CHAPTER 4

LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOUR - THE THAI PERSPECTIVE

Leadership behaviour in any institution is not only affected by internal factors such as organisational structures, goals, policies, philosophies and values, but also by external factors of the society and culture of which that institution forms part. The writer believes that in Thailand there are several significant socio-cultural factors that markedly influence the behaviour of both leaders and subordinates at virtually every level of management. Evidence of socio-cultural effects in leadership situations has been provided by Hersey (1965) and French et al. (1960) particularly as they relate to the maturity of the work force, such maturity being a key factor in Hersey and Blanchard's (1977) Situational Leadership Theory.

Hersey (1965) in a study of leadership behaviour in an industrial setting in Nigeria found his results in direct conflict with those of Likert's (1961) extensive research in industrial sections of the United States. Likert's studies showed that employee-centred supervisors who provide general supervision to have high producing sections, while the low producing sections have job-centred supervisors who provide close supervision. On the other hand Hersey, in the emerging industrial situation of Nigeria, found the more effective style to be job-centred close supervision. Hersey and Blanchard (1977) indicate that part of the difference in these settings is due to "cultural maturity" or "work force maturity". They contend that the level of education, standard of living, and

industrial experience all have a marked influence on the task-relevant maturity level of the work force from which an institution draws its members. Their comparisons of the work force between the United States and Nigeria for example revealed the much higher level of education, the higher living standard and the extensive industrial experience of the former whereas little formal education, a subsistence standard of living and little or no industrial experience characterised the Nigerian workforce. Hence the distinctly different maturity levels of these work forces would help account, in terms of Situational Leadership Theory, for the conflicting, but predictable, results of Likert and Hersey.

Further evidence that cultural work force differences and maturity levels are important in determining appropriate leadership styles can be found in the comparison of Coch and French's (1948) classical participation study in an American factory with a replication study by French et al. (1960) in a Norwegian factory. In the United States study, it was found that involving employees in decision making tends to be effective, but in Norway there was no significant difference in productivity between groups in which there was shared decision-making and those where there was not.

Whilst caution should be exercised in making generalisations from a limited number of studies and whilst Thailand represents a distinctly different culture from that of the United States, Nigeria and other West African nations, nevertheless, the writer's own observations of both leader and follower behaviour in Thai

institutions, together with his own limited administrative experience in Thailand indicate that Hersey's and French's findings, though restricted and tentative, should not be ignored. Indeed they at least provide an incentive for examining possible socio-cultural determinants not only of task-maturity of sub-ordinates (the major variable in Hersey and Blanchard's Situational Leadership Theory) in specific leadership situations, but also of the behaviour of leaders as they interact with subordinates in a variety of situations.

Thailand is unique in Asia. It is a country of non-colonialism and political conservatism. As Mosel (1959) points out, its administrative system is an unusual blend of Western adaptations and Thai tradition. The development in Thailand of a colonial-style modern sector with a diffusion of a money economy into the traditional sector and the setting up of a highly centralised bureaucratic state were, according to Girling (1981:61), the direct results of Western influence but fused with indigenous attitudes and institutions. In this fusion there has been no break with the cultural past. Indeed Mosel (1959) contends the continuity with tradition has resulted in a situation where the formal structure of Government and administration resembles familiar analogues in the West but where the administrative behaviour within this structure is largely a continuance of patterns antedating the structure. Such behaviour is not what would be predicted from a knowledge of the formal structure, given the usual Western premises but is in fact an expression of the Thai national culture and is typically Thai. Thus despite the apparent

trappings of democratic form, administration behaves to a considerable extent as if it were occurring within an absolute monarchy.

It would be erroneous for the Western observer to consider Thai administrative behaviour to be at odds with the formal bureaucratic structure especially if he has assumed that the formal structures have similar functions to what they have in Western society. As Girling (1981:138) indicates, the Thai bureaucracy acknowledges Western norms but functions with its own goals which aim at maintaining the system at a certain level of equilibrium and providing material advantages to its members more or less in line with their position in the hierarchy.

Riggs (1966) points out that criticism by Westerners of the rigidity of Thai bureaucracy, inefficiency, overstaffing, lack of initiative, conformity and overlapping jurisdiction misses the point. Such criticisms are based on the Western tradition of bureaucracy where the dominant value orientation is <u>productivity</u>, <u>rationality</u> and <u>efficiency</u> whereas the "inefficiency" etc. of the Thai bureaucracy in fact reflects the <u>establishment-oriented goals of the bureaucracy</u> and the <u>play of political interests</u>. Siffin (1966:160) considers that it is more useful to look on "the Thai bureaucracy as a social system, or at least as a major subsystem of Thai society"; the social system being a complex system of basic and abiding rules and relationships which form the framework for the behaviour of those within the system. Such framework reflects and supports basic social values.

Though this study is concerned with leadership behaviour of a very limited group of people and at a middle-to-low management level, there are certain implications of the above statements for this research. First, the approach must recognise that the behavioural code of individuals within an institution or association is a reflection of the code or system of the culture and larger society of which that institution or association forms part. Hence continual comparisons between Thailand and the West should, in the main, be avoided. This study is concerned solely with Thai society.

Second, before trying to assess Thai or any other administrative system and the behaviour of persons within it, it must be realised that administrative systems are:

> ..... institutionalised strategies for the achievement of administrative objectives by the concerted efforts of many officials. They are methods of organising social conduct in order to transform exceptional problems into routine duties. In different cultures, different social arrangements will prove most suitable for these purposes (Blau, 1955:202).

Thus the assumption that only one form of administrative organisation provides the best strategy must be avoided. Davis (1949:495) has indicated that some democratic governments have not served the needs of their culture as well as some autocratic ones mainly because "the fidelity and efficiency of a government does not depend on its form alone but upon the relation of that form to the rest of the social structure ". Thus this study must afford some emphasis on the relationship between Thai governmental structure and particular characteristics of Thai society.

Third, there must be concern for historical antecedents as Mosel (1959:279) quite correctly points out that "Yesterday's formal administrative structures have created behavioral (sic) changes which in turn modify today's formal structures". Such historical perspective may help explain how some of the covert, informal behavior patterns of the present are in fact continuations of patterns which were previously given overt recognition and formal embodiment in the Thai bureaucracy.

It should be noted that the following discussion in no way purports to be both definitive or exhaustive : indeed much of it is tentative and partial and relies heavily on observation, discussions, interviews and various experiences of the writer. Data for a more satisfying study have not always been readily available or have sometimes been obscured in lengthy Thai language publications, the examination of which often proved beyond the ability and financial resources of the writer. However, one can take at least some refuge in Siffin's (1966:217) comment that "the full range of ways by which a social system influences and controls the behavior of its members defies delineation".

In spite of these limitations, the socio-cultural elements that, from the writer's viewpoint, seem to have had most influence upon Thai administrative behaviour and correspondingly upon leader and subordinate behaviour are:

a. <u>Historical factors affecting Thai society and bureaucracy</u>

(i) The Sukhothai Kingdom 1238-1350.

(ii) The Ayuthyan Bureaucracy 1350-1767.

(iii) The Chakri Dynasty 1782 to the present time.

b. Societal factors

(i) The family.

