

## **SUPER-GOVERNOR OF CHIANGMAI: IMBALANCE BETWEEN DEMANDS AND SUPPORTS**

*By*

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The governor occupies the single most important position in a Thai province, and the functions he is expected to perform are crucial for the national administrative system as well as local government. Heretofore scholarly research on the provincial governor in Thailand has treated the governors as a single phenomenon, resting on the assumption that the governor's functions and his capacity for carrying out these functions do not vary significantly from one province to another. Research, on which this article is based, was addressed to testing this assumption. It entailed closely examining the functions and performance capacity of the governor of Chiangmai province in comparison with governors of a few other provinces. The governor of Chiangmai was selected as the focus since the authors hypothesized that this province is unique, and therefore that the work demands upon its governor would be greater than elsewhere. Lamphun, Lampang, Machongson, Nan, and Chiangrai provinces were selected for contrast with Chiangmai in part because they were considered to be fairly representative of other provinces, and in part because limitations of time and funds restricted the research to provinces which are not too distant from Chiangmai.

Research techniques employed in this study included structured interviews with the governors and some of their close aids, having each of the governors complete a structured ques-

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tionnaire, informal conversations with a few of the close aids to each governor, and recourse to whatever published material was available. Research was conducted during the latter half of 1974, and the results were analyzed and this article written during early 1975.

### The Setting

Chiangmai province has its origins in the town of Chiangmai, which was built next to the Ping River in 1296 A.D. by Por Khun Mengrai and initially named "Nophburi Srinakornping Chiangmai" (The Ninth and Shining Ping River City of Chiangmai).<sup>1</sup> At the time he established Chiangmai, Por Khun Mengrai already ruled over eight other towns and their rural environs. He made Chiangmai town the capital of his small princely state, known as Lanna Thai, which was strategically situated between the larger and contending Burmese, Laotian and Thai Kingdoms. In 1560, Chiangmai was overrun and occupied by the Burmese. It was liberated by Thai forces in 1744, and became a vassal state of the Thai Kingdom. For a time thereafter Chiangmai was ruled by descendents of the northern, or Lanna Thai, dynasty who acknowledged the sovereignty of the Thai Monarch in Bangkok. At a later date, King Rama V removed the northern dynasty from power and transformed Chiangmai into a province administered by a governor. He also established administrative regions throughout Thailand, each consisting of several provinces. Thus Chiangmai province became part of the northern region, and its governor was subject to the control of a regional viceroy who made the town of Chiangmai his headquarters. But in 1933, in the aftermath of the revolution, the regional system of administration in Thailand was scrapped and the status of Chiangmai reduced to simply that of a regular province.

Today the province, which consists mostly of mountains and forests,<sup>2</sup> shares common borders with one foreign country and five other Thai provinces: Burma on the north, Lamphun and Tak in the south, Maehongson in the west, and Chiangrai and Lampang in the east. It encompasses an area of nearly 23,000 square kilometers and a population of just over 1,000,000. The province is administratively divided into 18 districts and one subdistrict which, in turn, are divided into 166 communes (a commune is an administrative grouping of villages) and 1,310 villages. Also within the province there are 21 sanitation districts (small semi-urban areas) and one municipality - the town of Chiangmai. The latter has an area of 17.50 square kilometers and with a population of about 100,000 is the second largest city in Thailand.

Table 1 compares the size of Chiangmai with some of the other northern provinces.

<sup>1</sup>Thus it was built 54 years before the former Thai capital city of Sri Ayudhaya.

<sup>2</sup>Chiangmai Provincial Administrative Organization, *Chiangmai Data Book* (Chiangmai: Klang Vieng press, 1974), p. 18.

TABLE 1  
VITAL STATISTICS FOR CHIANGMAI  
AND SELECTED OTHER NORTHERN PROVINCES

	Population	Area in sq. km.	Number of districts and sub-districts
Chiangmai City	1,086,203 98,319	22,994.35 17.50	19
Chiangrai City Payao	1,273,049 17,056 23,220	18,806.79 2.26 9.00	18
Lampang City	636,580 43,097	12,517.54 9.00	11
Nan City	339,181 20,959	11,694.51 5.40	8
Lamphun City	336,862 12,305	4,406.82 16.00	5
Maehongson City	104,233 4,684	13,946.30 4.00	5

Source : Registration and I.D. Card Bureau, Department of Local Administration

Data on the provinces are as of March 7, 1975.

Data on the cities are as of December 31, 1974.

The city of Chiangmai is a growing industrial center,<sup>3</sup> a popular vacation resort for Thai and foreign tourists, the site of many conferences, the location of five foreign consulates, the residence of the largest number of foreigners (non-military) outside of Bangkok, the home of Chiangmai University and several other educational institutions, and the headquarters for many regional offices of various governmental departments and public enterprises.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the King maintains a Palace on a mountain overlooking the city and the Royal family is in residence there for one or two months of each year.

Chiangmai valley is the most productive and the most heavily populated part of the province; in fact, pressure on available land has already developed. Sizeable numbers of people also live in the smaller valleys and on the mountain slopes - it is on these slopes that nearly all of the hill tribes are found.<sup>5</sup> Some of the smaller valleys and most of the mountains are without roads. Understandably, government authority and services are less apparent in these relatively inaccessible sections of the province.

While the province fortunately has been spared from communist insurgency, it does face serious problems of opium cultivation, smuggling, and destruction of the watershed. The smuggling mostly involves remnants of the Kuomintang Army who fled the mainland of China when the Communists came to power and who eventually settled in the hills of northern and northern Chiangmai. Opium cultivation is engaged in almost entirely by the hill tribes, as well as those few ethnic Thai living in the hills, also create a problem with their slash-and burn type of agriculture which denudes the forests and leads to serious silting and flooding in the valleys.

<sup>3</sup>There are 1527 large and small factories situated in the province. See *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>4</sup>There are no general administrative or political regions in Thailand today. But many units of national administration, primarily the departments, have regional offices or regional centers. Some of these regional offices which are headquartered in Chiangmai are: The Northern Regional Planning Office, Land Development Center, Tuberculosis Control Center, Malaria Eradication Regional Office, Regional Forestry Office, Divisional Highways Office, Regional Natural Resources Office, Northern Agricultural Development Center, Northern Agricultural Extension Training and Supervision Center, Regional Veterinary Office, District Irrigation Office, Revenue Regional Office, Excise Regional Office, Regional Office of the Comptroller General, Mother and Child Center, Regional Education Office, Regional Auditing Office, Office of the Regional Chief Judge, Neurological Hospital, Industrial Services Institute, Industrial Economics Center, Reception Home for Boys, Home for the Aged, Regional Headquarters of the Border Patrol Police, and the Regional Office of the Provincial Electricity Authority. Also there are special units of central administration operating in Chiangmai province. Some of them are: the Tribal Research Center, Chiangmai Hill Tribe Land Settlement, Hod Land Settlement, Cooperatives Settlement at Phrao, Cooperatives Settlement at San Sai, Cooperatives Settlement at Mae Tang, and the Ping River Basin Development Program.

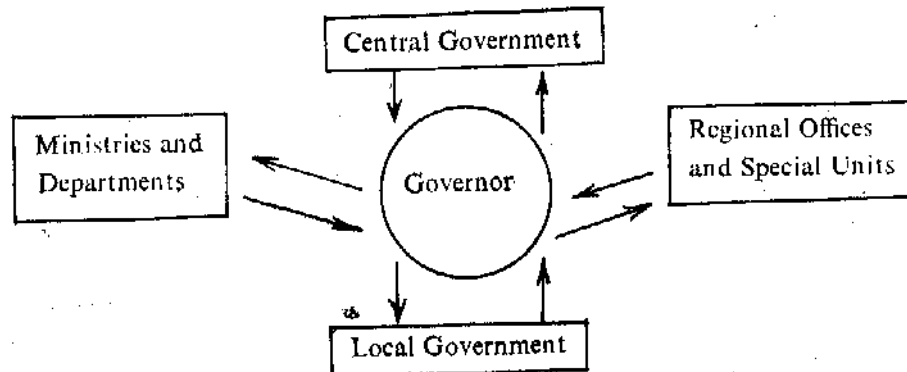
<sup>5</sup>The Karen, Lawa, Musur, Lisu, Yao and Akha tribal groups are represented in Chiangmai province.

