3 1293 10092 3485
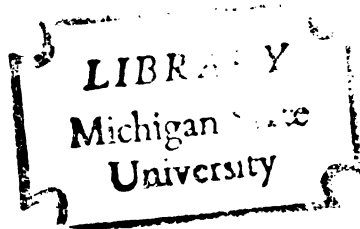
This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNICATION IN LOCAL THAI GOVERNMENT

presented by

RATANA SUNDRASIMA

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

_____M.A._____ degree in _SOCIOLOGY_

William G. Faunce

Major professor

Date_9-24-80_____

O-7639

BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNICATION IN LOCAL THAI GOVERNMENT

By

Ratana Sundrasima

A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

1980

ABSTRACT

BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNICATION IN LOCAL THAI GOVERNMENT

By

Ratana Sundrasima

My study "Bureaucratic Communication in Local Thai Government" is explained by both culture and institutional-structure which is given in examples studied by Herbert Rubin "Mode of Bureaucratic Communications in Thai Local Administration" in 1974. My study is a kind of descriptive research which looks back to the historical time, including the present time. However, I seek the information for my study carefully by trying to judge it by value-free idea rather than ethnical idea.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study could not be accomplished without the kind assistance of Dr. William A. Faunce, my thesis advisor, so I wish to express deep appreciation to him. My thanks are extended as well to Dr. Donald W. Olmsted and Dr. James B. McKee who consented to read this paper.

In addition, I would like to show gratitude to Buddha and my grandfather who enlighten me when I studied this issue. I cannot forget my parents who supported my study. Thanks a lot to Miss Helen Carr, my host family, who helped to correct my English.

Finally, I would like to thank my former professors at Chulalongkorn, Thailand who paved the background of my study, my respectful Aunt and my dearest sister.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Bureaucracy has been an important subject of interest
to a large number of classical social theorists such as
Gaetano Mosca, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Robert Michels and
Talcott Parsons. The concept of bureaucracy, in itself,
condenses a development of almost two centuries of politi-
cal-scientific and sociological analysis of problems of
administration and government and, because of this, the
concept has tended to lose its original function as an
inherent element of a general and broad historical
analysis concerning forms of social government.

In our daily life, the meaning of "bureaucracy
is roughly illegitimate power".[1] Bureaucracy is not
the Weberian ideal type. The term bureaucracy suggests
an administration standing above and beyond the reach of
the people, an administration which sometimes collaborates
with power groups beyond democratic control.

Moreover, "government bureaucracy has developed dif-
ferently in various countries of the world because of

---

[1]Bengt Abrahamson, _Bureaucracy or Participation_, Sage
Publication, Inc., Beverly Hills, California, 1977, p. 15.

the peculiar geographic, historical and cultural condi-

tions affecting each country and its people".[2] The

bureaucracies of a small country with a homogeneous

population and homogeneous religion and a long history

of independence like Thailand are certain to be very dif-

ferent from those of countries with many races, religions,

and a history of domination by foreign powers.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the system

of bureaucratic communications of Thai local administra-

tion. To begin consideration of this issue, Thailand is

one of the developing countries under a centralized

political system and, therefore, bureaucracy has a crucial

role to play not only in the daily routine but also in the

modernization process. Most works on Thai bureaucracy

contain mainly discussions of structural development.

There is very little literature focussing on the bureau-

cratic communication of Thai local administration.

Hopefully, this study will serve to stimulate more

research on bureaucracy in other developing countries.

---

[2]Joseph B. Kingsbury and Robert F. Wilcox, Principles of Public Administration in Thailand, Institute of Public Administration Thammasart University, Bangkok, Thailand, 1961, p. 20.

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THAILAND[3]

Thailand, or "Mung Thai" or "Prathed Thai" is situated in the middle of the Indo-China peninsula. It has a land area of 514,000 square kilometers or roughly the size of Spain or two-thirds of Texas. The land is fertile when coupled with the monsoonate climate, it yields rice and other crops in abundance but has few known deposits of natural resources. Thailand is an agricultural country with about 85% of the population residing in the rural areas. There is rapid growth of urban communities and perhaps a decline in rural population, as the nation is trying to move toward crop diversification, industrialization and economic prosperity.

Culturally speaking, the Thais are quite homogeneous. The Thai language is understood throughout the Kingdom, though there are a number of dialects. Buddhism, the national religion, influences the Thais in all walks of life having 94% of the population as its followers. Four percent are Muslims concentrated in the South. Christianity and other religions amount to only 2% of the

---

[3]Wendell Blanchard, et al., Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture, New Haven, HRAF Press, 1958.

3

population.

Outwardly, Thailand would pass for a modern western nation with such things as vehicles, traffic and western attire, but those who know the Thais well would confirm that behind the facade there are some intrinsic subtleties known uniquely as Thai. Some of these characteristics are friendliness, kindness, politeness, paternalism coupled with deference toward elders and superiors.

The Thais are individualistic and not very adaptive to big organizations or team work. However, whenever there is a common danger, the Thais stand united and put up a good fight under a strong leader. There are some old adages which aptly summarize the above qualities: "The Thais will go all the way with a good boss",[4] and "Ayudha (name of old capital . . . signifying the country) would never run out of great men".[5]

"There are good reasons to explain why Thai people are quite different from its neighbors. Thailand has a long experience as a nation. The national state system was well recorded back to 1257 A.D. when its first capital in the Golden Peninsula was founded in Sukhothai".[6]

---

[4]Edgar L. Shor, "The Public Service", in Joseph L. Sutton, ed. Problems of Politics and Administration in Thailand, Bloomington Press, Indiana, p. 54.

[5]Edgar L. Shor; Op. cit., p. 57.

[6]Edgar L. Shor; Ibid.

Scholars are now trying to trace Thai history back even further. Throughout the past seven hundred years Thailand has managed to remain free with few misfortunes in military adventure. Its political system, in brief, was basically a paternalistic monarchy, with a few centuries under the influences of the old Cambodian Divine Kingship (Theva-raja) doctrine.

In a broad sense, Thailand's political and administrative history are the facts of its homogeneity and independence. There have been no sudden and violent revolutions in Thai history. Changes have occurred gradually and have not been imposed by outside powers. There has been borrowing from other countries, mostly from the West, but these have been blended with Thai traditions to give a continuity and internal consistency to the system of government and administration.

Thailand's administrative history divides naturally into four periods:[7]

1. The Sukhothai Kingdom, 1237-1350 A.D. The first unified Thai Kingdom in the present homeland was established at Sukhothai in the 13th century. The Thais were able to unite some local principalities, to throw off

---

[7]Joseph B. Kingsbury and Robert F. Wilcox; Op. cit., p. 20-25.

the Cambodian rule, and to establish a patriarchal mon-
archy at Sukhothai. Boundaries were extended and control
was exercised over the greater part of present Thailand.