(ii) The individual and society.

(iii) The superior - subordinate relationship.

c. Religious factors

(i) Buddhism and spirit worship.

d. Political factors

(i) The hierarchical system of provincial administration.

(ii) The general characteristics of the Thai bureaucracy.

(iii) Current change and the Thai bureaucracy.

Two points need emphasis : firstly, the above factors though categorised broadly by no means constitute an exhaustive list but represent those areas that have received much prominence thoughout the literature by both Thai authors (Dhiravegan, 1973, 1978; Suvanajata, 1976; Ungphakorn, 1977; Chenvidyakin, 1979; Voratheppputipong, 1979; Wichiarajote, 1982) and western authors (Embree, 1950; Mosel, 1959, 1966; Siffin, 1966; Evers, 1967; Silcock, 1967; Hanks, 1975; Skinner and Kirsch, 1975; Mulder 1977a, 1977b, 1978a, 1978b, 1980; Girling, 1981).

Secondly, there is a high degree of integration and interdependence between these factors as for example the pervasion of Buddhist influence on superior-subordinate relationships and the special qualities of Thai bureaucracy on the hierarchical system of provincial government. Their listing above as discrete entities is purely for the purpose of discussion.

This chapter and the following chapter will discuss the above listed factors in an attempt to:

a. identify aspects of Thai administrative behaviour;

b. examine reasons for that behaviour; and,

c. give some perspective to leader-subordinate behaviour at the middle-to-lower management level in Thai teachers' colleges.

The major focus of this chapter will be on the historical, societal and religious factors whilst the next chapter will concentrate on the political factors of provincial administration and the Thai bureaucracy as well as the place of the teachers' college in the education system with special reference to the position of the academic department head.

Historical factors affecting Thai society and bureaucracy

Thailand is unique among the states and societies of the Third World. Although it shares similarities with other Third

World nations, Thailand's historical background, its particular cultural patterns, and the country's remarkable ability to cope with change are just some of the features that contribute to its uniqueness and distinguish it from other nations with similar levels of economic development.

The history of public administration in Thailand can be divided into four well-defined periods : the Sukhothai Kingdom in the thirteenth century; the Ayuthyan bureaucracy from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century; the Chakri reformation of the nineteenth and early twentieth century; and, the current period of the constitutional monarchy from 1932.

The historical study highlights a number of significant features highly relevant to this study:

a. the sacredness of the monarchy, whether absolute, or after the 1932 coup d'etat, constitutional;

b. the astute diplomacy of Thai Kings to adjust to Western demands realistically so as to prevent colonisation of Thailand by the West;

c. the continuity of social and political organisation. By this is meant the tendency for a person's social status and role to be defined. Traditional society was elaborately stratified under the sakdi na[1] system. Through this precise and complex system officialdom and society were fused. Officials were identified by the names of their positions, and the status of each was defined essentially in terms of his relative hierarchical "distance" from the King. Even today government remains generally the preoccupation of the middle and upper classes, and a person's social status is still largely fixed by his place in the administrative hierarchy;

d. the decision-making process emanating from the top down. Mosel (1966) points to the tradition that sociopolitical change has been initiated by top political leadership - the King during the absolute monarchy periods and in the present time by a small group of the political elite.

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1. Sakdi na or "dignity marks" encompassed every person in the Kingdom. Sakdi na means literally "power over land". Its essential characteristic was a structure of ranks or statuses which designated every conceivable level in the society, from common persons and slaves to senior princes. Sakdi na numbers indicated the amount of land over which a person possessed nominal or actual jurisdiction. Thus a sakdi na of 10,000, the rank of a head of an important department, implied control over 10,000 rai. The commoner had a sakdi na of 25. Following the Khmerization of the Kingdom sakdi na numbers lost their land holding connotation and came to indicate hierarchical position in society. Sakdi na designations lasted about 400 years until abolished in 1932 (Siffin, 1966).

The changes have not necessarily been confined to political matters but include social customs, style of dress, sports, modes of address and spelling of words. Mosel (1966 : 281) considers that "this tradition has led to the assumption that if an innovation is to be initiated, the government should do the initiating. In other words, étatism in the broadest sense";

e. Changes wrought by the political leadership have not been imposed on reluctant Thai rulers by foreign pressure. This has been due to Thailand's non-colonial status. Certainly innovations have involved borrowings from foreign administrative ideas, but any adoption was chosen from within the culture, not imposed from without. One of the features of Thai administration has been the selective and reinterpretative nature of their foreign borrowings. Hence Western institutions and practices have acquired new dimensions once imbedded into the Thai culture.

The Sukhothai Kingdom 1238-1350. The first viable kingdom of the Thais was established about 1238 at Sukhothai under King Ramkhamhaeng. From inscriptions of the period it seems that he ruled as a "father lord" as well as through a system of vassal lords over whom he presided like a strict but affectionate father (Skinner and Kirsch 1975 : 44). His concept of government was monarchical and based on the Theravada Buddhist doctrine.[1]

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1. Theravada Buddhism is explained more fully on page 132 of this study.

His method of ruling was paternalistic and personal and he made himself easily accessible to his subjects.

Sukhothai society was dominated by the aristocracy but the "aristocracy lived in a much less rarified atmosphere and in close contact with the people" (Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, 1975:45). The absolute power of King Ramkhamhaeng maintained law and order in Sukhothai and all administration was carried out directly by the King and his aristocracy.

The Ayuthyan Bureaucracy 1350-1767. After the death of the King in 1317, Sukhothai struggled for survival until in 1378 the then King was forced, in defeat, to take the oath of allegiance to Ayuthya. The foundations of Thai bureaucracy were laid by King Trailok who spelled out the pattern of sociobureaucratic organisation (the sadki na) which was to persist with little change for more than four hundred years.

The concept of the monarchy changed drastically from the paternalism of the Sukhothai Kings to the strictest autocracy of the Ayuthyan Kings as a result of the process of "Indianisation", a result of extensive contact with India and Ceylon during the Sukhothai period.

The "Indianisation" of Ayuthya was manifested in new concepts of authority and man's relationship to the cosmos: Kings became god-kings and their legitimacy rested on their divine nature. The King was the absolute lord of the universe and his Kingdom represented a microcosm of the universe. The King's merest wish became absolute law and "his subjects were his personal chattels and no one, regardless of station was exempt from showing servitude towards the divine person" (Mosel, 1966 : 286).

Trailok created a centralised and functionally specialised administrative organisation which served to strengthen further the control of the throne over vassal lords who ruled the provinces. In addition he completed the social stratification of everybody in the kingdom by the sakdi na system which resulted in a strict social hierarchy. This hierarchization was significant for the administration of the kingdom because interaction was determined by status differentiations. "As the ranking system increasingly defined itself in terms of control over people, a system of patron-client relationships emerged that, from the Ayuthyan era to the present, has been at the heart of Thai politics" (Neher, 1975 : 216).