The foregoing characteristics distinguish Chiangmai province from most of the other provinces of Thailand. Indeed, the exact combination of characteristics is quite unique. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the nature and scope of the governor's work differs somewhat from that of his fellow governors.

### Role of the Governor

The present status and role of the provincial governor in Thailand has its roots in the administrative reforms of King Chulalongkorn, or Rama V. Among other things the governor became a career civil servant appointed by, responsible to, and paid a regular salary by the central government based in Bangkok. Initially he was viewed solely as representing the central government. It wasn't until after the 1932 revolution, and then only gradually, that the concept of local self-government became accepted and the governor was obliged to also listen to the local population.<sup>6</sup> Today, therefore, the governor has a dual status. On the one hand, he acts as the chief agent in the province of the central government. On the other hand, he is head of the province as a unit of self-government and accordingly represents the people and their interests.<sup>7</sup>

Actually, the governor is involved in role sets with the ministries and their departments in terms of territorial administration, with regional offices and special administrative units operating in the province, with the central or national government, and with local government. Table II illustrates these four role sets, or sets of official relationships.



<sup>6</sup>The most comprehensive study of the evolution of the role of the provincial governor in Thailand is Arsa Meksawan, "The Role of the Provincial Governor in Thailand," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, February, 1962.

<sup>7</sup>See *Ibid.*, p. 167, pp. 209-210.

The province is the territorial unit of administration for the ministries and their departments,<sup>8</sup> and the governor functions as the chief administrative officer of the province. He is appointed by, and responsible to, the Office of the Undersecretary, Ministry of Interior. The only persons directly under his administrative control are the vice governor and the governor's chauffeur, who also are employed by the Office of the Undersecretary.<sup>9</sup> The governor exercises general administrative supervision, but not direct control, over other central government officials working in the provincial sections of the different departments. The head of section is supervised in technical matters by his departmental headquarters in Bangkok, and is under the effective control of these headquarters. What, then, does general supervision by the governor entail? For one thing, the governor is responsible for the execution of all laws and regulations applicable to his province, and many of these pertain to the work of the sections. Secondly, the governor is responsible for seeing that all activities of the sections are in accordance with national policy. Thirdly, he transmits all communications from the departments to their provincial sections. Fourth, the governor makes recommendations on promotions, salary increments and disciplinary measures with respect to officials in these sections, though the final decisions on such personnel matters are made in Bangkok.

The other role he plays in this first role set is to represent the interests of the sections, or the officials therein, *vis a vis* their departmental superiors in Bangkok. This includes transmitting all communications from the heads of section to their respective Bangkok headquarters. More significant, he lends his support to their requests for additional funds, personnel, equipment and so forth. Usually he does such by merely signing requests for this support, requests which are written by the section heads. But he often goes beyond this and personally visits departmental headquarters, orally pleading the case of the sections.

The second role set concerns the governor's involvement with regional offices and special units operating in the province. Of course, not all departments have such regional offices and special units. Moreover, only a few provinces contain the headquarters of regional offices. But all provinces within the area covered by a particular regional office are affected by it, inasmuch as its officials periodically work in these provinces. And a special unit might be based in one province and do all of its work there, or it might also work in one or more neighbouring provinces.

Those working for regional offices and special units report only to the heads of such. The heads, in turn, report directly to, and take their orders directly from, their departmental superiors in Bangkok. In other words, the governor is outside the chain of command linking these locally based agencies of central administration with departmental headquarters in Bangkok. In fact, he is mostly ignorant of the flow of communications between Bangkok and these agencies. Also he has no authority to make recommendations on fiscal or personnel matters affecting them.

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<sup>8</sup>Each ministry is divided into an office of the undersecretary and several departments.

<sup>9</sup>The few provinces which have an office of the governor are exceptions to this rule.

And his signature is not required on written reports and requests from these agencies, since they bypass him and go directly to Bangkok.<sup>10</sup> Yet the governor is held to be generally responsible for anything that happens in his province, so he has a loose responsibility for whatever these agencies do even though he does not control or supervise them in any respect. Furthermore, he is charged with coordinating the work of all government operations in the province. Accordingly the governor tries to elicit the cooperation of regional offices and special units in terms of keeping him informed of their plans and on-going activities, particularly those which might affect the work of territorial administration and local government.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, these regional offices and special units sometimes require the assistance of the governor. For instance, they ask him to intercede on their behalf if they encounter difficulty in getting the cooperation of local citizenry or of officials in the provincial sections of administration. Or, as another example, they expect the governor to receive and entertain their more senior departmental superiors or other V.I.P.'s from Bangkok who visit them on inspection tours. A final example is that they sometimes ask the governor to write letters on behalf of their requests to Bangkok for permission to undertake new programs or expand existing programs; in such cases, the governor is asked to attest to the significance of these programs for his province.

The relationship between the governor and the national government constitutes the third role set. The governor is the chief governmental representative in the province. As such, he represents the government at all official ceremonies, when meeting or otherwise dealing with representatives of foreign governments who are either stationed in or visiting the province, and when meeting members of the Royal Family who are residing in or visiting the province. Also he is supposed to interpret and explain governmental policy to the local people and persuade them to abide by, and cooperate with, this policy.

On the other side of the coin, he represents the interests of the local people and therefore should make their interests known to the government so that it can take these into account in making policy. Similarly, he should inform the government about public reaction to its policies. In a more general sense, he should act as a spokesman for local people in alerting the government to their problems and needs.

The fourth role set concerns the governor and local self-government. Units of local self-government are the provincial administrative organization, municipality, sanitation district, and

<sup>10</sup> The only exception is if a regional office or special unit keeps its funds with the province for the sake of convenience, in which case the governor might give his signature for all major expenditures from this fund. But this is a formality only, since the governor automatically signs whenever so requested by the unit or regional office head.

<sup>11</sup> The governor tries to obtain this cooperation by such devices as inviting the heads of regional offices and special units to periodically meet with him in his office either individually or in groups; encouraging these heads to attend meetings between himself and heads of provincial sections; asking that they keep him informed of their units' plans and activities through correspondence; and establishing a "whiskey-soda" relationship with them—that is, becoming close friends and thereby having frequent social dealings with them after working hours. A few governors utilize all of these approaches, while most employ only one or two. Some governors are quite successful in this respect, while others have little success.

commune administrative organization.<sup>12</sup> As far as the latter two are concerned, the governor exercises indirect supervision over almost all of their activities through the district officers. He exercises more direct supervision and control over municipalities in that his approval is necessary for most municipal expenditures and for municipally-passed ordinances; he is chairman of the provincial-level municipal personnel subcommittee, which must approve all municipal personnel transactions such as appointments, promotions, transfers, disciplinary measures, resignations and retirement; he is empowered to inspect and advise as regards municipal affairs; he is the channel through which most communications between the municipality and the central government in Bangkok must be routed; and he can suspend or remove the municipal mayor and councilmen from office for due cause.

And the governor acts for the central government in exercising a few supervisory powers over the provincial administrative organization, particularly in terms of reviewing legislation or decisions of the provincial assembly in order to determine whether these exceed its authority or contravene the laws, rules and regulations of the central government.