The characteristics of government were 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.

2. <u>The Ayndhya Bureaucracy, 1350-1767 A.D.</u> With the
fall of the Sukhothai period, the new capital was es-
tablished at Ayudhya. In 1431, the Thais conquered the
Cambodian capital at Angkor Thom, and brought back Cam-
bodian statesmen and court brahmans to help reorganize the
administration. The result was that the notion of
<u>devaraja</u>, or the divine king, replaced the Sukhothai
notion of a patriarchal ruler, and the older idea of the
king as a father to his people gave way to a master-servant
idea.

Moreover, there was the creation of bureaucray, not
only as an instrument of administration, but as a principle
of social organization. Feudalism ceased to be based on
land and became a personal system. The warrior nobles
became civil servants, and peasants became clients to their
nobleman. A client could choose his own patron, change at
will, and move from one place to another, instead of being
bound to the land. Under this new system, everyone in

the kingdom had a definite place in the hierachy. A
system of ranks and titles for officials and royal princes,
and a system of grades for common officials, indicated the
status, rights and privileges of each person.

Some of the effects of this system have been lasting.
The status and superior-subordinate relationship, the in-
stability of personal status and fortune (since all titles
were at the King's will), and an open social structure with
considerable mobility - not only up but also down - are
all things that can be seen in Thailand today.

3. The Chakri Reformation, 1767-1932 A.D. Following
the fall of Ayudhya, the new capital was established at
Bangkok. The Chakri dynasty mainly reestablished the
prosperity of Ayudhya. Under King Chulalongkorn, (the
middle of the 19th century) Thailand passed from medievalism
into a period of material, enlightening progress charac-
terized by social and political change.

King Chulalongkorn had contact directly with his of-
ficials, and revived the old paternal concept of the
Sukhothai period. He was one of the kings to establish
important diplomatic negotiations with Western countries,
to employ European instructors and governmental advisers.

King Chulalongkorn was much interested in public ad-
ministration. He reorganized the old departments into
European-type ministries, and transformed royal officials
into civil servants with definite salaries and regular

working hours. Provincial governments were brought under central control by replacing the semi-hereditary local rulers with centrally appointed governors who were given salaries, rotated from post to post, and made responsible to a central Ministry of Interior.

Moreover, he adopted a system of Western advisers and created King's scholarship for study abroad in order to develop a supply of skilled native administrators which later brought about diminished dependence upon foreign advisers.

4. <u>The Constitutional Period, 1932 A.D. - Present.</u> In June 24, 1932, a group of military officers and civil servants staged a successful revolution against an absolute King. The 1932 revolution did not institute democracy but simply broadened the base of oligarchy, the governments since 1932 have governed Thailand by a regime of limited monarchy under a constitution. While it is authoritarian, the government is generally benevolent, and exhibits a genuine and paternalistic concern for the people, particularly relating to their livelihood.

According to this short history of their bureaucracy, the nature of the Thai government is not only different from other countries but it also changes from time to time as the endogenous form of Thai government has been influenced at times by external forces. In short, it

seems that Thailand is ruled under the blending of the following principles.

1. Paternalism

2. Divine Kingship

3. Military Superiority

4. Constitutionalism with limited Kingship

Bureaucracy is the nation's biggest business with civilian officials and military personnel. They include all officers of the national government, local administration, teachers, university professors, policemen and personnel of public enterprises. Aside from being farmers and officials, there are only few other things that the Thais could do. The commercial and industrial sectors are in the hands of foreigners, notably the Chinese.

"Not only does the bureaucracy constitute the largest group, it is also the component of almost the entire Thai middle class. Almost all university graduates are in government service. They, therefore, are the real elite class of Thai society".[8]

---

[8]Edgar L. Shor; Op. Cit., p. 60.

THAI CULTURE

According to Embree, Thai culture can be characterized as "loosely structured" which is defined as "unstructured, unpatterned, lacking in routinization."[9] Thai culture patterns neither clearly mark nor emphasize the importance of reciprocal rights and duties. Generally, the Thai are more tolerant, individualistic, and easy going. Their behavior cannot be characterized by rigid patterns; their behavior tends to support personal values rather than organizational values which is an obstacle to the effective functioning of Thai bureaucracy.

In contrast to American and Japanese culture, the Thai tend to lack respect for administrative discipline and regularity which means "keep in line" and "be on time" behavior. There is little feeling among the Thai that administrative rules are significant. This feeling causes a problem in bureaucracy where there is pressure to break a rule. Sometimes the basis for the rule violation is

---

[9]Cf. Bryce F. Ryan and Murray A. Straus; "The Integration of Sinhalese Society"; Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Volume XXII; December, 1954, Number 4, p. 182.

the status of individuals with violations occurring less
frequently in the middle than at either end of the status
hierarchy. Sometimes it is a result of family pressure
or other influences; sometimes it is because of corruption
or bribery and the attitude toward the superior/inferior
relationship.

Moreover, Thai people tend to refuse responsibility
for the actions of organizations. They have a much stronger
attitude of "this is not my concern" than the attitude
of "organizational commitment".

Achievement of people in their work is not rewarded
in terms of strict rules of the organization. It is up
to the personal decision of the superior rather than the
quality of the work. As a consequence, they do not have
as much motivation to work. Reward and punishment is
given arbitrarily. There is less relationship between
personal ambition and organization stability. Ryan
describes the "reluctance of village people to organize,
and their skeptical even cynical, attitude toward
local leadership".[10] And Panabokke and Halangode (1938)
reach the same conclusion "T. B. Panabokke's experience . .
. . had taught him to be forbearing towards the fatal
weakness of the people to be individualistic and the

---

[10]Bryce F. Ryan and Murray A. Strauss, Op. Cit.,
p. 182.

temptation to betray national interest".[11]

Up to this point, we can see that Thai institutions fit the concept of loose structure in Embree's view. The pattern of rights, duties and obligations is always open to question and exception. The lack of organizational commitment and the predominance of personal goals suggests attitudes which decrease organizational stability and development.

Although Thai culture is viewed as "loosely structured", this does not mean its society cannot maintain integration. "On the contrary, the loose integration is a functional one allowing not only variation in individual behavior but also in national behavior. It has a survival value; that is, a loosely integrated structure such as the Thai may adjust to external cultural influences with less drastic over-all changes than a more rigid structure such as the Japanese or Vietnamese".[12] This is the flexible way to struggle for independence without strife and violence.

---

[11] Quoted in Bryce F. Ryan and Murray A. Strauss, _Ibid_.