There is little doubt that the Ayuthyan bureaucracy has had significant influence upon the Thai social system. Firstly there is the great emphasis upon status of individuals and upon superior-subordinate relationships. Great store was set by officials upon showing due respect to those above whilst strongly insisting on extracting deference from those below. Secondly was the instability and precariousness of personal status and fortune. "Nothing could be permanent or assured; title, job, wealth, and influence existed at the King's will" (Mosel 1959:290). Thirdly, in Mosel's (1959) view, a social structure developed which was preponderantly open in that there were no fixed stratification boundaries between rigid classes, and considerable mobility existed both up and down. This meant, in principle at least, that even the most humble freeman could rise to the highest

civil post. But in reality most freemen pursued their agricultural existences quite insulated from any power conflicts of the court and bureaucracy.

Many of the features of the Ayuthyan bureaucracy, discussed here in only the briefest terms, have continued to influence the social and administrative structure of modern Thailand. For example though the patron-client system no longer has any legal foundation, it still appears in the form of seeking assistance and protection of influential persons and it is still expected that one may shift patrons when it is opportune to do so. The system of deferential postures, head positions, linguistic usages, and degree of Wai[1] hand salutes is still practised. But for the purposes of this study the most significant survivals of the Ayuthyan period are the monarchist tradition, the superior-subordinate relationships, the individualistic, personalised basis of getting things done, the inclusiveness of the bureaucracy, the relative isolation of the common people from the conduct of government and the fact that the bureaucracy became a social system as well as an administrative system.

The Chakri Dynasty 1782 - 1983. In 1767 Ayuthya fell to the Burmese but a new Thai leader, Taksin, eventually defeated them and established a new capital at Thonburi on the opposite bank of the Chao Phyra river from the site of present-day Bangkok. In 1782 a successful coup saw General Phyra Chakri become the

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1. Wai : the traditional greeting in Thailand. Both hands are placed together at about chin level and the head is slightly bowed. The young "wai" to their elders; subordinates to seniors, and the "wai" is reciprocated.

first of the Chakri monarchs. He moved his capital across the river to Bangkok which has remained the Thai capital ever since.

It was not until King Mongkut' reign (1851-1868) that new directions appeared. This was essentially a period of "westernisation", mainly for the purpose of protecting Thailand against the threats of British and French colonialism. He entered into more direct contact with the people and eased the master-servant concept of kingship and revived the earlier paternal concept of the Sukhothai period. Links with the west began the move of Thailand from a subsistence and barter economy to one of money specialisation.

King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) continued the trend towards modernisation. He saw his duty as not being to rule for himself but in the interests of his people, though he continued as an absolute monarch. The old "departments" were transformed into European type ministries and officials were placed on fixed salaries and regular work hours. The provincial structure of geographic divisions was established whereby the country was divided into provinces (changwats), districts (amphurs), communes (tambols) and villages (mubans) and brought under the direct control of the central government, adding considerable power to the Bangkok administrators.

In particular, two of Chulalongkorn's innovations had special importance for the systematic introduction of Western ideas : the adoption of a system of Western advisers and the dispatch of many promising young Thais to study abroad. Both were highly successful moves as Western administrative theory and practice were adapted to Thai culture without the problem of

foreign entanglements, and the overseas study programme produced a reservoir of indigenous administrative skills which would bring about some diminution of dependence on foreigners.

Chulalongkorn died in 1910 but he left an administrative system which was to be the basis of the modern Thai public administration. From 1910 to 1932, as educated commoners and high ranking princes began taking a more active role in decision-making, there was a gradual move from autocracy to oligarchy. The depression of 1930, Thailand's economic malaise and returning Western educated students who had embraced democratic ideals in Europe and who were genuinely dismayed by what they felt was an unresponsive royal monopoly of power, were contributing causes of the bloodless coup of 1932 which ended seven hundred years of absolute monarchy.

The coup d'etat of 1932. In 1932 the absolute monarchy was overthrown by a relatively small group of Western-educated, middle class civilian intellectuals and military officers - who had absorbed some of Western liberal and democratic ideas and had grown increasingly discontent with the anachronism of absolute monarchy in a modern state. The coup did not produce a violent social revolution as the bulk of the population remained deferential to the government and indeed were hardly affected by the change of leadership. In fact the coup "was to be the pattern of subsequent coups - far from being a democratic or mass movement, was not even the work of officials or professionals as a whole. It was rather the replacement of one oligarchy by another" (Girling 1981 :60).

The 1932 coup resulted in a constitutional monarchy bringing with it a number of fundamental changes which seem relevant to this study's discussion of administrative behaviour. Firstly, the god-king concept was now completely replaced by the theory of constitutionalism and the monarch in practice (not necessarily in theory) ceased to be both executor and legislator. Secondly, the coup meant a transfer of decision-making from a small group of royal princes to an educated middle class, especially the military middle class. Thirdly, the military became the foremost political power base and in the numerous coups since 1932 none have succeeded without the support of the army. Finally, among the political elite, material gain began to supplement attitudes of respect as a basis for maintaining compliance and followership.

Since 1932 progress towards achieving the democratic ideals, espoused by many Western nations, has been slow and hesitant and, if such achievement is a Thai objective, it has not at this time been fully achieved. However, this is not to imply that the Thai government is harsh or despotic as far as the people are concerned. The government, though considered authoritarian by Western democratic standards, is a benevolent one, exhibiting a genuine and paternalistic concern for the people's welfare and supported by a revered and caring monarch who occupies a very special and vital place in Thai life.

The monarchy in Thai life. The King's position is one of great strength. He is much loved and respected by people of all classes. The reverence felt by the vast majority has in no way decreased despite the 1932 Revolution which ended centuries

of absolute monarchy and curtailed his political power. Indeed the monarchy remains the central unifying element in what may be termed the Thai triad of nation, king and Buddhism (Punyagupta, 1979). The present King Bhumibol has been a major stabilising influence in stormy periods of Thai politics in which he has played a conciliatory and moderating role.

In a society where authority is as highly respected as it is in Thailand the monarch is regarded as the embodiment of authority. He is seen as the head of the Thai national family, one of the names ascribed to him being "Paw Muang" or "Father of the nation". Girling (1981:24) emphasises the traditional aspect of the monarch's significance in Thai society:

> The significance of the great kings of Ayuthya, in history and in legend, and of their successors in the present Chakri dynasty has endured. For in this century they have become a major source of cultural inspiration and patriotic fervour, sedulously promoted by the state authorities, enshrined in ceremonies, and inculcated in the schools.

There is arguably no Western equivalent for the intense respect the Thai people feel for their King. Their observed behaviour, their traditional custom of lowering their heads and bodies in his presence is a further indication of the awe and reverence which has no counterpart in the few remaining Western monarchies. Indeed it would seem that the Thai monarchy both reflects and strengthens the traditional deference of subordinate to superior in a benevolent but very definite manner.

Societal factors and Thai behaviour

The family. Much of Thai behaviour is embedded in family relationships. This is understandable because for most of the Thai people the family is the most significant unit of identity. Punyagupta (1979) considers that a study of the family structure is the best method of understanding the social organisation of Thai society because the household has within it a system of dynamics and attitudes governing personal interaction which is repeated on all levels of society. He considers that the rural family serves as the most appropriate model of Thai values though the urban household retains similar values but these "have been modified by the pressures of modern life and by the tidal wave of non-Thai influences that has washed over the country's urban centres during the past decades" (Punyagupta, 1979:57). Because the rural family lives the communal lifestyle where little or no privacy exists the Thai values of tact, compromise, courtesy and tolerance are emphasised in the interests of preserving social harmony.