The other part of this role set has two dimensions. First, the governor transmits and often lends his support to requests of municipalities for additional funds or services from the central government - doing so in his capacity as an agent of the central government. But secondly, and far more significantly, he is legally considered to be both a central and local government official for purposes of the provincial administrative organization. As a local government official, he is considered to be the chief executive of the administrative branch of the provincial administrative organization. In this capacity, he is responsible for supervising employees in this branch in order to insure the proper implementation of legislation and other decisions reached by the legislative branch - the provincial council. So, too, is he considered to be the ceremonial head of the provincial administrative organization. Also he is supposed to represent the interests of the locality and its people in all other political forums.

As the above suggests, the governor plays differential roles with various other actors. It is not easy for an outside observer to determine which role he is engaged in at any one time, though of course an effective governor must always be able to make such a distinction. Usually these roles are complementary. Sometimes, however, they come into conflict; this is especially true with respect to the governor's role playing within the context of the provincial administrative organization.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>There is only one provincial administrative organization in a province.

<sup>13</sup>If the provincial council passes by-laws or makes policy which the governor construes as illegal or contradicting national policy, he usually reverts to his role as a representative of the national government and refuses to implement these by-laws or policy.



**Functions**

In earlier times the functions of the governor were confined primarily to officiating at public ceremonies, maintaining law and order, and overseeing the collection of taxes. Later he was assigned responsibility for supervising and coordinating the administration of basic public services. Still later, he was given responsibilities for local government. More recently, he became involved in the planning and implementation aspects of socio-economic development within the province. He has subsequently assumed a host of other functions, some of which are formally assigned to him and some of which he is informally expected to perform. Today most of the governor's functions can be subsumed within six general categories: Administrative functions as head of the province, representational and ceremonial functions as head of the province, functions as head of territorial administration, functions as executive head of provincial administrative organization, functions as supervisor of municipal government, and other functions.

It is virtually impossible to accurately determine the amount of time a governor spends on each activity, for no written record is kept of such. The best that is possible is an estimation by a governor as to the division of his working time. Table III provides a breakdown of the working time, in terms of functions and specific activities, for the governors of Chiangmai and five neighboring provinces as estimated by the present (at the time this research was conducted) governors.

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**TABLE III**  
**BREAKDOWN OF THE WORKING TIME OF GOVERNORS**  
**IN SIX NORTHERN PROVINCES**  
**(IN PERCENTAGE)**

Activities	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang	Lamphun	Nan	Maehongson
<b>I. ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNOR AS HEAD OF THE PROVINCE:</b>	(22.5)	(53)	(46)	(56)	(60)	(41)
- visiting villages	4	15	17	15	15	6
- routine correspondence and paperwork	5	5	16	25	10	6
- visiting ministries in Bangkok	1	1	2	3	1	2
- planning and consultation on security matters and/or regular law and order matters	3	4	-	1	25	14
- corresponding and meeting with heads of regional offices and special units	.5	3	1	-	1	2
- accepting and investigating petitions and complaints	3	10	2	2	1	2
- handling petty matters (in his office)	6	10	1	10	5	2
- participating in special development programs	-	5	7	-	2	7
<b>II. REPRESENTATIONAL AND CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNOR AS HEAD OF THE PROVINCE :</b>	(46)	(19)	(26.5)	(10)	(16)	(19)
- presiding over or attending ceremonies; attending social events (weddings, religious celebrations, dinners, receptions)	17	1	16	5	10	2

Activities	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang	Lamphun	Nan	Maehongson
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- meeting with politicians, civilians and military officials from elsewhere</li> <li>- meeting with members of the news media</li> <li>- meeting with foreign visitors</li> <li>- entertain officials and non-officials, VIP's and organized groups visiting the province</li> <li>- attending to the Royal Family</li> </ul>	5 4 5 10 5	10 3 1 3 1	5 5 1 4 -	1 2 - 2 -	2 1 1 1 1	2 1 2 4 8
<p><b>III. FUNCTIONS AS HEAD OF TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- supervision and coordination of section heads and district officers; presiding over and conducting meetings on general administration of the province</li> </ul>	(17)	(3)	(5)	(15)	(10)	(7)
<p><b>IV. FUNCTIONS AS EXECUTIVE HEAD OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- attending meetings of provincial council and consulting with its members</li> <li>- provincial planning</li> <li>- preparing annual provincial budget</li> </ul>	17	3	5	15	10	7
	(10)	(7)	(5)	(11)	(5)	(22)
	5 3 2	1 5 1	1 3 1	1 5 5	1 2 2	10.5 6 5.5

Activities	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang	Lamphun	Nan	Maehongson
<p>W. FUNCTIONS AS SUPERVISOR OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT</p> <p>- exercising supervision over municipal activities</p>	(2)	(1)	(5)	(2)	(5)	(5)
	2	5	2	5	5	5
<p>VI. OTHER FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNOR</p> <p>- attending conferences in his province</p> <p>- attending conferences outside his province</p> <p>- meeting with academies doing research in his province</p> <p>- attending meetings of civic groups</p>	(2.5)	(17)	(5.5)	(6)	(4)	(6)
	.5	5	3	5	1	2.5
	.5	1	1	.5	1	2.5
	.5	1	.5	.25	1	1
	1	10	1	.25	1	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100

such authority in order to avoid demonstrations, or even violence, by the squatters and their from a national forest area; the governor has authority to do this, but may decide against using of situation, the Forestry Department may ask the governor to see that squatters be removed they can reach a compromise; but often this situation is more complex. Or as an example of second do this. Instead, he tries to get the farmers and landowners together whether on their debts, to return the farms to their owners and return the farms to their original authorities to expediently dictates that he not enforce the law to the extent that he is legally empowered to do so. In the first case, for instance, a group of farmers supported by the governor have acquired farms that the legal authority to take the actions required, and he is dealing with matters where political petitions by the local citizens, and as students on matters where he does not. He most difficult task that of convincing with demonstration that of convincing with demonstration of the most difficult task he must do. In a national forest area, the most difficult task he must do is to convince the local citizens that the actions required, and he is dealing with matters where political petitions by the local citizens, and as students on matters where he does not. He most difficult task that of convincing with demonstration that of convincing with demonstration of the most difficult task he must do. In a national forest area, the most difficult task he must do is to convince the local citizens that the actions required, and he is dealing with matters where political petitions by the local citizens, and as students on matters where he does not. He most difficult task that of convincing with demonstration that of convincing with demonstration of the most difficult task he must do.

student sympathizers.

Data presented in Table III indicates that the governor of Chiangmai spends by far the largest percentage of his time on representational and ceremonial functions, while the other governors devote the greatest percentage to carrying out administrative functions as head of the province. This difference is understandable given the unusual nature of Chiangmai as noted previously. Apparently one casualty of this preoccupation of the Chiangmai governor with representational and ceremonial matters is his contact with villagers. That is, he spends appreciably less time visiting villages than do the governors of Chiangrai, Nan, Lampang and Lamphun. And while the governor of Machongson also reports spending a small percentage of his time on visiting villages, the circumstances in this province greatly limit his travel; nearly all of the province consists of mountainous terrain and there are very few roads. Another seeming casualty is time spent with heads of regional offices and special units. Actually, the data indicates that there is little difference between the governors in this respect; they all spend a minimum of time on this activity. But in light of the large number of regional offices and special units headquartered in Chiangmai, as opposed to the other five provinces, it is logical to anticipate that the governor would spend more time working with the heads of these operations than would the other governors. Still another casualty appears to be the percentage of time which can be spent by the Chiangmai governor on the planning and implementation of special development programs. These programs encompass such things as potable water or deep-well projects in rural areas, extending medical services to remote villagers, and teaching hill tribes to practice settled agriculture. According to his own estimate, the governor is unable to give any of his time to these kinds of activities--in contrast to all but one of the other five northern governors. This means that the governor of Chiangmai does not either himself instigate specific development projects nor does he become involved in such projects when they are instigated by other officials.