[12] John F. Embree, "Thailand - A Loosely Structured Social System", _American Anthropologist_, 52, 1950, p. 191; Quoted in Bryce F. Ryan and Murray A. Strauss, _op_. _cit_., p. 182.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION IN THAILAND[13]

The administrative system of Thailand is highly
centralized because of a long series of government ef-
forts not only to subdue the rival kingdoms within the
territory which is now Thailand and then to bring the
feudal lords under the control of the king, but also to
give the central government effective control over the
outlying provinces.

The structure of the national government of Thailand
follows a basically simple plan of organization. Formal
relationships within the government are clearly defined,
but informal and personal relationships play an important
part in the management of the public's business especially
in the bureaucratic communication of Thai local administra-
tion.

There are five principal components in the organization
of the executive branch of the national government.

1. The King, designed by the Constitution as the
Head of the State, is a ceremonial head of the state.

---

[13]The following description is based primarily upon
the Organizational Directory of the Government of Thailand,
1960, 1963 Bangkok: USOM/Thailand.

His powers are limited and controlled by the Constitution.
Politically, he has the right to consult and might be
consulted by the government in power. The King has the
advice of the Privy Council to perform his functions.

2. The cabinet functions as a collective executive,
with the prime minister as chairman.

3. There are fourteen ministries in the cabinet,
each of which is subdivided into departments, divisions,
sections, and in some cases sub-sections.

4. The government enterprises, which operate a number
of commercial activities of major importance.

5. The Administrative committees and commissions which
have responsibilities in a number of specialized aspects
of administration.

Provincial and District Organization. Thailand has a
highly centralized system of territorial administration.
The most important territorial units of administration are
the provinces (changwad) and districts (amphur). These
units are almost entirely governed from Bangkok. Pro-
vincial governors and district officers are appointed by
the Minister of Interior and take their orders from the
Ministry.

There are 71 changwad (provinces), each of which is sub-
divided into amphur. Each changwad has a governor and a
changwad council composed of deputy changwad governors

and chiefs of provincial administrative units. The governor is in charge of all civil servants in his province and is responsible for the efficient operation in his territory of all offices, both changwad and amphur.

The administration of an amphur is under a Nai Amphur (district officer). He is assisted by an amphur council composed of the administrative officers who represent the several departments of central government having functions to carry on in the districts. The Nai Amphur has the same authority and duties in his area as those of the governor of a changwad. The governors and Nai Amphur are officials of the Ministry of Interior.

Local Government. Within each amphur, the rural areas are divided into tambol (communes) and muban (villages) which are the most important units of local government. There are two types of local government: commune and village government and municipal government. In this study we will briefly talk about municipal government, and then consider carefully the commune and village government especially in terms of bureaucratic communication.

1. Municipal government (tesaban) is an incorporated unit of government designed to permit some self-government in urban areas. Municipalities in Thailand exercise legislative and administrative functions, have their own

elective officials and their own civil service. Within
the boundaries of the cities, municipal employees carry
on the principal functions which are performed in rural
areas by the district officials.

There are three categories of municipality in Thai-
land:

1. The Tambol municipality (the smallest);
2. The Muang or town municipality; and
3. The Nakorn or city municipality.

Each is governed by a municipal assembly (from 12-24
members) elected for five year terms. The latter is
an executive committee of the assembly. The council
(from 3-5 members) is appointed by the changwad governor,
whose selection is subject to approval by the municipal
assembly. The president of the council is the mayor
of the city, appointed by the governor.

2. Commune and Village Government. The natural com-
munities of Thailand are the villages (muban) consisting
of some fifty to several hundred houses and families.
The men and women of a village elect a puyaiban or headman,
who serves as long as he retains the confidence and respect
of the villagers. Retired headmen of the village serve
as a kind of informal council to the headman and wield
great influence in village life.

Headmanship has high prestige, honor and status and
has distinctly heavy responsibilities. The government
pays money to him for public facilities but it is not
enough for him to pay for these facilities.

A number of villages are grouped together to form a
commune or tambol, headed by a Kamnan who is elected by
the headman of the villages composing the tambol (commune).
The Kamnan is a semi-governmental official who reports
each month to the district officers, and meets the village
headmen at his home to inform them of new governmental
orders and to settle minor disputes. He has charge of vital
statistics and health measures. These locally-elected
officials are for the most part dependent on and controlled
by the district government.

However, we need to look back to the first established
local government in Thailand in order to understand well
the characteristics of local Thai government. "The first
efforts to establish local self-government in Thailand
were actually made under the absolute monarchy, before
the revolution of 1932".[14] As early as 1905, an experi-
ment in local self-government was launched with the crea-
tion of a Sukaphibahn or "sanitation district" in a com-
mune of Samud Sakorn province, a short distance southwest

---

[14]Fred W. Riggs. Thailand: The Modernization of a
Bureaucratic Polity, East-West Center Press, Honolulu,
1966, p. 179.

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. (A number of villages or muban constitute a
commune or tambon, whose head is chosen from among the head-
men of the constituent villages). "This board was author-
ized to collect certain taxes, largely on houses and build-
ing constructions, 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".[15]

"In 1908 and again in 1915, new acts were promulgated
expanding the powers of the Sukahpiban, providing that
similar boards could be established elsewhere on the
recommendation of the provincial governor and the
monthon (region) head. By the time of the revolution,
it is estimated that there were some forty-five sukapi-
bahn".[16]

According to an act promulgated in 1914, qualified
voters in each village were authorized to elect their own
headman, but the district officer presided over the elec-
tion. The headmen of all the villages in a commune in
turn chose one of their numbers to be the tambon head.

---

[15]Fred W. Riggs; Ibid.

[16]Fred W. Riggs; Op. Cit., p. 180.

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 it in
reality. Choop points out "the sukahpiban, commune, and
village institutions at that time were always controlled
by the central government officials".[17]

After the revolution of 1932, more efforts were made
to launch a system of effective local self-government.
As soon as the promoters of the revolution seized power
in 1932, they publicly announced their devotion to the
principles of democratic constitutional government under
the constitutional monarchy, which was interpreted to mean
local self-government as well as representative institu-
tions in national government.

Despite this formal extension of the machinery of
local autonomy, Choop reaches the conclusion that "Thai
local self-government has become part of the hierachy of
the Ministry of the Interior" [18] and again Horrigan reaches
the conclusion that "Bureaucratic domination of local self-
government is inherent in the central government controls
over policy, personnel, and finances of the local units
and in the strength and influence of the territorial
administrators. It is clear that the central government

---

[17]Quoted in Fred W. Riggs; Ibid.

[13]Quoted in Fred W. Riggs, Op. Cit., p. 179.

possesses a dominance over local political action".[19]

When the Revolutionary Party came to power in 1932, it promised to work for the decentralization of administration and a greater measure of local self-government but it did not do as it promised. It called for the creation of local self-government councils throughout the country but neglected to provide adequate financing to carry out its provisions.