The family represents security and stability and its welfare is always the primary concern of family members who must consider their actions in the light of their consequences to the whole family's well-being. The father is the head of the family, guiding and guarding it. Respect for elders is taught from a very early age and is readily observed at all age levels in Thai daily life. The distinction between elders

(phu yai)[1] and juniors or subordinates (phu noi) describes the relationship between parents and children as well as between siblings of different ages. This respect and deference for one's elders and superiors is universal in Thailand and its requirement of particular behaviours in the face-to-face situation has quite strong implications in any leader-follower situation.

The Thai bureaucracy is both strengthened and sustained by the wide sanction of these traditional family values, themselves essentially hierarchical in nature. As Girling (1981:119) so clearly indicates:

> .....training in "proper" behaviour - respect for elders, the educated, and persons of status and power - starts at an early age within the family, continues through the educational system, and is confirmed by the adult's contacts with officialdom. In an "authority culture" like this, the assumption of superiority underlying the confidence of the ruling elite has its necessary counterpart in the acceptance of inferiority by those of lower status and those who lack organized power.

The individual and society. The seemingly fierce independence of the individual Thai and the existence of a powerful bureaucracy appear at first glance totally incongruous.

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1. In Thai society the importance of knowing one's place is a traditional custom. The phu yai (superior) is distinguished by his status in the hierarchy or by his age, education and wisdom. The phu noi (subordinate) pays deference to the phu yai by acting respectfully and kindly to his superior. He should ask the superior's advice but should not advance his own opinion if it differs from that of the superior in case it upsets him.

Skinner and Kirsch (1975:18) consider that since the Sukhothai period there has been a continuing dialectic between bureaucratized, formal hierarchy and personalized, informal clientship. This dialectic reflects the contrasts in Thai society between the individuality that is customarily permitted within the family and at village level and the strict limitations on individuality imposed by status differences between superiors and subordinates (Girling, 1981 : 37).

Though Thai society must be seen as a status society it does not follow the more usual Western models of social stratification and class structure. In rural Thailand social classes have not evolved mainly because most relationships are based on vertical ties that crosscut socio-economic classes. Usually Thais relate to persons of higher or lower status as individuals rather than as members of a class.

In Bangkok particularly there is, among the more privileged groups, a class hierarchy that is headed by the traditional elites and noble families, but since the 1932 coup a new elite of high-level government officials, military officers and wealthy business people has emerged. Within this societal structure power is identified with status. Mulder (1979) points out that it is those with most power who are likely to have the highest status. It is those without power, poor urban dwellers, peasant farmers and the like who praise and respect persons according to their status and power.

Though there are highly structured forms of behaviour expected of the person in various situations it would be wrong to

think that the spirit of individuality amongst the Thais is virtually non-existent. On the contrary, high value is placed on individuality by the Thai in the sense of spontaneity and absence of binding contractual involvements. Piker (1968) refers to the ease with which interpersonal relationships are initiated and terminated and in the personal freedom enjoyed by the individual who is free to move from place to place when he feels he can improve his lot. Overall, Thais seem to be reluctant joiners and one of the significant features of their social system is the lack of structured groups that demand personal commitment (Neher, 1975:227).

This lack of structure together with a seeming lack of role conformity has led many scholars to consider Thailand as a "loosely structured society" that is characterised by excessive leeway for individuality and idiosyncracy.[1] The initial protagonist of this view, Embree (1950), contended

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1. J.F. Embree first introduced this term in his article, "Thailand - a loosely structured social system", in 1950 in the American Anthropoligist, 52, 181-193. "Loose structure" signifies, inter alia, the following:

   a. "a culture in which considerable variation of individual behaviour is sanctioned";

   b. "lack of regularity, discipline, and regimentation in Thai life";

   c. "the Thai lack respect for administrative regularity and have no industrial time sense".

   Embree's concept has been the subject of much controversy. An excellent publication on this subject is that of Evers, H.D. (1967) Loosely Structured Social Systems: Thailand in Comparative Perspective.

that, in comparison to the rigidly structured Japan, Thais engaged in infinite varieties of individual behaviour often displaying little sense of discipline and regard for efficient administration. Interestingly, though the concept of "loose structure" has not been raised, the majority of Thai authorities with whom the writer has been involved, generally support Embree's view with regard to the lack of self-discipline, little respect for punctuality and inefficiency in administration in much of current Thai behaviour. Indeed some Thais have expressed the opinion that unless there is greater self-discipline amongst the Thais then further development of Thailand into a more prosperous industrialised and agricultural nation will be hindered.

Wichiarajote (1982:24) in his thoughtful article on the affiliative society versus the achieving society points to the dire need for Thais, if they wish to improve their country, to develop such individual traits as efficiency, diligence, order, punctuality, rationalisation etc., as Thais in general lack these qualities.

Though there appears considerable scope for a wide variety of personal behaviour and individual activity (and indeed one observes daily such variety) it is doubtful whether Embree (1950) is completely correct in his designation of Thailand as a "loosely structured" society. What must be taken into account is the significance of quite clearly designated structures of power and authority in Thai society. "Indeed very little is 'loosely structured' in certain fields of Thai

political life; no individual variations of behavior are allowed and sanctions are severe and consistent" (Evers, 1967:1). In other fields, too, roles are well defined especially in the monkhood, in the Thai bureaucracy and in the military. For some,Thailand is considered a highly structured society.

It is quite conceivable to see merit in both sides of the argument regarding "looseness" and "rigidity" of structure in Thai society. Indeed Girling (1981:41) does not see the two categories as mutually exclusive but rather operating along a continuum where at the family level there is considerable scope for individuality whereas at the level of administration behaviour is more structured. Piker (1967) goes further when he contends that there is even some latitude for individualism and the play of personality within the bureaucratic structure but perhaps Mulder's (1977b:632) observation is the most apt:

> Thailand is a society of rather conservative people who appreciate the predictability and quietness of their social show to which they readily conform and in which they feel secure; as long as people live up to its rules, there is room for some tolerated individual deviation.

However, there is one key feature of Thai behaviour that would not appear to tolerate too much individual latitude but tends to reinforce the "rigid" structure of Thai society and that is relationship of superior to subordinate and the patron-client system.

Superior-subordinate relationships. The interplay between the superior and the subordinate is steeped in Thai tradition pre-dating the Sukhothai Kingdom. Thai society values smooth

interaction and the avoidance of overt unpleasantness and anger. When individuals know their places in the social hierarchy and behave appropriately these ideals can be achieved. In Thai society it usually takes little time for individuals to ascertain their relative status. Distinguishing features will include age, wealth, education and rank. Once the superior-subordinate relationship is established, appropriate traditional behaviour patterns emerge. Status is definitely social obligation and requires the correct show of benevolence and obligation such as the subordinate or "small man" (phu noi) approaching the senior or "big man" (phu yai) with a traditional hand greeting (Wai) that is reciprocated by the latter. Thais are sympathetic to differences among persons which is apparent from their proverbial tolerance and non-involvement in the affairs of others. Such differences as levels of education, recognisable power, and level of experience justify for the Thai "unequal position, inequality of privilege, right and obligation, while also setting individuals apart from each other, classifying them as different roles and statuses" (Mulder, 1980:1).