While performing representational and ceremonial functions obviously is the single most time-consuming task of the governor of Chiangmai, his perception of the most difficult task he must undertake is something else again. His most difficult task is that of coping with demonstrations, complaints and petitions by the local citizenry as well as students on matters where he does not have legal authority to take the actions requested, and also dealing with matters where political expediency dictates that he not enforce the law even though he is legally empowered to do so. In the first case, for instance, a group of farmers supported by student activists may demand that the governor force persons, who have acquired farms from villagers because the latter have defaulted on their debts, to return the farms to their original owners--yet the governor has no authority to do this. Instead, he tries to get the farmers and the present landowners together to see whether they can reach a compromise; but often this satisfies no one. Or, as an example of the second type of situation, the Forestry Department may ask the governor to see that squatters are removed from a national forest area; the governor has authority to do this, but may decide against using such authority in order to avoid demonstrations, or even violence, by the squatters and their student sympathizers.

The foregoing situations concern people living in Chiangmai. However student, farmer and labor groups also call for nation-wide demonstrations on particular issues, and center these in Bangkok and large regional cities such as Chiangmai. Of course, the governor of Chiangmai can not respond to these demonstrations since they pertain to nation-wide issues; nonetheless, he must listen to the demands and try to keep the demonstrations (often held in the compound containing the provincial capital building) from becoming violent. These situations have arisen mainly since the October, 1973 revolution and they are more prevalent in Chiangmai than other northern provinces since it is the regional center of the north and since a university and several other educational institutions are located there. Thus it is not surprising that the other five governors perceived their most difficult task to be something quite different. These contrasting perceptions are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV  
THE MOST DIFFICULT TASK OF THE GOVERNORS  
OF SIX NORTHERN PROVINCES

<b>CHIANGMAI</b> Coping with demonstrations, complaints and petitions on matters which he can't enforce the law or does not have authority to act.	<b>CHIANGRAI</b> Undertaking rural development in security sensitive areas.	<b>LAMPANG</b> Raising the standard of living of the farmers or villagers.
<b>LAMPHUN</b> Promoting agriculture.	<b>NAN</b> Keeping track of the communists and their linkages and then trying to eliminate these linkages	<b>MAEHONGSON</b> Maintaining a good relationship with Burma.

The total official demands upon the governor of Chiangmai are such that he must spend 12-14 hours per day on regular working days and 4-5 hours per day on weekends and holidays meeting these demands. A typical working day is spent as follows: The governor presides over one or two meetings involving some of the heads of provincial sections; discusses matters of official business in his office with the vice governor and the deputy governor each once or twice; discusses matters of official business in his office with 5-7 heads of provincial sections on an individual basis; handles petty personal matters in his office with 8-10 persons, both officials and private citizens,

on an individual basis;<sup>14</sup> meets with and welcomes to Chiangmai 1-2 individuals or groups of VIP's either in his office, at the airport, or at their hotel when they check in; reads and signs or otherwise disposes of his official correspondence and other paperwork during free moments throughout the day and after returning home in the early evening;<sup>15</sup> presides over or attends at least one ceremony, be it religious, public or private;<sup>16</sup> and attends at least one social affair in the evening given by senior Thai officials based in Chiangmai, foreign diplomats, visiting VIP's, or local community leaders.<sup>17</sup> On particular days, of course, other things consume large chunks of his time: For example, on Tuesday he holds a press conference for two hours; and, as a further example, he meets with the provincial council for several hours when it is in session. During the one or two months when the Royal Family is in residence in Chiangmai, he is in attendance on them several hours each day. And during the rest of the year, even his weekends and holidays are not entirely free. Usually 4-5 persons come to his house on a Saturday, Sunday or holiday to ask for his help in an administrative matter, to present him with a petition, to complain about the behavior of an official, to ask for assistance in finding a job, or to ask for bus fare so that they can return to their home villages.<sup>18</sup> Also the governor has to attend ceremonies and social affairs on these days.

<sup>14</sup> Two examples of petty personal matters are: Discussing with a village headman as to whether the governor should authorize a permit for the headman to purchase and carry a high-caliber revolver; and listening to requests by representatives of a local charity organization or the local golf club that he serve as honorary chairman of a fund-raising committee.

<sup>15</sup> In an interview with the authors, the secretary to the governor stated that the latter usually is forced to stay in his office until about 6:00 p.m. on weekdays in order to read and sign official correspondence and other papers. The governor also is obliged to spend time at his home on correspondence and other papers for an hour or so most evenings and on Saturdays and Sundays.

<sup>16</sup> Private ceremonies include such things as funeral rites for deceased members of important local families, weddings which involve members of prominent local families and locally-based government officials, and the opening of new stores and other businesses; these ceremonies occur in the city, sanitation districts, and sometimes in villages.

<sup>17</sup> The governor sometimes has to change clothes in his car while driving from one ceremony or social affair to another. On one occasion, shortly before the authors interviewed the governor, he had to attend three such functions within one evening, and thus was forced to change clothes three times in his car after leaving his office.

<sup>18</sup> The information on the number of people who visit the governor at his home on weekends and holidays, and their reasons for so doing, was obtained in separate interviews with the governor and his secretary.

## Supports

The degree of success with which a governor performs these functions and the time he personally spends on each depends largely on the official supports available to him. Said supports can be placed in the following categories - material supports, backing of the central government, and personnel supports. The first category refers to communication and transportation facilities available to the governor plus his entertainment allowance. The second pertains to the extent to which central government officials in Bangkok accept the recommendations and requests of the governor with respect to authorization for programs, budgetary matters, and personnel matters (salary increments, promotions, and disciplinary measures). The third concerns the number, kinds, and organization of key personnel who most directly assist the governor with the performance of his functions.

The system of public administration in Thailand is so structured that the level of these official supports is essentially the same for all governors regardless of differing needs. In other words, the governor of Chiangmai receives about the same level of supports which is accorded other governors despite the fact that his needs may be greater given the unique circumstances which obtain in Chiangmai. There is some flexibility in the system insofar as larger provinces and provinces which are security-sensitive are allowed two or three additional key personnel to assist the governor. But there is virtually no distinction between these particular provinces in terms of additional key personnel. Hence the governor of Chiangmai and the governor of Nan, for instance, have identical personnel supports available to them (except for the ISOC advisory colonel in Nan).<sup>19</sup>

During interviews with the authors of this article, the governors of Chiangmai, Chiangrai, Lampang, Lamphun, Nan and Maehongson were asked to indicate the official supports available to them according to the above categorization. Their responses appear in Table V.

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<sup>19</sup> This military colonel advises the governor on security matters since Nan is considered a security-sensitive province with a sizeable number of insurgents. It should be noted that the Thai government has indicated it will abolish ISOC (Internal Security Operations Command) but it is yet unclear as to whether a military advisor to the governor will be retained in each of the security-sensitive provinces.