From 1932 to the present time, the long tradition of absolute monarchy and the habits of centralization, combined with a lack of any organized demand for self-government by the people have prevented much progress in the direction of local autonomy. However, forces slowly building up may reverse the traditional centralizing tendency. One of these factors is the large machinery of central-local administration which threatens to over-whelm the departments in Bangkok with reports, inspections and decisions on local matters. Another force for decentralization is the slow but steady growth of education and democratic feeling, and the realization that popular government applies to local as well as to national institutions.

---

[19]Quoted in Fred W. Riggs; Op. Cit., p. 180.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN RURAL THAILAND

The kind of village to be discussed here is a remote
village, far from metropolitan centers. Villages close
to cities have a different political structure. This dif-
ference is a result of differences in the village economics,
in the educational level of villagers, and in the compre-
hensive formal organizations. The Thai villagers are not
a community of joiners. Trade unions, professional
societies, clubs, political parties, school associations,
and so forth, are few in number and of slight importance.
The villagers are not caught up in numerous formal inde-
pendent organizations, each influencing a sphere of his
life, each organized in hierachical pattern. "The society
is organized horizontally rather than vertically. Only
two structures, church and government, are built in pyra-
mid form. Even these hierachies mean little to most Thai
villagers; for them, Buddhism means the local temple, and
government means the village elders".[20]

"An individual's life is not surrounded by numerous

---

[20]Frederick J. Harrigan. Local Government and Ad-
ministration in Thailand: A Study of Institutions and
Their Cultural Setting. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation,
Indiana University, 1959, p. 100.

21

institutional codes. Each man is in large measure free to make his own way. Family and village loyalties are not unyielding; individuals often and lightly leave both behind in the search for personal advantage. The Buddhist religion requires each individual to seek his own salvation unaided and unhindered by others. The government lays down few rules for strict enforcement, and even Thai nationalism does not demand that the Thai villagers love their country. Neither state nor church imposes heavy and frequent demands on the individual".[21] However, the Thai villagers prefer to devote much energy, sentiment, and money to their religion.

"The premise of Buddhism is that ultimate salvation consists of escape from material existence into nirvana in which one no longer exists as a sensate individual being".[22] Therefore, Buddhist values are apparent also in the endless merit-making of the believers. Ways of making merit are legion. One gains merit each time he feeds a monk, goes to the temple, releases caged birds or animals or contributes to the construction of a new temple.

Thai villagers enjoy their religion. Village social life centers around the temple and nearly all village

---

[21]Frederick J. Harrigan; Op. Cit., p. 104.

[22]John E. DeYoung. Village Life in Modern Thailand. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955, p. 201.

festivals have religious overtones. Professor Riggs reaches the conclusion that "the temple, or wat, is a source of advice and information on matters practical or esoteric such as theatrical performances, music and exhibits of artistic works. The temple is the source of a vital acculturating force".[23] This acculturation involves the idea of right and wrong, of proper aims and means, of ways of relating oneself to society.

"Beyond religion, Thai villagers respect, obey and honor the king. Even though Thai kings have been shorn of their political powers, they have retained the love and loyalty of their subjects - the Thai villager is a royalist at heart. The king embodies the values of the national unity. His person - all that it symbolizes - molds the society of villages into a nation sharing common values and moving toward a common destiny".[24]

The family in villages is the simple nuclear unit, usually containing five or six members. Within a single village many people are related by blood or marriage. Each married pair normally establishes its own residence, owns its own land, and earns its own living.

Children are treated permissively and are instructed by repeated example rather than by enforced decree. Respect

---

[23]Quoted in James McCarthy. Surveying and Exploring in Siam. London: John Murray, 1900, p. 89.

[24]James McCarthy; Op. Cit., p. 91.

follows age, and children are taught early to respect their elders, priests and teachers, also exhibit the subtle and gracious forms of politeness which are a notable feature of Thai personal relations. After a certain age children are expected to aid in family projects, but they are also taught to be self-reliant. Family ties are easily cut. Individual members can leave when the proper time comes to take up residence elsewhere, even in another village. When a man does move, it is usually to establish, in a village like the one in which he was born, a family like the one he has left.

Thai villages are composed of 100-150 households, or from 500-750 persons. Usually the villages string out along a canal or road. In the villages a sense of equality pervades living conditions and social relations. There is no legal and little social discrimination against women. Women have rights of inheritance and ownership equal to men. The Thai are not divided by bitter class resentments based upon differentials of wealth. There is no class consciousness in Thai villages. The people generally feel that social justice prevails. The villagers have no urge to transform their environment and have little ambition to change their social position. They are content to live and die in the village and at the social level of their birth. They are content to earn enough for their family's needs and a little over for contributions to the

temple and a few simple luxuries. Their style of life
does not compel a man to work harder to accumulate
more.

Typically, Thai rural villagers are peasants. They
live in simple but adequate houses of their own construc-
tion. One villager may own 30 acres and his neighbor
10, but it is very rare for one or a few villagers to
own nearly all the land and their neighbors almost none.

The village has its own government consisting of an
elected headman and an influential though informal council
of elders and priests. "The ordinary villager shows
much deference toward his superiors; he insists that
they deserve respect by virtue of their earned position."[25]

Although the villager respects his leader he is not
willing to be led too far too fast. The Thai will express
outward consent and obedience and then quietly fail to
do as he has been commanded.

Up to this point, we can see that the typical Thai
villagers have three qualities that they most respect -
religious merit, official position including the King,
and age. Respect goes automatically to the elders.
Professor Riggs reaches the conclusion that "toward
superiors, he shows respect tinctured with caution

[25]Silcock, T. H., (ed.) Thailand: Social and Economic
Studies in Development. Canberra Australian National
University Press, 1967, p. 158.

Related to this is his fondness for dependence on others".[26]
"While displaying great independence and self-reliance in
his dealings with the world at large, he is eager in his per-
sonal life to enjoy the protection and generosity of a pat-
ron, some distinguished or powerful person to whom he can
attach himself".[27] Thus the loyalties of the Thai are
typically and intensely personal, not institutional or
idealistic.

Moreover, "Thai people are closely tied to their pri-
mary organization, i.e., family, kin-group, classmate and
clique . . . which Professor Riggs again called the elect".[28]
This means that, lacking resources of big organizations or
party machinery, the power holders of Thai political ad-
ministration focus their efforts on holding to power through
small groups, composed of members who have known each other
very well for years. Therefore, the Thai are discouraged
from participating in big organization processes.

From this point, we will show that the typical Thai
value - respect for official position - affects the bureau-
cratic communication in Thai local administration; espec-
ially in the common and village government level in the
rural areas of Thailand.