A corollary to the superior-subordinate relationship is the patron-client system which pervades Thai society and helps to shape the society into a national whole. Patron-client groupings are not separate entities but related parts of an overall system of groupings. The patron of one grouping may be a client to a group higher in the hierarchy. The patron (phu yai) protects, aids and gives generously to the client (phu noi) whose status is inferior. In return the client is expected to act deferentially

and perform tasks for his patron.

Ever present in the patron-client and the superior-subordinate situations and peculiar to Thai social behaviour are the phenomena of krengchai[1], (respect, inhibition) and krengklua[2], (fearful respect). Most interpersonal relationships, and especially in the superior-subordinate situation, are inhibited because they are infused with feelings of krengchai or krengklua. It is, for example, considered both dangerous and stupid to challenge a powerful superior by disrespect, ingratitude, competition and contradiction because in this patron-client system, the patron can withdraw his patronage and indeed may exact severe retribution from his client. For the vast mass of common people who are farmers, factory workers, builders, civil servants and the like and who have little opportunity for major upward social mobility there has developed through the ages of Thai social history an ethos of keeping life as pleasant as possible. So, deprived of radical changes in their life style

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1. Krengchai broadly translated as feelings of respect, inhibition and sometimes awe. Krengchai generally occurs on the side of the person who holds lower status in respect to another. As a feeling it is often inspired by the fear that the other person will be worried, irritated or will lose face (Mulder, 1978a:301).

2. Krengklua translates roughly as fearful respect of the other person. There is a sense of awe, fear and insecurity. The subordinate may feel awe in respect of a superior for "as the ruling class they command the resources of political military and administrative power, of privilege, and they are 'fearfully respected' (krengklua) by the members of the subject class...." (Mulder, 1978a:295).

they have been "well-advised to krengchai each other, to seek friendship, love, warmth and social acceptance" (Mulder, 1978a:294). Their outwardly respectful attitude to each other serves the dual purpose of harmony and avoidance of unpleasantness. However, in respect of the powerful hierarchical society beyond their own group, and in the patron-client situation, they elicit feelings of fearful respect, awe and often insecurity (krengklua).

Face-to-face interaction. The ideal face-to-face situation is that no person should be placed in a position of shame or embarrassment. Excessive pressure and coercion are as far as possible avoided so that relationships, at least on the surface, are pleasant. In addition the culture emphasises the value of inner peace or as the Thais say, "having a cool heart" (choey), and this helps them to take life as it comes; a kind of "being" rather than "becoming". "To be choey is to be without anxiety, to rest at ease, survey and weigh the situation, accept cheerfully what must be ...." (Mosel, 1959:302). Associated with the maintenance of a "cool heart" is the commonly expressed phrase "mai pen rai" which means, inter alia, "it doesn't matter", or "never mind". This has far deeper significance than being merely a casual expression as more often than not it is a psychological defense mechanism for trying to lessen the importance of events which might otherwise have disturbed a "cool heart". There is often an element of shame felt especially if one has failed and that failure is perceived by others. "Loss of face" is a psychological trait that is to be strongly avoided in the interaction of individuals.

Individual presentation of one Thai to another is usually observed as being pleasant but Thais, through custom, are clearly able to differentiate observable behaviour from true inner feelings. A Thai proverb "keep muddy water inside whilst placing the clear water outside" emphasises the Thai behaviour of being able to interact politely and with charm despite the anger, irritation and annoyance within. The image of Thailand as a "land of smiles" therefore needs to be tempered by the fact that whilst pleasantness of face to face presentation is readily observable, such presentation may be hiding significant social and psychological pressures within the individual. All these phenomena have significant influences on leader-follow behaviour in administrative situations.

Though the above examination of societal factors of family, individuality and society, superior-subordinate relations and face-to-face presentation has been of necessity brief, nevertheless the following characteristic features of Thai behaviour have been identified. In summary they are:

a. the significance to the individual Thai of maintaining his own personal independence and freedom of action even within a highly structured and bureaucratic system;

b. the low emphasis upon formal groups as a means of personal goal achievement reflecting a high degree of self-reliance and a reluctance to commit himself personally to specifically structured groups;

c. an apparent lack of self-discipline as observed in unpunctuality, lack of diligence and inefficiency[1] (Wichiarajote, 1982);

d. the traditional deferential behaviour of subordinate to superior including the feeling of respect, warmth (krengchai) and awe, fearful respect (krengklua) in patron-client situations;

e. the avoidance of unpleasantness and anger in face-to-face interaction;

f. the maintenance of observable outward harmony through accepted forms of polite behaviour though internal feelings of anger, irritation etc. may be present. The maintenance of "cool heart" (choey); and,

g. the importance of maintaining "face" in personal interaction.

Religious factors

Buddhism and spirit worship. Today's Thailand comprises a myriad of spiritual and religious beliefs that are important elements in Thailand's cultural framework and influence behaviour.

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1. Obviously not all Thais exhibit these characteristics. The writer has been involved with highly efficient, diligent and self-disciplined Thai administrators. Nevertheless both Western and Thai observers have frequently emphasised to the writer that many Thais within the bureaucracy lack self-discipline and are not efficient. Wichiarajote is himself a Thai. The writer is fully aware of the dangers in trying to identify national behavioural typologies.

The significance of Theravada Buddhism[1] is an integral part of Thai personality and culture has been commonly acknowledged (Sharp, 1950; Siffin, 1957; Phillips, 1965; Wilson, 1966; Mulder, 1967; Girling, 1981). There are about twenty seven thousand Buddhist temples (Punyagupta, 1979) and over one quarter of a million Buddhist monks; a ubiquitous belief in spirits and ghosts; interest in astrology, palmistry and the occult; Brahman rites and ceremonies; Mahayana Buddhism, Confuciarism and religious minorities of Moslems, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians. Thai society is generally tolerant of religious differences but Buddhism remains the dominant spiritual factor, being the professed religion of over ninety percent of the population (Punyagupta, 1979) and the declared state religion.

Briefly, Buddhism holds that an individual's life does not begin with birth and end with death, but is a link in a chain of lives, each conditioned by acts committed by the individual in previous lives (karma). Karma, the most distinctive doctrine of Buddhism, postulates that every act has some degree of religious reward or punishment attached to it. All change is determined by karma. Good deeds contribute to karma in the form of "merit" (bun) bad deeds in the form of "demerit". The balance of past merit and demerit can affect an individual's rewards, status and power in his present situation. This implies that each

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1. Buddhism has two main schools of thought: Theravada, the School which tries to maintain the original doctrines, and Mahayana, the School which has modified some doctrinal principles in order to adapt its teaching to local environment. Theravada Buddhism is the state religion of Thailand.

individual's balance is unique and that there are considerable differences between the balances of different individuals. Kirsch (1975:180) considers that Buddhist belief implies "a view of men as intrinsically 'unequal' with respect to moral qualities or worth".

