enforced by central authority, which sometimes justified by central authority in terms of national security and unity especially in country such as Thailand where an external security is important.[17]

2. Local Planning Legislation

Urban planning measures may affect the property interests of many thousands of landowners and accordingly must be exercised within a framework of law. Planning measures must satisfy national constitutional requirements in that the regulation must be in the public interest. They must be directly regulated to public health, safety, morals

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[17]United Nations. Administrative Aspects of Urbanization, (ST/TAO/M/51) 1970, pp. 33-34.

and welfare. It must not "unreasonably" impair the owner's property interest and must be "reasonably" related to planning goals. This general language allows a wide area for planning action, but always, in spite of great need, there is an ultimate limit beyond which the local unit can not go unless fair compensation is paid for the property interest taken.

In the system of government that prevails in the United States, city, county, or urban regions have only those powers that the state or federal governments delegate to them. Therefore, before a community can proceed with planning, it needs to receive from the state a grant of power, authorizing it to plan. Adequate enabling legislation forms the firm base on which the entire pyramid of effective planning rests. Planning enabling legislation is usually "permissive" rather than mandatory. Permissive legislation does not establish local planning. It simply permits the cities to establish planning agencies, provided that a specified legal procedure is followed. A city takes advantage of permissive legislation by adopting local planning ordinances.

In addition to ordinances establishing local planning agencies and describing their structures and power, planning regulations must be adopted in the form of an ordinance by the city council. The same is true of subdivision regulations, the official map, the long-term capital budget and

the master plan.[18]

3. Administrative Regulation

A legislative provision or city ordinance delegates to an administrative agency or officer of the city government the power to fill in the details of regulatory acts by issuing "administrative regulations". So long as the city council has the right, under state law, to make such delegation and so long as the regulations that are issued, comply with the terms of the delegated rules, these regulations also have the force of law.

In practice, different parts of the planning legislation may be contained in state or provincial statutes, city charters, ordinances and administrative regulations. From the standpoint of the agency exercising planning power, the last two methods of authorization - ordinance and administrative regulations - have the advantage of being more flexible than national and ministerial acts. Enabling legislation written in broad terms gives the city the opportunity to work out its planning problems in the manner it finds best adopted to local needs - provided of course, that the courts give a sufficient broad interpretation of these powers in cases coming to them on appeal. Reasonably detailed enabling legislation is advantageous when there is

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[18]The Institute for Training in Municipal Administration. Local Planning Administration, ed. Mary McLean, third edition, 1959, pp. 23-24.

a problem of granting important new planning powers toward which the attitude of the courts is somewhat doubtful.[19]

4. Communication and Cooperation

As the interdependence between one level of government and another increases, their relationship becomes more and more complex and unpredictable. Formal channels of communication have to be improved, and informal communication systems are necessary to compliment them. In most technologically advanced countries, the articulation of urban needs and demands is generally achieved at the local level. This is performed by individual citizens, voluntary groups or committees, who bring their needs to the attention of the government. The sum of these needs and demands is usually transmitted to appropriate authorities where they frequently have an influence on public policies, programs and projects. In developing countries, reports of such needs are commonly made by members of the administration itself and, in some cases, even by foreign technical assistance experts. This may indicate a communication gap between the people and the administrative system, which may reflex the general apathy, resignation of the people, or an idea that the business of government is not to provide service but to impose controls.

An important ingredient in intergovernmental relation is the evolution of habits of discussion, negotiation and

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[19] Ibid., p. 26.

compromise. Where the approach to the administration of urban services is unduly formal, dealing between central and local government tends to become rigid. The requirements of intergovernment partnership make flexible arrangement necessary to provide opportunities for compromise and to facilitate adjustment by each governmental unit to the decision of others.

F. Popular Participation and Representation

As urbanization progresses, life becomes increasingly complex for urban residents. This causes popular bewilderment and leads to low participation and lack of involvement by citizens in urban affairs. As the scope of urban government expands, power gravitates to professional administrators, and increases the tendency for the citizen to feel alienated. This emphasizes the need for increased attention to popular participation and representation in urban government.[20]

The extent of participation - whether direct or indirect - may be regarded as a function of communication in the broadest sense. Good communication among people, especially within a community, leads to the identification of common interests and needs and direct action to satisfy them.