_____

[26]Quoted in Kenneth E. Wells: Thai Buddishm: Its
Rites and Activities. Bangkok: The Christian Bookstore,
1960, p. 201.

[27]Kenneth E. Wells, Op. Cit., p. 203.

[28]Kenneth E. Wells; Op. Cit., p. 204.

BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNICATION

Bureaucracy is not a new phenomenon. It existed in rudimentary forms thousands of years ago in Egypt and Rome. But the trend toward bureaucratization has greatly accelerated during the last century. In contemporary society, bureaucracy has become a dominant institution, the institution that epitomizes the modern era. Unless we understand this institutional form, we cannot understand social life today.

The concept of bureaucracy is viewed as a series of dimensions as Weber described it. These dimensions include division of labor, hierachy of authority, formal communication, . . . etc. So, the researchers of organizations from the time of Weber to the present have used the bureaucratic model as the basis for conceptualizing the system of interrelationships in organization. Moreover, bureaucracy is not the Weberian ideal type, "it has developed differently in various countries of the world because of the particular geographic, historical and cultural conditions affecting each country and its people".[29]

---

[29]Joseph B. Kingsbury and Robert F. Wilcox, Op. Cit., p. 20.

Theories of organizations which describe organizational behavior in terms of communication process often use both the language of communication theory and the components of bureaucratic structure. Some researchers focus upon the existence of various channels of communications, the frequency of their use, and their relationship to structural variables of an organization. Such research often relates the output of an organization to the effectiveness of the communication channels. Neither school of research focuses in detail upon the forms of bureaucratic communication in terms of functionality and dysfunctionality for bureaucratic output.

To begin consideration of this issue, four patterns of bureaucratic communications are defined in terms of structural features of organization in Perrow's study (1970). These four patterns of bureaucratic communication are formal, instrumental informality, ritualism, and affective informality. The definitions of those patterns permit uniform categorizations of communication patterns by form in differing organizations. Such categorizations can be used to analyze the functionalities and dysfunctionalities of each mode of communication.

For uniform, comparative purposes, communication must be defined in terms of present organizational features. "To do this communication models will be defined in terms of the two structural variables of "rules - procedures" and

"policy-goals".[30]

"Rules-procedures are defined as the formally designated way(s) of undertaking a given process. It is assumed that a set of rules-procedures exist in written form and that explicitly included among these rules-procedures are the proper methods for communicating within the organization".[31] Such proper methods need not be restricted only to formal reports. Informal talks, field debriefing, etc. are considered congruent with formal procedures, so long as they are permitted by the rules.

"Goal-policies consist of the written statements made by the top hierachical level of an organization".[32] In a governmental bureaucracy, such "goal-policies" are determined through the official statements made at the ministerial level. This particular definition temporarily avoids the problems of whether or not organizational goals can differ from individual goals and the even more fundamental problem of whether or not an organization qua organization has a goal.

Hierarchy is defined in terms of the Weberian concept of a designation of status and is ranked along with the

---

[30]Herbert J. Rubin. "Modes of Bureaucratic Communications. Examples from Thai Local Administrations". The Sociological Quarterly 15, Spring 1974, p. 212.

[31]Herbert J. Rubin; Op. Cit. p. 213.

[32]Ibid.

associated legitimization of authority. In this study
clients can be perceived as having ranks relative to the
organizational hierachy; clients (Thai villagers) are
considered to have less status than officials do.

These three concepts, in practice are not so clearly
defined. Hierachy and actual power do not always coin-
cide. "The formal position superior might actually have
less power than his nominal subordinate. The proper
procedure might involve filling out a form and waiting,
but in a practical way, it might involve payment of tea
money and receiving immediate service. Moreover, indi-
vidual goals might or might not be congruent with official
policies".[33]

Perrow's four modes of communication will be defined
in these formal structural terms - "goals-policies",
"procedure-rules", and "heirachy".

Formal communications occur when procedures are fol-
lowed in compliance with organizational goals. Ritualism
is the use of correct procedure to avoid accomplishing
the policies. Instrumental informality is the avoidance
of proper rules in order to achieve the goals. Finally,
affective informality is communication which neither in-
volves proper procedure nor is oriented toward ministerial
goals but serves to increase group solidarity.

The relationship among these modes are as follows:

---

[33]Herbert J. Rubin; Op. Cit., p. 214.

formality represents an ideal form of bureaucratic com-
munication; instrumental informality and ritualism both
are modifications of this form; instrumental informality
is concerned with output while avoiding procedure, while
ritualism is the use of procedures to avoid output. Af-
fective informality appears less closely related.

We will use these four patterns of communication for
comparing bureaucratic organizations according to the
following pattern of analysis. We should ascertain what
setting is associated with each mode of communication and
then analyze the Thai traditional culture which affects
those bureaucratic communications.

"The setting in Goffman's (1959) terms, associated
with each mode of communication should be determined.
Such setting can and does differ from organization to
organization and from culture to culture. But within one
organizational context a particular type of setting usually
will be associated with one mode of communication. Setting
can include location of the communication, refinement of
language, or even in more general terms, the atmosphere
associated with the communication".[34] For example, one
would determine the appropriateness of an office setting
for each mode of communication. Or, for example, one
would observe if particular patterns of speech are

---

[34]Herbert J. Rubin; Op. Cit., p. 215.

associated with each mode of communication. In one context, extreme refinement in language might be used in ritualistic communication to protect the speaker from questioning. In another context, flippancy and informality in language might accomplish the same end.

After the setting has been determined, a systematic comparative study of the functionality of each mode of communication within a given bureaucracy can be undertaken. For example, affective informality might be useful in increasing solidarity, but because of the lack of discipline involved, it might be detrimental for increasing efficiency, but in other cultural contexts differing patterns might be more suitable. Blau's (1958) study of the American bureaucracy suggests that instrumental informality might be used in conveying rule changes to subordinates but Crozier's (1964) analysis of French bureaucracy indicates that formality must be used in this case.

In this study, bureaucratic communication in Thai local administration has its own settings in this Thai culture context. The strategy used in this paper is to explain the effect of Thai traditional cultural factors upon the mode of bureaucratic communication in the same way that the French isolation of status groups (Crozier, 1964) was used to explain their effect upon the relationship within organizations.

AN EXAMPLE OF COMMUNICATION MODES IN

THAI LOCAL ADMINISTRATION[35]

Using data collected on the Thai bureaucracy[36] we
find various examples of formal, affective informal,
ritualistic, and instrumental informal communications.

Administratively, Thailand is a centralized state
divided into province, district, subdistrict and village.
The ministries and numerous departments have representa-
tives on the national, provincial, and district levels.
Teachers and certain health and development officials have
subdistrict responsibilities. The district is usually
considered as the lowest level of the bureaucracy.