TABLE V  
PRESENT SUPPORTS AVAILABLE TO THE GOVERNORS OF  
SIX NORTHERN PROVINCES

	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang
<b>A. Material:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- phone connections within the provincial capital building, with some districts, and with Bangkok</li> <li>- a radio hookup with DOLA in Bangkok, with each district, and with each commune</li> <li>- two Mercedes cars, one station wagon, one Land Rover</li> <li>- some gasoline allowance</li> <li>- inadequate entertainment funds from central government; supplementary entertainment funds available from provincial administrative organization and from other sources; still governor has to use his personal funds</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- phone and intercom hookup within the provincial capital building</li> <li>- a radio hookup with DOLA in Bangkok and with each district</li> <li>- one Land Rover, two sedans; also a police helicopter can be used</li> <li>- funds for gasoline adequate when supplemented from other sources</li> <li>- inadequate entertainment allowance from central government, but can be supplemented from provincial administrative organization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- phone connections within the provincial capital building, with Muang district, and with Bangkok</li> <li>- a radio hookup with DOLA in Bangkok and with each district</li> <li>- one Land Rover and one sedan</li> <li>- adequate gasoline allowance from central government and provincial administrative organization</li> <li>- 500 baht a month entertainment funds from the central government which has to be supplemented by provincial administrative organization funds</li> </ul>

	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang
<b>B. Backing central of government:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- good support for personnel and program requests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- adequate support from the central government in terms of accepting recommendations on personnel, programs and budget requests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- inadequate support since only 25% of his requests for special funding or special programs are approved by Bangkok; does not receive sufficient support on his personnel recommendations</li> </ul>
<b>C. Personnel:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a vice governor</li> <li>- a driver</li> <li>- a secretary</li> <li>- a deputy governor</li> <li>- a first-grade assistant to the deputy governor</li> <li>- a second-grade assistant to the deputy governor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a vice governor</li> <li>- a driver</li> <li>- a secretary</li> <li>- a deputy governor</li> <li>- a first-grade assistant to the deputy governor</li> <li>- a second-grade assistant to the deputy governor</li> <li>- ISOC Advios rycolonel</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a driver</li> <li>- a secretary</li> <li>- a deputy governor</li> <li>- a first-grade assistant to the deputy governor</li> </ul>

	Lamphun	Nan	Maehongson
A. Material:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- phone connections within the provincial capital building, with some districts, and with Bangkok</li> <li>- a radio hookup to each district and to Bangkok</li> <li>- one Land Rover and one sedan</li> <li>- adequate funds for gasoline</li> <li>- receives 300 baht a month entertainment allowance from the central government</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- phone connection only within town and within the provincial capital building</li> <li>- a radio hookup to each district and to Bangkok</li> <li>- a Land Rover and a sedan</li> <li>- funds for gasoline are adequate when supplemented from budget of provincial administrative organization</li> <li>- adequate entertainment allowance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a radio hookup with each district and with Bangkok</li> <li>- two Land Rovers</li> <li>- adequate gasoline allowance</li> <li>- adequate entertainment allowance</li> </ul>
B. Backing of central government:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- gets good support; two-third of his recommendations are accepted by Bangkok (in terms of promotions and salary increment recommendations)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- adequate support from the central government for his requests and recommendations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- gets good support for development projects like roads; average support for his recommendations on personnel matters</li> </ul>

	Lamphun	Nan
<b>C. Personnel:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a driver</li> <li>- a secretary</li> <li>- a deputy governor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a vice governor</li> <li>- a driver</li> <li>- a secretary</li> <li>- a deputy governor</li> <li>- a first-grade assistant to the deputy governor</li> <li>- a second-grade assistant to the deputy governor</li> <li>- ISOC advisory colonel</li> </ul>

Responses in Table V show that the governors have sufficient communication and transportation facilities and, with the exception of the governor of Lampang, believe that they receive at least adequate backing from the central government. However these responses also demonstrate the differential needs of the governors as regards entertainment funds. Governors of small and/or remote provinces can cover their entertainment costs out of the minimal funds allotted for this purpose by the central government. All of the other governors must supplement such with funds supplied by the provincial administrative organization. The combined funds prove adequate to meet the entertainment requirements of these governors-except for the governor of Chiangmai, whose requirements are vastly greater; he has to cover the balance out of his own pocket.

Furthermore, Table V illustrates the minor differences in personnel available to directly assist the governors. Every governor has at least a driver, a secretary, and a deputy governor (who heads the Department of Local Administration section in the province but who also handles other assignments given him by the governor). Some governors also have one or two assistant deputy governors (who technically are under the deputy governor but who are assigned particular tasks at the request of the governor). And some, including the governor of Chiangmai, have these officials plus a vice governor (who is directly under, and is assigned work by, the governor).

The governors utilize their secretaries in a uniform fashion. But they differ somewhat in the use of their other close aids. The determining factors are the work preference of the governor, skills and experience of each of his aids, and the particular tasks which the governor considers essential. The work distribution among the governors and their close aides in the six northern provinces is depicted in Table VI.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>This information was provided by the governors and confirmed by close aids in interviews with the authors.

TABLE VI  
 WORK DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE GOVERNORS AND THEIR CLOSE AIDES IN  
 SIX NORTHERN PROVINCES

	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang
<b>The Governor:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- policy-making</li> <li>- personnel matters</li> <li>- ceremonial-representational</li> <li>- work of general supervisory nature</li> <li>- dealing with demonstrations</li> <li>- chairing important meetings</li> <li>- financial matters involving large amounts of money</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- policy-making</li> <li>- ceremonial-representational</li> <li>- personnel matters</li> <li>- village visits</li> <li>- financial matters involving large amounts of money</li> <li>- handling serious problems</li> <li>- Director of ISOC</li> <li>- chairs most meetings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- policy-making</li> <li>- ceremonial-representational</li> <li>- routine and important paper-work (especially that concerning money)</li> <li>- village visits</li> <li>- general supervision</li> </ul>
<b>The Vice Governor:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- routine correspondence: mostly financial affairs, routine reports, transmittal of information, etc.</li> <li>- chairs less important meetings</li> <li>- acts as governor in the latter's absence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- routine correspondence and other duties as assigned by the governor</li> <li>- vice director of ISOC</li> <li>- screens documents on important matters and recommends action for governor-to-take.</li> <li>- acts as governor in the latter's absence</li> </ul>	

	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang
<b>The Deputy Governor:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- supervises DOLA (Department of Local Administration) personnel and work</li> <li>- supervises PAO (Provincial Administrative Organization) personnel and work</li> <li>- any work assigned by the governor; for instance, he sometimes screens personnel matters for governor and makes recommendations to him</li> <li>- acts as governor when latter and vice governor are absent.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- supervises all DOLA personnel and work</li> <li>- supervises PAO personnel and work</li> <li>- any work assigned by the governor</li> <li>- acts as governor when latter and vice governor are absent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- supervises all DOLA personnel and work</li> <li>- supervises PAO personnel and work</li> <li>- any work assigned by the governor</li> <li>- acts as governor when latter is absent</li> </ul>
<b>First-grade Assistant to the Deputy Governor:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- actually in charge of PAO personnel and work; screens important DOLA paperwork for deputy governor</li> <li>- visits and inspects bridge and road construction by ARD (Accelerated Rural Development)</li> <li>- handles all financial transactions of DOLA in the province</li> <li>- acts as deputy governor in the absence of the latter</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- in charge of ARD work</li> <li>- in charge of educational personnel of PAO</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- in actual charge of PAO personnel and work</li> </ul>

	Chiangmai	Chiangrai	Lampang
<b>Second-grade Assistant to the Deputy Governor:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- handles routine DOLA personnel matters</li> <li>- receives and transmits to concerned officials all petitions and complaints</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- assists deputy governor in supervising officials of PAO</li> <li>- performs duties for provincial council</li> </ul>	
<b>Governor's Secretary:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- prepares itinerary and schedules for the governor</li> <li>- makes appointments for people to see the governor</li> <li>- handles correspondence of the overnor, including files and records</li> <li>- takes files with materials to be signed by governor to the latter</li> <li>- handles communications which the governor wants to make</li> <li>- serves as secretary in some meetings chaired by governor</li> <li>- does comparable work for vice governor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- about the same as in Chiangmai</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- about the same as in Chiangmai</li> </ul>