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[20]United Nations. Administrative Aspects of Urbanization, (ST/TAO/M/51) 1970, p. 59.

Good communication between the people and their government leads to responsiveness in national programs on the part of the people and to satisfying the local needs on the part of political leaders and public servants.[21]

1. Popular Participation in the Planning Process

There are three approaches to popular participation in planning, although in practice these are not sharply distinct but overlap at many points.

a. The most common is an up-dating type of information gathering in which efforts are made to contact local communities in sample areas to obtain information for planning and evaluation. Much of the raw material data needed for planning can be obtained through censuses, surveys and other mass data - gathering means, but here an attempt is made to involve the people directly. The emphasis is on information-gathering, not on its analysis and interpretation.

b. Popular participation may also be sought after a draft plan has been prepared by giving people an opportunity to comment fully on the draft through various technical working groups, consultative committees, standing panels or other advisory groups. In this referendum type, there are at

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[21]United Nations. Decentralization for National and Local Development. (ST/TAO/M/19) 1962, p. 32.

least two principal reasons for referring the plan to the general public for comment. One is to test the realism of the plan through the opinions of those whose lives it will directly affect. The other is to enlist effort, create enthusiasm and ensure commitment of funds, where the eventual success of the plan depends on local cooperation through labor, acceptance of technological innovations, and financing. In some cases, such as the National Economic Council of the Philippines, provision is even made for representation of various interests in the planning body. In Indonesia the National Planning Council is required to derive its membership from the different regions of the country as well as from different groups. In India, the Planning Commission has attempted over the years to balance the contents of the plan by combining public opinions pressures and expert consideration. This combination of technical and popular pressure elements is itself considered to be an act of super balancing of India's development plans.

c. A third type of participation is the decentralized planning type. Here people are directly involved in the planning process through encouragement, authority and opportunities provided to them to

draw up plans for their own localities. Local plans are then taken into account in planning at higher administrative levels. This also gives people leeway to amplify or modify to some extent what is expected of them at the implementation stage.[22]

2. Participation and Representation in Urban Government

Public participation and representation in urban government have many variations. Frequently these are institutionalized patterns, originating from communal activities, or from rural practices of shared labor and mutual aid. Each type of organization naturally has both advantages and disadvantages.

a. Representative city council: the most common method of citizen participation and representation in urban government is the election of local councils which speak for the people. Councils are also relied on to reflect the needs, interests, and aspirations, of the urban inhabitants in the policies which they formulate and upon the issues which they deliberate. Election at large is common in many cities because it is believed to encourage council members to reflect the general interests

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[22]United Nations. Local Participation in Development Planning, (ST/SOA/77), 1968, pp. 41-43.

of the city as a whole. In large metropolitan areas representation by wards or districts has been found a more satisfactory alternative. At the same time district or ward council members often provide useful communication between small neighborhood communities and the larger metropolitan government, particularly when regular meetings are held between council members and their constituents.

b. Neighborhood committee: in the rural environment, village and commune councils have served as the practical primary group associations. These have served the legitimate functions of organizing local works such as road and irrigation canal building, well digging, and temple construction and rennovation. The urban neighborhood councils and committees have also proved to be an excellent method for citizen participation in many developing countries.

3 - Advisory Councils and Boards

A common method of providing citizen participation in governmental affairs, is the appointment of citizens to advisory councils attached to elective bodies, regulatory committees, and neighborhood councils. Even greater benefits accrue when the citizens appointed to these councils and

boards are selected because of technical competence, merit, prominence in the community or relevant experience and knowledge. Where this is done, the participation of such exceptional citizens frequently results in improved programs.[23]

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[23]United Nations. Administrative Aspects of Urbanization, (ST/TAO/M/51) 1970, pp. 65-68.

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