Most ministries are structured along hierachical lines
of command with minimal staff support provided for decision-
makers. At both district and provincial levels generalist
officials (the District Officer and the Governor) are
responsible for coordinating the technical, line officials.

---

[35]Most of this section is based upon Herbert J. Rubin;
Op. Cit., p. 216.

[36]The data were collected in a year-long field study
of rural Thai administration. Examples used in this paper
were observed by Irene Rubin, and two Thai assistants. The
research was sponsored by the Center for International
Studies at M.R.T. under the supervision of Prof. Pye. More
details can be found in Rubin, Op. Cit., pp. 740-773.

33

In reality such coordination is quite poor. "There are

for example, some studies of Thai administration showing

that the power of a particular position in the bureau-

cracy depends entirely upon the rank of that position and

is minimally related to its functional responsibilities

Four aspects of Thai bureaucratic behavior are mentioned

as personalism, malcoordination, hierarchy and indifference

to clients".[37] Within the bureaucracy, subordinates dis-

play extreme personal deference to their superiors. Such

deference involves unquestioning loyalty to the superior

and an inability to overtly disobey his orders. "Per-

sonalism facilitates exchange of information and, to some

extent lessens the problems of malcoordination. Yet it

also leads to the creation of a patron-client relationship

in which patrons use information and support of clients to

aid themselves and in turn provide material resources to

their clients".[38] Such a patron-client system leads to

waste of resources. Money is used to support the relation-

ship, while service to the citizen (in contrast to the

superior) does little to aid the official in his career.

However, many studies which contain descriptions of the

communication process within the Thai bureaucracy only

distinguish formal from informal communications, focusing

---

[37]Herbert J. Rubin; Op. Cit., p. 217.

[38]Herbert J. Rubin; Op. Cit., p. 218.

upon the dysfunctions of formality and the functionality
of informality, such as Mosel's study (1963) and Riggs'
study (1966). The distinction between ritualistic (goal
avoidance behavior) and instrumental (goal seeking behavior)
which is a crucial distinction is missed by looking at
communications only in terms of the dysfunctions and
functions of formal and informal communication.

Communication patterns among officials and between
officials and villages in Thailand have been studied by
Rubin using the framework developed by Perrow (1970).
We will discuss this study in some detail because its
findings are a good example of the ways in which the
cultural and institutional factors discussed above in-
fluence bureaucratic communication. Observations were
made by Rubin on bureaucratic communications in two
moderately isolated rural districts. The districts con-
tained, respectively, 30,000 and 110,000 inhabitants,
and between 30-60 civil officials plus police and school
teachers. The civil officials represented various
technical and administrative agencies. The highest rank-
ing official was the District Officer who as a line of-
ficial is in charge of administrative activity, and as
area official, is in charge of all other district ac-
tivity. Complete descriptions of these areas can be
found in Rubin (1972).

Formal Communication

Formal communications within the Thai bureaucracy are for conveying information from superior to inferior. In describing formal communications we must distinguish them from ritualistic communications because formal communications and ritualistic communication are quite similar.

In both forms of interaction formal language is used, deference is paid to the superior and control of the interaction is clearly held by the superior. Yet the goals of such interaction differ. In ritualistic patterns the superior is trying to avoid accomplishing bureaucratic goals. In formal interaction he is using the respect felt toward his position to cause inferiors to listen to information that will eventually be useful to accomplishing bureaucratic goals. These interactions can be indicated by describing a meeting between the District Officer and village headmen, between the District Officer and the section heads and between the District Officer and ordinary villagers.

The headmen meeting. A monthly meeting is held at
the district hall for officials and village headmen. The
primary purpose of such meeting is to convey administrative
information to the headmen. The District Officer chairs
the meetings. Usually the Assistant District Officer and
on the average three section heads attend the meetings.
The meeting is held in an official hall. The District
Officer dominates village headmen and politely and dif-
fidently asks questions or responds when addressed. On
occasion the headmen take notes or are instructed to take
notes.

Such meetings involve a repetition of orders, announce-
ments, and exhortation from official to villager. Proper
deference to higher status individuals is preserved at
the meetings. The District Officers want the headmen
to listen, understand and relay information to the vil-
lagers. The District Officers emphasize all important
points made at the meetings. They complain when headmen
skip meetings.

The section head meeting. Similar patterns of inter-
action between junior and senior officials could be
seen at the monthly section meetings. The District
Officer chairs the meetings. Generally, but not without
exception, refined language is used. The chairman do
most of the talking; others usually talk only in direct
response to his questions. These formal meetings are used

by the District Officer to announce new policies or re-
affirm old policies which are then implemented.

Unlike the headman meetings at which the District Of-
ficer is simply relaying information from higher up in the
bureaucracy, the section head meeting is concerned with
immediate local problems. For the meeting to be both
successful and relevant requires that the District Officer
have sufficient information which could be provided by
formal reports.

But corruption, and subtle inefficiencies are not
brought formally to the District Officer's attention. He
learns of such problems through instrumental informal ex-
changes with his subordinates. For example, one district
officer learned about coordination problems while chatting
on a jeep trip with a community development worker. The
existence of both formal and instrumental informal means
of getting information to the District officer enable him
to run effective, formal, monthly section head meetings.
The two modes of communication are complementary.

The village meetings. A third description by Rubin
of formal communications occurred in an isolated area
between the District Officer and villagers. For example,
the villagers were working on a joint road project but
some of the villagers were unwilling to cooperate with the
headman. The headman arranged a general meeting and in-
vited the District Officer to speak. Because of his

status virtually all the villagers attended quietly and
politely listened to the presentation. A formal meeting,
at which a sufficiently respected authority appeared, ac-
complished the goal of gaining cooperation on a needed
development project.

Up to this point, in each of these cases, the headman
meeting, the section head meeting and the villagers meet-
ing - a formal setting is maintained. The superior is
treated respectfully and deferentially. He dominates
the entire meeting. Formal communications appear to be
effective in situations in which the superior has the
needed information to accomplish the formal goals of the
bureaucracy. At times, though the superior needs the
information provided by means of instrumental informality.

Ritualistic communication. According to Rubin,
though the setting for ritualistic communication is
similar to that of formal communications the purpose and
effect was quite different. Both involved an official
ceremony or a proper procedure. At both, formal language
and/or proper forms were used. At both the status superior
dominated the interaction.

The setting of ritualistic interaction differs from
that of formal. Meetings of a ritualistic nature are
hurried through; people are anxious to complete them.
None of the humor present in some formal meetings is

present. There seems to be a desire to minimize inter-
personal interaction while performing a ritualistic
activity. We can see the setting of ritualistic com-
munication clearly in the bureaucratic report, certain
village meetings and intersectional coordination.