	Lamphun	Nan	Maehongson
<b>The Governor:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- policy-making</li> <li>- ceremonial and representational</li> <li>- routine and important paperwork</li> <li>- general supervision</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- policy-making</li> <li>- ceremonial-representational</li> <li>- personnel matters</li> <li>- visits ministries in Bangkok</li> <li>- paperwork concerning large amounts of money</li> <li>- municipal supervision</li> <li>- Director of ISOC</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- policy making</li> <li>- visits village</li> <li>- supervises development projects.</li> <li>- resolves conflicts among villages</li> <li>- personnel matters</li> <li>- important paperwork</li> </ul>
<b>The Vice Governor:</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- routine correspondence and paperwork</li> <li>- supervises section heads except deputy governor</li> <li>- helps investigate complaints</li> <li>- helps supervise municipality</li> <li>- vice director of ISOC</li> <li>- acts as governor in latter's absence</li> </ul>	
<b>The Deputy Governor:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- supervises all DOLA personnel and work</li> <li>- supervises PAO personnel and work</li> <li>- helps governor with general administration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- supervises all DOLA personnel and work</li> <li>- supervises PAO personnel and work</li> <li>- assists the governor in all other matters when so requested; in particular, he visits villages on behalf of governor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- supervises all DOLA personnel and work</li> <li>- supervises PAO personnel and work</li> <li>- routine paperwork</li> <li>- helps governor with general administration</li> </ul>

	Lamphan	Nan	Maehongson
	- acts as governor in latter's absence	- acts as governor when latter and vice governor are absent	- acts as governor in latter's absence
<b>First-grade Assistant to the Deputy Governor:</b>		- in charge of the planning, engineering, public welfare and personnel sections of ARD	- in charge of ARD activities and personnel - helps deputy governor to supervise PAO personnel
<b>Second-grade Assistant to the Deputy Governor:</b>		- is concerned with collecting data for and planning development projects - supervises preparation for elections - is concerned with hilltribe affairs - coordinates village volunteers - serves as liaison officer with military and police - assists the deputy governor in other matters	
<b>Governor's Secretary:</b>	- about the same as in Chiangmai	- about the same as in Chiangmai	- about the same as in Chiangmai

Each of the close aids to the governor of Chiangmai is kept fully occupied with his own assignments. He usually does not have to work in the evenings, on weekends, or on holidays, but is quite busy every working day. None has time for handling tasks beyond those already given him. The vice governor is deluged with routine correspondence and paperwork which he reads and signs (he is authorized by the governor to use his own discretion in signing these papers.)<sup>21</sup> Also he must chair several meetings per week of small groups of section heads, meetings which are not considered critical enough to warrant the governor's presence.<sup>22</sup> Moreover he must serve as governor when the latter is away or in attendance on the Royal Family, and during that time he has to ignore much of his own work--thereby creating a temporary bottleneck in routine matters of administration for all of the provincial sections except DOLA (DOLA matters are dealt with exclusively by the deputy governor and the governor). The deputy governor spends most of his time running the affairs of the DOLA section. He also exercises supervision over the personnel and work of the Provincial Administrative Organization, though this is done mostly through one of his deputies. Finally, he performs other duties assigned him by the governor insofar as he has time to do so. Often he can not effectively carry out these extra duties because he does not have the time; for instance, he has been asked by the governor to take responsibility for provincial planning - but simply is unable to devote any meaningful time to this task.<sup>23</sup> The most senior of the two assistant deputy governors actually supervises, on a day-to-day basis, the personnel and work of the PAO; this is a full-time job in itself, since the PAO employs thousands of people (mostly school teachers). He has been requested by the governor to exercise supervision over the Accelerated Rural Development Program in the province, but has time only to inspect bridge and road construction by the ARD. And he handles routine financial transactions of the DOLA section. The second, or junior, deputy assistant governor handles routine personnel matters of the DOLA section as well as all petitions and complaints concerning provincial officials; in terms of the latter task, he receives and transmits to the pertinent heads of sections all petitions and complaints concerning personnel and activities of their respective sections - and it then is up to these section heads or the governor to respond or take other action on such.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> When the authors interviewed the vice governor of Chiangmai in his office, there was a stack of more than 100 documents awaiting his attention. Some of these were on his desk, while others were piled on top of filing cabinets and chairs. Both the vice governor and the governor's secretary (who also acts as secretary for the vice governor) assured the authors that this collection of documents represented a fairly typical day's workload of paperwork for the vice governor.

<sup>22</sup> The vice governor's presence is required at such meetings because he is a special-grade official (only the governor and vice governor hold this rank among provincial-level officials), and it is easier for someone with this rank to get section heads to cooperate and reach agreements than for someone with the same rank as section heads.

<sup>23</sup> Interview between the deputy governor and one of the authors.

<sup>24</sup> This assistant deputy governor, together with a few clerks, also reads and cuts out newspaper articles and editorials which contain criticism or complaints about government personnel and programs in the province; he then sends these clippings to the pertinent section heads or other senior officials.

Assistance which these close aids render the governor of Chiangmai is essential. However they don't perform some of the functions which the governor has little or no time for, such as dealing with heads of regional offices or visiting villages. Furthermore they obviously can not relieve the governor from his own heavy burden of work, in part because the very nature of some of his work requires the governor's personal involvement, in part because some of the work must be performed by an official with special-grade status, and in part because these aids are already fully occupied with their own assigned work. The last two factors signify that unless the governor is given additional aids, he must continue to shoulder an extremely heavy workload. This, together with other considerations already mentioned, means that anyone who serves as governor of Chiangmai must possess certain personal attributes. Of course, some of these attributes apply to governors of other provinces as well. But some are peculiar to the governor of Chiangmai.

In order to ascertain what the requisite attributes of the governor are, in comparison with those of governors of the five neighboring provinces, the authors asked the governors and some of their close aids to independently identify these attributes. A composite of the perceptions of each governor and his aids was then made by the authors. Table VII lists the composites of perceived attributes.

TABLE VII  
 ATTRIBUTES OF THE GOVERNORS OF SIX  
 NORTHERN PROVINCES

<p><b>CHIANGMAI</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- very competent in the English language</li> <li>- physically strong</li> <li>- financially independent</li> <li>- good administrator, mostly ability to coordinate other officials</li> <li>- skill in human relations</li> <li>- sociability</li> <li>- highly educated (have a degree beyond the bachelor's degree)</li> </ul>	<p><b>CHIANGRAI</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- knowledge and experience in provincial administration</li> <li>- an efficient administrator</li> <li>- able to get along with police and military authorities</li> <li>- interested in rural development</li> </ul>	<p><b>LAMPANG</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- experience as district officer and deputy governor</li> <li>- good administrator</li> <li>- some English language competence</li> <li>- interested in agricultural development</li> </ul>
<p><b>LAMPHUN</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- administrative experience and skill</li> <li>- good command of English</li> <li>- sociability</li> <li>- interested in helping farmers</li> </ul>	<p><b>NAN</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- good administrator</li> <li>- ability to coordinate work in all government agencies in the province (this includes police-military authorities)</li> <li>- interested in the problems and needs of the people</li> <li>- interested in rural development</li> <li>- should have skill in human relations</li> <li>- able to get support from ministries in Bangkok through visiting and writing to them</li> </ul>	<p><b>MAEHONGSON</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- administrative experience and skill</li> <li>- interested in developing rural areas</li> <li>- interested in developing infrastructure for tourism</li> </ul>

An analysis of the perceived attributes shown in Table VII shows that a different type of governor is needed in Chiangmai as opposed to the other provinces. True, there are some requisite attributes which he shares with the other governors. All governors are expected to be good administrators. However emphasis is placed upon his skill at coordination, which reflects the fact that there are so many different administrative agencies operating in the province. Two other governors (of Lampang and Lamphun) along with the governor of Chiangmai are thought to need a command of English.<sup>25</sup> Also he shares the requisite attribute of sociability (ability to get along socially with officials and private citizens and to mix in well at social affairs) with the governor of Lamphun, and the attribute of skill in human relations (knowing how to deal with people) with the governor of Nan.