Spirit worship is also widespread in Thailand and sometimes used as an alternative to Buddhist explanations and at other times as a supplement to them. For some individuals spirit worship provides a more satisfying explanation for bad luck or suffering as they can place the blame for such misfortunes on malicious spirits rather than upon themselves as would be the Buddhist teaching.

Buddhism profoundly influences the daily life of Thailand. It finds expression in the tolerance and kindness exhibited by Thais towards their fellow man regardless of race, creed, colour or nationality. It is strengthened by the close daily contact the population enjoy with the monks. It helps explain, even if only partially, why a Thai talks, behaves, or thinks in a certain way; why he avoids direct interpersonal conflict and awkward situations; why he sanctions seemingly incongruous and disorienting behaviour, and why he seems to accept misfortune or personal discomfort with a smile. Such behaviour patterns will affect the superior-subordinate relations in leadership situations.

Mosel (1966) for example, in discussing the influence of karma in the decision-making process contends that if karma affected the success of a leader's own actions, it can also

affect the success of others on whom the leader must depend for implementation and support. Thus he must evaluate the "merit" of his subordinates and take this into account in making decisions. This represents a significant cultural difference from the West because the Thai leader must therefore give greater weight to personal criteria in assessing consequences than would his Western counterpart. The initial implication of this for Situational Leadership Theory is that the Thai leader will be more relationship-oriented than task-oriented.

Although the literature indicates the crucial role of Buddhism in all spheres of Thai life, and this is strongly supported by daily observation, some writers question the more orthodox views of their colleagues as to this role. For instance, Neher (1975) warns of a widespread tendency to explain Thai political behaviour in terms of the religious convictions of people on the assumption that these convictions are an internalized part of the motivational system. For example, the Thais' deference to authority is sometimes explained by noting that persons of authority (high status) are those who in their previous existences performed virtuous deeds but that subordinates, on the other hand, performed less virtuous deeds, and are thus duty bound to respect their superiors. Neher argues that this explanation is at best tenuous because religious beliefs are not usually an important part of a person's motivational system. He points out that deference to authority, whilst being congruent with the notion of merit making in Buddhism, was an operative force in Thailand even before Buddhism was established. He

further argues that non-Buddhist Thais,as well as non-Buddhists in most of Asia, behave deferentially. Deference to superiors for example can be explained by the instrumental rationality of the Thais - superiors having the resources subordinates often desire - money, land, jobs, housing - for which the subordinates offer deference in return.

Neher's warning deserves heed but at the same time should be regarded with caution. In the first place it is difficult to prove that for some, religious beliefs, or the behaviours aroused by those beliefs, do not form part of their motivational system. Neher's view on this is not easy to follow. From experience with, and observation of Thais, there have been many indications that their Buddhist beliefs have acted as a strong motivational force, not necessarily in acts of deference, but in other acts of exceptional hospitality, great personal concern and quite remarkable tolerance. Whilst certainly not questioning every facet of their behaviour, on some occasions when asked the reply has been "I am Buddhist" or statements to that effect. On the other hand there is little doubt that observation and conventional wisdom would support, at least in some cases, Neher's view that some Thais' deference to authority, particularly in the patron-client relationship, is basically materialistic and not spiritual or religious.

The oft-assumed stance of the West in equating being a Thai with being a Buddhist is questioned by two Thai writers, Namsirichai and Vichit-Vadakan (1976), who consider that such equation does not fully explain certain Thai attitudes and

behaviours which reflect emotions and cognitive orientations that are not consistent with the previously mentioned attitudes and behaviours of avoidance of awkward situations, acceptance of personal discomfort and the like. They assert that equating Thai and Buddhism fails to explain, for example, covert but real aggressiveness in social interaction among Thais, the intense tension hidden by a smiling facade in the daily interaction among friends, the underlying competitiveness and determination often undetected because of the outward appearance of placidity, gentleness, subtlety, and permissiveness, and the overt outbursts of violent emotions over apparently minor issues. Certainly the high incidence of violent crime[1], including murder, rape, bashings and armed robbery, reported graphically in daily newspapers[2], belies the principles of tolerance and kindness espoused by Buddhist doctrine. Excepting obviously other religious minorities like Moslems and Sikhs for example, it is erroneous to equate being Thai with being Buddhist, in the same way as it would be to equate being Buddhist with being Thai.

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1. It is estimated that in the first nine months of 1981, there were forty nine cases of murder each day throughout the country. Many assassinations were politically motivated or the results of conflicts of interests. Rape ending with murder, has also increased. Crime involving police and military personnel has increased while corruption and malpractice among civil servants are frequently reported in the press (Sucharithanaruqse, 1983:291,292).

2. Typical examples of reports of murder, kidnapping, shooting, robbery and corruption may be seen in the daily paper "Bangkok Post" (7 and 16 August, 1983) and in "The Nation" (31 July, 1983).

The violence and other anti-social behaviour may have much of its origin, not necessarily in purposeful anti-Buddhist behaviour, but in the economics of poverty, in political rivalry, business conflicts, and in the pent-up frustrations ascribed to that part of the Thai ethos (for example, krengchai, krengklua, choey) that prevents the individual from behaving in the manner his feelings and emotions would suggest.

Despite the controversies briefly mentioned above over the extent and kind of influence Buddhism and secular materialism[1] have on Thai life, it is clear that Buddhism has particular implications for behaviour in Thai life. These implications include:

a. ["Buddhism's] inherent tolerance, flexibility and lack of dogma have encouraged the principle of compromise in Thai politics and discouraged narrow ideological dogmatism" (Neher, 1975:232).

b. Buddhist ritual, ceremony and precepts is a socially integrating and stabilising force (Girling, 1981:35).

c. Buddhism has provided a sense of national unity.

d. Buddhist creed of tolerance, kindness to others has marked effect on individual behaviour.

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1. Both Mulder (1969) and Bunnag (1973) notice a growing secularisation of belief in Thailand especially so in Bangkok and larger cities and towns. Mulder holds that there is a seeming general decline in the vitality of Buddhism with merit-making becoming less personal and more business-like. Bunnag contends that individuals from higher income groups are spending more money on luxury consumer goods and considerably less on religion.

e. Individual social mobility has been made possible for young men who join the monkhood as entry is available to even the poorest and most underprivileged.

f. The karma helps allay problems associated with "inequality" of status and is an essential element in the conception of social hierarchy.

Various Buddhist influences have been observed by the writer through ceremonies, rituals and daily behaviour in all colleges visited, sometimes as an invited participant, other times as an interested onlooker. Behavioural traits such as avoidance of argument, tolerance under provocation, deference to authority and maintenance of composure have been witnessed, not only on social occasions but also in various administrative situations.

The purpose of this chapter has been to discuss, in brief, historical, social and religious factors that seem to the writer to have produced some identifiable aspects of Thai behaviour that could affect aspects of leader-subordinate behaviour in leadership situations. It is pertinent to be reminded of the fact that the above-mentioned behavioural traits do not purport to be either definitive or exhaustive nor are they the findings of empirical research. They are generally postulated on the bases of the writings of numerous scholars, discussions, interviews, observations by the writer, and on conventional wisdom. Despite these obvious limitations it is considered that the behavioural traits so postulated may help

explain various characteristics of leader-subordinate behaviour in a variety of leadership situations.