The bureaucratic report. The formal reports written
by the local officials represent a form of ritualistic
communication. Preparing such reports is clearly hard.
First, many required the same data monthly, quarterly
and yearly. Others are done under time limitations
thus increasing the potential for error. Many, if not
most, of the reports were not read or utilized for
action documents higher in the bureaucracy. To cope
with the clear frustration of filling out such reports
and of getting correct data, officials generally treated
such reports as ritualistic documents higher in the
bureaucracy. They are completely and consistently
filled out. But, the information contained on them
are not verified, or are faked. The result of this
process is inaccurate but correct-appearing information
which can be transmitted up the bureaucracy.

Certain village meetings. The "reaching the people"
project of the Ministry of Interior shows this pattern.
The official is supposed to reach the people, i.e., go

to the villager, let him know about the government and aid in bridging the social and status gap between villager and official. For example, one District Officer designates one day a year per subdistrict as the reaching the people day. The meetings would last many hours but rarely are villager questions posed. This kind of meeting is designed to serve the people but involves ritualistic communication.

Intersectional coordination. To obtain maximal output from the limited number of local officials, coordination between sections is required. As a result ritualized interactions occurred. This pattern is indicated by the relationship of the community development officials with technical officials. The community development workers generally had better rapport with villagers but technical officials have the requisite skills for development activities. For example, the community development department prepares documents explaining the importance of coordination with the technical official. The suggested patterns of preliminary consultation and coordination are ignored.

Needless to say, the mutual planning and preliminary consultation, which is the goal of coordination work, do not occur. A ritualized reference to coordination occurred, but individual uncoordinated projects are undertaken.

Instrumental Informality. Situations of instrum-
ental informality occur within informal settings between
officials of differing bureaucratic statuses. By struc-
turing a situation so that social inhibitions between
status superior and inferior are reduced, information can
properly be passed up to the superior. At times this in-
formation is useful to the superior in achieving bureau-
cratic goals.

Situations of instrumental informality occur when a
superior desired to break down certain social inhibitions
between himself and his inferiors. To do so the superior
publicly undertook some informal actions. Once an in-
formal setting has been established, an inferior feels
free to present requests, complaints, and information to
his superior. Similarly, in an informal mode, the superior
is freed from certain restrictions upon his behavior.
Most of these involve normative constraints to behave
in a gentle fashion to subordinates.

This kind of pattern appears in the socializing after
formal events, and in the interactions of an outside
superior on a tour of inspection.

Socializing after formal events. Following formal,
religious, or legal events a bureaucratic superior might
suggest that subordinates informally gather for food,

drink and conversation. By doing so his inferiors feel free to convey to him unofficially their wants, needs or problems.

This kind of group interaction usually leaves the office and goes to a social hall or restaurant. Alcohol will be served, but it is served only moderately; drink is meant to facilitate communications and not to impede discussion. Similar interactions occur when certain officials visit the village. At the formal village ceremonies, subdistrict meeting, or development assemblies, information flows only from official to villager. After such meetings the official and village leaders retire to the headman's house. Alcohol and snacks will be served. After this treat is given, villagers feel that they are able to direct requests and complaints to the officials that through fear, awe, or courtesy they had not dared to present at the formal meetings.

An outside superior on a tour of inspection. Superiors are curtailed in communicating with inferiors by certain social norms. For example, they are not supposed to take advantage of their formal positions to flaunt their power or directly criticize their subordinates. However, in an informal atmosphere such displays of power or criticism are interpreted as advice between friends and accordingly not restricted by the social taboos.

By instrumental informality, information could be
sent that otherwise would be blocked. The superior defines
a situation as informal. Social status between superior
and inferior is reduced. More honest and more threatening
information that cannot be conveyed through formal channels
is transmitted informally.

Affective Informal Mode.   This mode is useful in
maintaining or creating solidarity in organizations.
According to Rubin, in the Thai case affective informal
communication requires a change of setting away from the
office or meeting place. Before informal conversations
take place, the officials will move outside the district
building and chat in the yard. Officials who are friends
conversed while going to a village or while drinking at
the local restaurant. As may be expected such exchanges
usually are relaxed.

Such discussions concerned work, weather, politics
or personal problems. Through these interactions, of-
ficials can enjoy each other's company and friendships
can be reaffirmed. These conversations served to solidify
the ethnic solidarity of the officials native to the area
against the officials from the central region of the
country posted to the North. During conflicts and other

stressful situations such affective solidarities are quite important.

So, affective informal interactions occur between status (near) equals. The primary resource each can bring to the relationship is personal emotive support which is therefore unlike instrumental informal interaction between superior and inferior.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We can see clearly the four patterns of bureaucratic
communication in Thai local administration; each mode
is distinguished from the other by different settings.
Formality and ritualism need the support of an official
setting. Affective informality and instrumental in-
formality occur only at locations removed from the
office. Affective informality usually occurs between
status equals. Only a superior through his choice of
language, location and other traits can change a formal
situation into either an instrumental informal or
ritualistic one.

Moreover, Thai traditional culture which involves
respect for official position affects these four modes
of bureaucratic communication. Authority is accepted
readily in the Thai bureaucracy as the basis for rela-
tionships within the organization. Riggs, (1966) Kings-
bury and Siffin (1966) reach the same conclusion that
the Thai have a high degree of respect for authority
and deference for persons having higher status. This
means that orders from the superior will be obeyed by

the inferior unless the order appears unreasonable, or
conflicts with established values, in which case it is
disregarded rather than opposed. There is a sincere
desire on the part of the inferior to avoid causing
trouble and friction in his relationship with a superior.

While Thais as a people, tend to be individualistic,
they also accord deference to those who hold positions
of authority. As Siffin has said:

"Two features of Thai society contributed greatly
to the accommodation of both status values and individual-
ism, the loose structuring, or high degree of permis-
sivity, characteristic of the social system, and the
shallow paternalism that is one aspect of the appropriate
reciprocal relationship among superiors and subordinates
within it."[39]

So, it is characteristic of Thai culture that there
is unquestioning acceptance of the right of a superior
official to give orders to an inferior without challenge
from the latter.

In addition to "respect for the official position",
there is still some significance of the modes of bureau-
cratic communication for the local government of rural

---

[39]William J. Siffin, The Thai Bureaucracy: Institu-
tional Change and Development, East-West Center Press,
Honolulu, 1966, p. 132.

Thailand.

Some official records are kept in order to evidence
(or to minimize through false records) responsibility
for particular occurrences and events. Those records do
not always accurately report activities or may report
activities that did not occur. The actual data of
decision making are personal rather than objective, and
their importance tends to live in their source more
than their content.