The absolute differences in necessary attributes are more striking. First, he is not required to be interested in problems of rural or agricultural development -- as all of the other governors are. Second, he is not required to have a particular knack of working closely with police and military authorities, whereas the governors of the two security-sensitive provinces (Nan and Chiangrai) must have this quality. Third, unlike all of the other governors, he must be highly educated with an advanced degree. The reasons for this requirement are that he must command the respect of, and be able to communicate with, the Faculty members at Chiangmai University (most of whom have advanced degrees); and he must be able to communicate intelligently with foreign VIP's and highly educated Thai officials stationed in or visiting Chiangmai. Fourth, only the governor of Chiangmai is required to be financially independent so as to be able to meet much of the heavy entertainment expenses out of his own pocket. And fifth, he is the only governor who is expected to be physically strong; this expectation stems from the extraordinarily heavy workload of the governor of Chiangmai.

### Conclusions

It has been seen that Chiangmai possesses several unusual characteristics which affect the nature and scope of the governor's work. These characteristics include the size of the province, the number and variety of regional offices, special units and educational institutions, and the number of foreign and Thai VIP's visiting Chiangmai. The affect of these characteristics on the

<sup>25</sup> The governor of Lampang has periodic contact with the few U.S. military officers stationed at a small base in the province, and with some of the foreign missionaries living in the province. The governor of Lamphun is invited to several of the social affairs in Chiangmai involving visiting foreign VIP's, since the town of Lamphun is only about a twenty minutes drive from the city of Chiangmai. These are the reasons why these two governors also are expected to speak English. It should be noted, however, that there were gradations in the degree of English competency required of the three governors. The governor of Lampang was expected to have *some* competency; the governor of Lamphun was expected to have a *good* command of English; and the governor of Chiangmai was expected to be *fluent* in English.

The latter expectation is explained by the number of ordinary foreigners living in and visiting Chiangmai, the number of foreign consular officials stationed in Chiangmai, and the number and high status of foreign VIP's visiting Chiangmai.

governor's work is two-fold. First, some of his work is unique insofar as other governors are concerned. In other words, he has to frequently deal with the visiting VIP's, members of the Royal Family, foreign consular officers and so forth. Second, there is more volume of work which he must perform. This additional work is because of the size of the province, the number of officials in the province, the number of civic organizations in the city, the number of visiting VIP's and other factors. Yet the official supports he receives are not significantly different from those given governors of smaller and less complex provinces. And the supports are more-or-less identical to those given governors of other large provinces and security-sensitive provinces. The failure of the government to provide the governor of Chiangmai with supports over and beyond the normal supports means that the governor has a much greater workload than other governors and that he must use his personal funds to meet some of his official expenses. These two consequences, in turn, mean that the governor must have special attributes not required of other governors. For instance, he must be independently wealthy, fluent in English, and highly-educated.

What the foregoing suggests is that the governor of Chiangmai might well be considered as a kind of super-governor. Table VIII itemizes the reasons for classifying the governor differently than other governors -- that is, classifying him as a super-governor.

TABLE VIII  
SUPER-GOVERNOR OF CHIANGMAI

<p>1. Unusual characteristics of Chiangmai which affect the nature and scope of the governor's work:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Chiangmai houses the King's Winter Palace</li> <li>b. Chiangmai as a tourist spot</li> <li>c. Chiangmai as the second largest city</li> <li>d. Chiangmai as the old capital of the north (distinctive culture, northern dynasty)</li> <li>e. Chiangmai as an educational center</li> <li>f. Chiangmai as a regional center</li> <li>g. Chiangmai as a border province</li> <li>h. Chiangmai as a conference center</li> <li>i. presence of hilltribes.</li> <li>j. contains five foreign consulates</li> <li>k. residence of several foreigners</li> </ul>
<p>2. Unique nature of work:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. representing the central government and province vis-a-vis foreign VIP'S</li> <li>b. representing the central government in all contacts with members of the northern dynasty</li> <li>c. representing the central government and Chiangmai in all contacts with the Royal Family</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>d. representing Chiangmai in all contacts with visiting Thai officials,</li> <li>e. representing the central government and Chiangmai in all contacts with the foreign consular community</li> </ul>
<p>3. More volume of work to be performed:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. size of population</li> <li>b. number of districts</li> <li>c. number of government agencies (provincial sections, regional offices, special units, etc.)</li> <li>d. total number of government personnel</li> <li>e. large number of voluntary or civic organizations</li> <li>f. large number of private business establishments</li> <li>g. large number of visits made by high-ranking Thai officials and foreign dignitaries</li> <li>h. number of visits and length of stay of members of Royal Family</li> </ul>
<p>4. Inadequate personnel and entertainment fund supports for governor:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. means his workload is greater than other governors</li> <li>b. means he must pay much of official entertainment expenses out of his own pocket</li> </ul>
<p>5. Special attributes of the governor:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. fluency in the English language</li> <li>b. physically strong</li> <li>c. independent wealth</li> <li>d. a highly-educated person</li> </ul>

If it is, indeed, appropriate to conceive of this position as entailing greater and more demanding work responsibilities and if the occupant must have special personal qualities not required of other governors, then logic dictates that the government formally bestow higher status on the governorship of Chiangmai. In other words, the position of governor of Chiangmai should be placed in a different class from the position of governor elsewhere in Thailand. (In time, of course, it is likely that the governorships of one or two other provinces such as Songkhla and Chonburi would be elevated to this new class, since many of the considerations which necessitate their classification for the Chiangmai position will eventually obtain in these provinces).

Should the governorship of Chiangmai be given a separate classification, it would be easier to provide the occupant with the additional supports which would enable him to carry out his functions more fully and effectively and without having to use his personal funds. These needed additional supports consist of an adequate entertainment allowance, two more vice governors, and a special governor's staff or office.



The central government should provide the governor with an entertainment allowance sufficient to meet his needs each year. He should not have to rely on supplementary funds from other sources, since such is not fair to these other sources and, in any event, there is no assurance the funds always will be forthcoming. Furthermore, the governor should not have to use his personal funds for purposes associated with the performance of his official functions; to require the governor to tap his personal funds means, in effect, that only wealthy officials can serve as governor - and this is manifestly unfair to less affluent but otherwise highly qualified officials. Naturally the governor must be accountable for his expenditure of entertainment funds provided by the central government, but this should not prove difficult if he is allowed reasonable flexibility with regard to what he construes as official or semi-official entertainment.