The next chapter also looks at factors affecting Thai behaviour and is concerned with what may loosely be termed "political factors", in particular those related to the hierarchical system of provincial government and special characteristics of the Thai bureaucracy. Furthermore a brief description of the Thai education system is included showing the place of the teachers' college in that system and the position of the academic department head within the college.

CHAPTER 5

LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOUR - THE THAI PERSPECTIVE [CONTINUED]

The general aim of this chapter is to examine certain selected political factors that, it is hoped, will shed further light on Thai administrative behaviour. Those political factors include:

a. the hierarchical system of provincial administration ;

b. the general characteristics of the Thai bureaucracy; and,

c. current change and the Thai bureaucracy.

The specific purpose, as in the previous chapter, is to identify, discuss and relate identified behaviours to leadership situations. In addition the internal organisation of a Thai teachers' college will be described so that the place of the academic department head can be seen in appropriate perspective.

The hierarchical system of provincial administration

Ever since the founding of the Sukhothai kingdom in the thirteenth century, Thailand has had a pyramidal government structure uniting the three elements of nation, religion and king. This government structure throughout Thai history has emphasised the importance of a bureaucratic hierarchy, differential rank statuses, Buddhist values and the essentially conservative nature of government itself. The pyramidal structure in order of hierarchical ascendancy comprises:

a. the village (muban);

b. the commune (tambon);

c. the district (amphur);

d. the province (changwat); and,

e. the Ministry of Interior of the central government in Bangkok.

Although local government operates on three separate but interrelated patterns of authority, namely provincial, village and local self-government (Figure 14 shows these patterns together with the basic administrative hierarchy) only the two patterns considered most relevant, provincial and village administration, will be discussed.

The village (muban). In spite of increasing industrialisation and westernisation in Thailand the vast majority of Thais (about thirty five million) still live in traditional style villages of which there are approximately fifty-three thousand.[1] Village life remains basically in harmony with nature and revolves around well-defined climatic, religious, and farming seasons. It is most usually self-contained and a social unit that has remained basically unchanged over centuries. The Thai village is still seen as a place of tranquility, its gentle pace reflecting the serenity and unassuming nature of the villages themselves. Though television has reached many villages and has assumedly helped change some attitudes, especially amongst the young, it seems that

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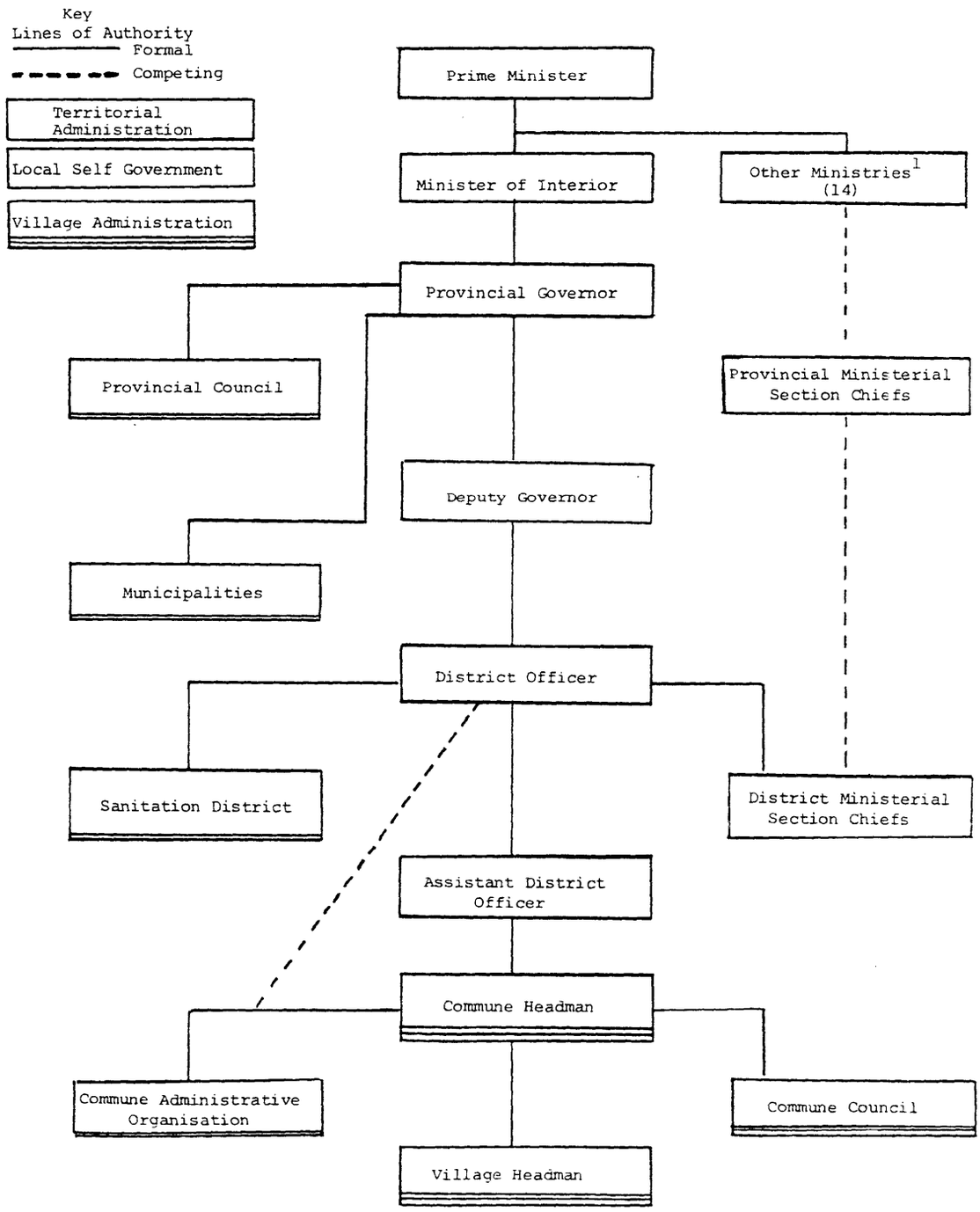
1. There are 52,835 villages, 5,883 communes, 675 districts and 73 provinces in Thailand (Educational Planning Division Ministry of Education 1982:1).

Figure 14

Provincial Administrative Structure in Thailand

(Adapted from Neher, 1975 : 233)



1. In all there are 14 government ministries : Office of the Prime Minister, Interior, Agriculture and Co-operatives, Education, Finance, Defence, Industry, Foreign Affairs, Commerce, Science and Technology, Public Health, Justice, Communications, University Affairs.

most people see contentment in having sufficient food, productive land and being debt-free. The village remains a bastion of conservatism in Thailand where traditional Thai respect for elders is most evident and the focal point of the community is the temple signifying the unifying element of the Buddhist religion.

Villages are self-governed with decision-making on major issues being a consensus decision amongst the villagers. An elected village headman (phu-yai-ban) acts as a community representative playing a middleman role between his village and district officials. Neher (1975:236) believes that the headman is frequently subjected to conflicting pressures because on occasions "his position as representative of the village before the district authorities conflicts with his position as representative of the officials to his village constituency".