The four modes of bureaucratic communication men-
tioned above come down from the top and not up from lower
levels. Respect for official superior position affects
these four modes in this aspect. This is illustrated
in Rubin's study by the cases of formal communication,
the headman meeting, the section head meeting, and the
villager meeting. The superior is treated respectfully
and deferentially. He dominates, if not monopolizes,
the entire meeting. Others present listen to what he
says and rarely respond, but apparently absorb the
message.

Ritualistic communication permits individual of-
ficials to protect themselves in different ways. In-
adequate official reports satisfy superior demands with
little effort on the part of the local officials. The

ritualized meetings of the official superior decreases
the status differences with respect to villagers. And
again, the ritualized coordination relationship between
sections permits the individual official to avoid be-
coming dependent upon other officials.

In the case of instrumental informality, the superior
defines this kind of communication as being informal.
Social inhibitions upon both superior and inferior are
thereby decreased.

Finally, affective informal interaction occurs between
status (near) equals; each can bring to the relationship
personal emotional support. This kind of communication is
different from instrumental informal interaction which is
between superior and inferior.

The pattern of bureaucratic communications is selected
by officials, which means that higher ranking officials
seek information on the state of affairs within their
jurisdictions and pick a mode of communication which
enhances their status; the officials talk instead of
listening; the subordinates respect the officials and
are eager to show all the outward forms of deference.
However, the villagers are not willing to be led too fast.
The villagers will express outward consent and obedience
and then quietly fail to do as they have been commanded.
The posture of subordinates is usually deferential and
protective.

Any visit by high ranking administrative officials to their people helps to convince their people of the officials' paternal pride, interest in their work and their particular problems. The meal with liquor that goes with the official visits becomes lively and involves uninhibited discussions. Their people report to them personally, bringing the gossip, the confidences and the suspicions which help protect the officials against painful surprises.

Rules and regulations are commonplace instruments of communication within the bureaucracy but they work in different ways. On the one hand, many rules and regulations tend to be effective without question. On the other hand, specific rules and regulations can be ignored or modified in particular actions by officials with high status. Formal communication appears to be effective in situations in which the superior has the needed information and that superior is sympathetic to the formal goals of the bureaucracy. At times, though, the superior acquires the information by means of instrumental informality. Through instrumental communication, threatening information which cannot be conveyed in formal ways is transmitted informally. However, it might not be good form for the official to violate at will an old rule about some important matter and adopt a new rule. The new rule may become a convenient justification for whatever future

action at variance from the older norms the official may
desire. As Siffin has said: "Rules (in bureaucracies)
are the instruments of an authority which is essentially
nonlegal, and which resembles legal authority chiefly
because any large administrative system must have a
fairly sizeable number of available premises in order
to continue to exist and operate in a coherent manner".[40]

In conclusion, we can see that the Thai value "respect
for the official position" affects bureaucratic communi-
cations in dysfunctional ways more than functional ways
to the organization. This value disrupts formal communi-
cation particularly and this type of communication is
necessary for the effective functioning of organizations.
Errors of communication can occur easily in the absence of
record keeping and other aspects of formal communication.
The respect for the official position value is a barrier
to the structural development of local Thai government in
rural areas.

One way to solve this problem is for the central
government to delegate more authority to the local govern-
ment in the rural area. Secondly, the government is
trying to give the people more education in order to help
the people to understand about the local-self administra-
tion system, which can inspire the people to get away

---

[40]William J. Siffin; Op. Cit., p. 236.

from unquestioning acceptance of the traditional value of respect for the official position. Finally, the government has to convince officials to stop assuming that they are much superior to the villagers. Officials should not expect villagers to respect unreasonable commands simply because of their higher status. The formal mode of communication may be preferable in this sense because it does not rely so exclusively for its effectiveness upon status differences.

However, our suggestions for getting rid of the dys-functional value of Thai culture for the development of bureaucratic communication are hard to implement because this value appears to be deeply rooted in Thai rural people ever since the establishment of Thailand as a nation.

Moreover, this situation parallels the one that Michel Crozier found in a study of two French bureau-cratic organizations. Crozier states that "the rigidity of task definition, rank arrangements, and the human relations networks, results in a lack of communication between the groups".[41] From this perspective, it appears that each group (villagers and officials) views its own functions as the most crucial for the success of the organization; as, for example when Thai officials try

---

[41]Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), page 175.

to protect their own domain and ignore the organization's
goals. Thai officials are reluctant to delegate authority
and this is encouraged by Thai tradition of "respect to
the official position". The way to solve this problem
in Crozier's view is to introduce more rules to enforce
honesty which will lead to the achievement of organiza-
tional goals. In this way officials and the villagers
can increase their communication with each other. If
the officials are honest, then they do not need to avoid
face-to-face contact with villagers and the villagers
are more likely to initiate contact with honest of-
ficials.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blau, Peter. The Dynamics of Bureaucracy. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958.

_____. The Structure of Organizations. New York, New York Press, 1971.

Crozier, Michel. The Bureaucratic Phenomenon. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964.

DeYoung, John E. Village Life in Modern Thailand. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955.

Embree, John F. "Thailand - A Loosely Structured Social System", American Anthropologist, LII, No. 2, 1950.

Etzioni, Amitai. A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organization. New York, Free Press, 1961.

Hanks, L. "Merit and Power in the Thai Social Order", American Anthropologist No. 64, 1962.

Horrigan, Frederick J. "Local Government and Administration in Thailand: A Study of Institutions and Their Cultural Setting", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1959.

LaPalombara, Joseph, (ed.). Bureaucracy and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

McCarthy, James. Surveying and Exploring in Siam. London, John Murray, 1900.

Moerman, M. "Western Culture and the Thai Way of Life", Asia 1, Spring, 1964.

Moffat, Abbot Low Mongkut, The King of Siam. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961.

Mosel, James N. "Thai Administrative Behavior", in W. J. Siffin, ed.; Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1959.

<u>Organizational Directory of the Government of Thailand</u>, 1960, 1963 Bangkok: USOM/Thailand.

Perrow, Charles. <u>Organizational Analysis</u>. A Sociological View. Belmont, California, Brooks/Cole, 1970.

Phillips, Herbert. <u>Thai Peasant Personality</u>. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1965.

Pye, Lucian, W., ed. <u>Communications and Political Development</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Riggs, Fred W. <u>Thailand: The Modernization of a Bureaucratic Polity</u>, East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1966.

Rubin, Herbert J. "Modes of Bureaucratic Communication. Examples from Thai Local Administration", The Sociological Quarterly 15, 1974.

Siffin, William J. <u>The Thai Bureaucracy: Institutional Change and Development</u>. East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1966.

Wells, Kenneth E. <u>Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities</u>. Bangkok: The Christian Bookstore, 1960.