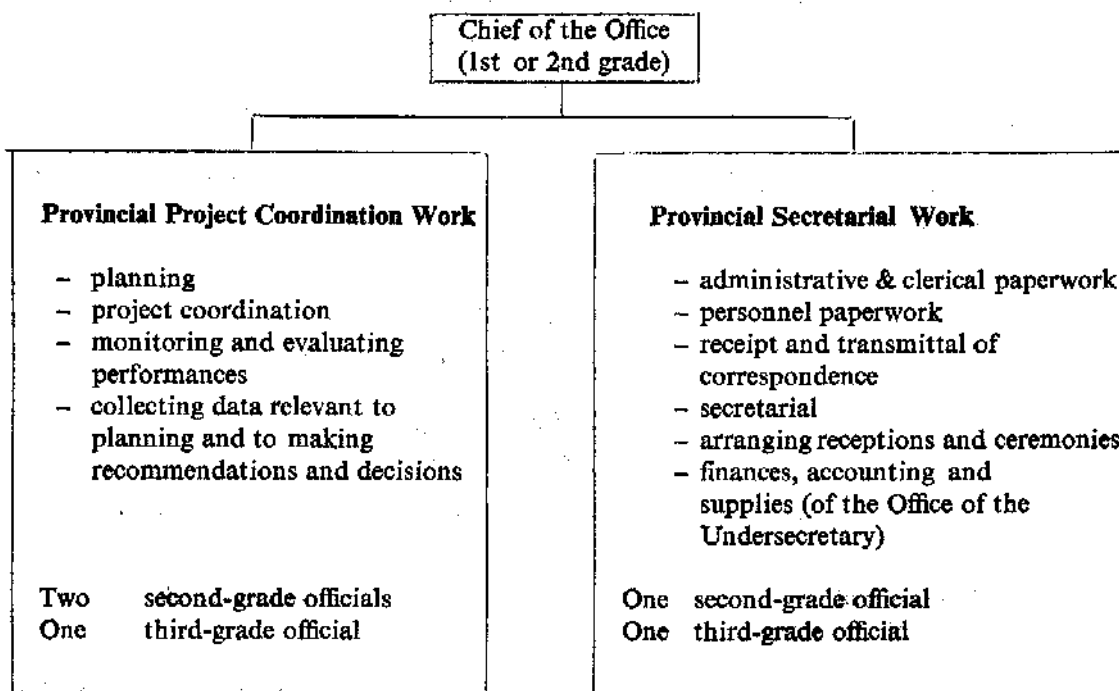
The governor clearly needs further assistance at a senior level among his close aids. This assistance could be rendered by two additional vice governors with special-grade rank. One of them could be assigned responsibilities for overseeing rural development (including agricultural development), visiting villages, handling hill tribe affairs, and dealing with petitions and requests from villagers and hill tribesmen. The other vice governor could be assigned responsibilities for overseeing municipal affairs, coordinating activities of regional offices and special units with each other and with provincial sections, representing the government and province at all but the most important ceremonies and social affairs, and handling many of the petty personal matters of officials and citizenry which are now dealt with by the governor. At the same time, the existing vice governor would continue with his present responsibilities. The assumption of such responsibilities by the three vice governors would result in some functions being performed that now can not be performed, the governor's workload would be reduced to manageable proportions, and all activities would be carried out more effectively because the key officials would have the time and because they could specialize more in particular activities and thus acquire greater expertise.

The final need is for a governor's staff, directly under his control, which could give him a critically-needed capacity for planning, administrative coordination and control, and dealing with his correspondence and other paperwork. This staff would be organized into something called an office of the governor. Actually, the government has already authorized a few provinces to organize and staff an office of the governor and has provided additional funds and personnel for such. The organization of this office is illustrated in Table IX.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The organizational chart shown in Table IX was taken from Chamnian Chawanapongse, editor, *Office of the Governor* (Bangkok: Thai Anukroh Thai, 1974), p. 32; this publication is in the Thai language and parts of it were translated into English by one of the authors of this manuscript.

**TABLE IX**  
**OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR**



Unfortunately the government has informed Chiangmai that it will not get extra funds and personnel for this purpose, but that it can establish an office of the governor using existing funds and using personnel borrowed from other units of provincial administration and the provincial administrative organization such as the ARD program. Since there are insufficient surplus funds, and since borrowing personnel would weaken the efficiency of other units, the governor has been unable to create this office.

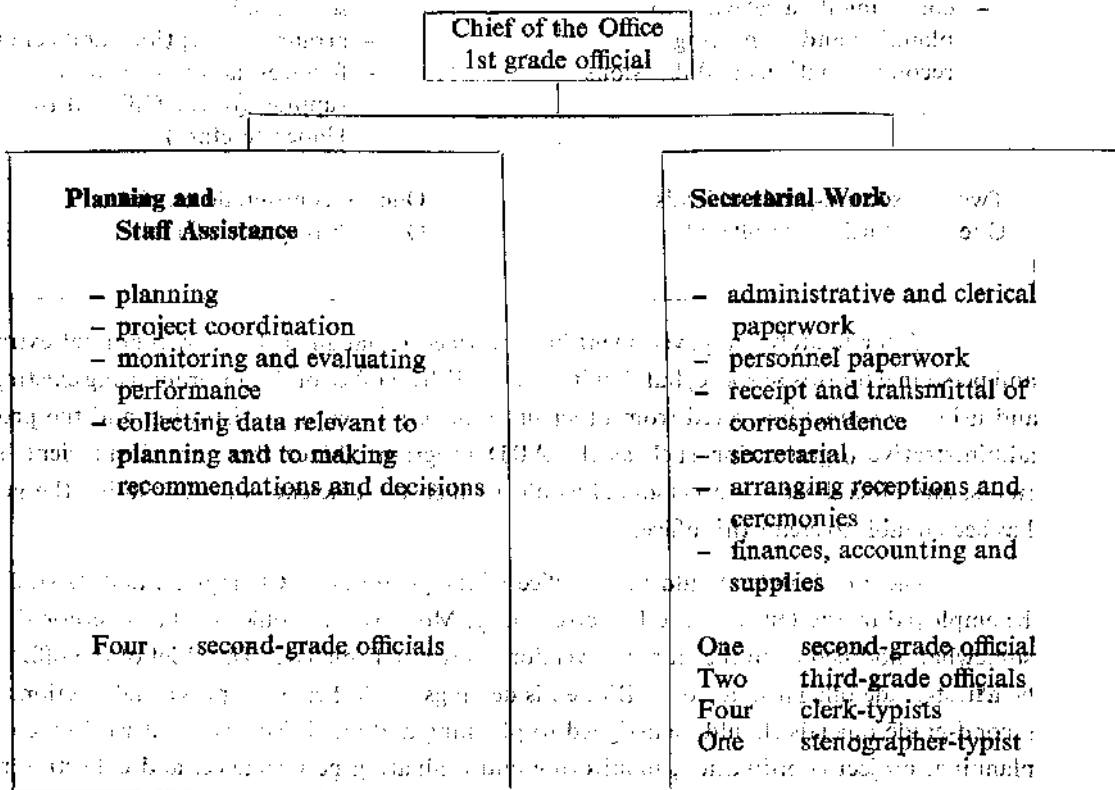
There definitely should be an office of the governor in Chiangmai, and its staff should be employed by the Office of the Undersecretary. Moreover, the office of the governor should be somewhat modified from the standard version shown in Table IX. The chief of the office should be a first-grade official so as to facilitate his dealings with heads of provincial sections. Four second-grade officials should be assigned to planning and administrative staff work—one each for planning, project coordination, monitoring and evaluating performance, and collecting relevant data. Each of these tasks in Chiangmai would occupy the full time of one competent official (planning and data collection are tasks which also would require officials with specialized training). One second-grade official, two third-grade officials, four clerk-typists, and one stenographer-typist should be assigned to secretarial work.<sup>27</sup> The second-grade official would be in charge of

<sup>27</sup> At present, secretarial help for the governor is inadequate; it consists of the governor's secretary and one or two clerk-typists borrowed from the DOLA section.

the others doing secretarial work, would serve as the governor's secretary, and must have a good command of the English language. The third-grade officials would handle other secretarial work, including serving as secretaries to the three vice governors. The four clerk-typists would work for officials in the office of the governor, the vice governors, and the governor. The stenographer-typist would work primarily for the governor, and would have to have a good command of English.<sup>28</sup>

The modified version of the office of the governor which is here suggested for Chiangmai is shown in Table X.

TABLE X  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR



If all of these necessary additional supports are made available to the governor of Chiangmai, he should be able to effectively perform, either directly or indirectly through his close aids,

<sup>28</sup> The governor now has to personally type all of his correspondence, which is in the English language, since neither his secretary nor the clerks helping the secretary can read, write or type in English.

every function formally or informally assigned to him and without having to overwork or tap his personal funds. But if these extra supports are not forthcoming, the steady increase in work and time demands upon the governor will finally result in a breakdown in the administrative machinery and general governance of the province.<sup>29</sup> Or to put it more bluntly, the existing administrative arrangement whereby the demands outbalance the supports for the governor will eventually prove dysfunctional. It is obvious, therefore, that remedial action must be taken by the government as soon as possible.

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<sup>29</sup> One of the former governors and the governor's secretary (the latter has served three successive governors in Chiangmai) both insisted in separate interviews with the authors that demands upon the time of the governor of Chiangmai and the amount of work he must do have dramatically increased in recent years.