The headman also performs many other functions such as keeping village records, arbitrating in disputes and trying to maintain harmony within the village. Although not a member of the civil service he receives a small monthly remuneration and can be regarded as the lowest ranked in the administrative hierarchy of provincial government structure.

The commune (tambon). Villages themselves are organised into communes which, depending on topography and density of population, consist generally of about ten villages. The village headmen within each tambon elect one from their number to be the commune headman (kamnan). He chairs the commune committee which may include a school principal, officers from agricultural and

medical services and other important agencies.

The kamnan's main tasks are to see that justice prevails within the community, to maintain records and statistics, to help preserve peace, to assist in the collection of taxes and to act as the intermediary between the district officer and the village headman of his tambon. Like the village headman, the commune headman is not a government official but he does receive a small monthly stipend. Both the commune headman and the village headman are important links between government officials and the rural population.

The district (amphur). Communes are formed into districts whose head is the district officer (nai amphur). Although the district office is the lowest formal administrative unit of the central government, it remains one of the major links in the central government's control of the nation. It is at district level that programmes, planned in Bangkok, ultimately meet their test in the ability of district officers to put them into effect (Neher, 1975).

The district officer is appointed by the Ministry of Interior and is directly responsible both to the governor of the province in which the district is located and to the Department of Local Adminstration in the Ministry of Interior. As district officers have jurisdiction over eighty percent of the population and ninety-nine percent of the country's total area they also are most significant members of the administrative hierarchy. Both Punyagupta (1979) and Neher (1975) consider that they are overburdened with administrative duties and with the "red tape" and paraphernalia of bureaucracy.

The province (changwat). The province forms the primary unit of territorial administration and is headed by the provincial governor (phu warajakan changwat) who is a career civil servant appointed by the King on the advice of the Minister of Interior. The governor, like the district officer, is often hard pressed to ensure that the central government's policies are executed since he is required to supervise officers of various ministries and departments that function under his jurisdiction. In this respect the governor is responsible for the "lateral" activities of other ministries but in practice these officials (engineers, foresters, doctors etc.) report to their own respective ministries and departments in Bangkok (Girling, 1981).

In the strict hierarchical bureaucracy of state structure the governor is the most significant liaison between the population generally and the government in Bangkok. The governor's functions include:

a. being the chief representative of the central government in the province;

b. co-ordinating all services of various central government ministries; and,

c. representing provincial citizens to the central government.

The governor is a very powerful official but he does not exercise complete power as major decisions are first referred to the Ministry of Interior. Furthermore the Ministry has the authority to appoint, transfer, or remove governors, thus reflecting the strong hierarchical traditions of Thailand.

It further stresses the need for governors to retain powerful patrons in Bangkok. Neher (1974:8) points out that "the governor's influence in the political process depends essentially on his ability to attract effectively subordinates (...clients) and to develop advantageous relationships with his superiors in Bangkok".

Attempts to modify the highly centralised administrative structure by placing greater responsibility on provincial governors have been made more recently by the Prime Minister, General Prem Tinsulanonda according to reports published in "The Nation"[1] (15 November, 1980). The report stated that the Prime Minister's purpose was to involve the local administration in closer supervision of projects out in provinces and to allow greater initiatives to the governors. It was made clear that governors would have to decide whether merely to exist or carry out their duties with dignity and honour. "The Nation's" reporter raised the question as to the number of governors who would in fact take up the challenge and indeed stated that:

> .....most governors admitted that they were not quite sure how in practice...(these initiatives)... could be carried out on the local level, considering the long entrenched old system in which the central government had been imposing decisions from the capital (The Nation, Issues, 15 November, 1980:1).

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1. "The Nation" is an English language newspaper published daily in Bangkok.

At this stage it has been difficult to ascertain how effective the directive has been and indeed the results, if any, may take some time to appear because of the entrenched conservatism of the bureaucracy. However, the fact that there has been some attempt to devolve responsibility and authority is, at least outwardly, indicative that the central government is aware of some of the problems of over-centralisation.

The Ministry of Interior of the central government in Bangkok. Ministries are the top rank of government (Figure 14). In the system of provincial administration it is the Ministry of Interior to which all local administrators are attached. The Interior Minister, like all other Ministers, is answerable to the Cabinet of which he is automatically a member.

The ministries function on the basis of centralised chains of command with little real devolution of authority. Indeed Girling (1981:136) points to the Ministry of Interior at the district, provincial and national level as a prime example of non-devolution. Riggs (1966:196) supports this view:

> 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 possesses a dominance over local political action that is checked only with the bureaucracy itself by paternalism and inertia.

Although it is still too early to evaluate the effects of General Prem's efforts to devolve certain aspects of authority to provincial governers, it is considered that Rigg's (1966) assessment of the bureaucratic centralisation is still, for

the most part, valid. Indeed today's organisation of the provincial administration emphasises the pre-eminence of Bangkok and not the provinces themselves as the centre of major decision-making. Neher (1975:220) describes Bangkok as "the unchallenged center of political, economic, cultural, educational and social activity".

Whilst acknowledging that for the most part decisions are made at the top and transmitted downwards and that the amount of upward feedback from districts and provinces is limited, it should be understood that, on the whole, the provincial administrative network has served the people well, probably because there have been some dedicated and competent provincial governors and district officers.

An integral part of the Thai governmental structure is the Thai bureaucracy, evolved from the Sukhothai period of the thirteenth century, and to-day one of the bastions of conservatism. Some understanding of the social values in contemporary Thai bureaucracy is essential to any study of Thai administrative behaviour.

Characteristics of the Thai bureaucracy

The Thai bureaucracy is perceived as a collection of administrative organisations with offices, staff, budgets, rules and all the usual trappings of an administrative organisation. The ministries, fourteen in all,[1] are the major units of organisation and (excluding the Ministry of Defense) constitute the primary units of the civil service or civil

1. The 14 ministries are shown in a footnote to Figure 14.

bureaucracy (Siffin, 1966:152).

One of the most remarkable features of the time-honoured Thai bureaucratic system has been its stability despite changing regimes and numerous coups. There have of course been superficial changes but the bureaucracy has maintained its highly institutionalised structure with its well-established norms and values and distinctive bureaucratic behaviours. One of the major reasons for the stability has been the bureaucracy's traditional political neutrality and its non-participation in the power struggles of the elite. It has remained loyal to the government regardless of the government's composition. As Mosel (1959:318) points out "since new regimes have not felt threatened by the civil service, they have not found it necessary to replace the bureaucracy in order to maintain loyalty".

The Thai bureaucracy must be considered as one of the most important institutions of Thai life. It provides a myriad of services, health, law, transportation, communication and the like, which if the services of the bureaucracy were withdrawn, would throw the nation into chaos. Siffin (1966:152) indicates the significance of the bureaucracy:

> .....the Thai nation has become integrated by a complex network of functional interdependences, and the bureaucracy is a necessary - if not always seemingly sufficient - means for the maintenance of society.

The Thai bureaucracy is a major subsystem of Thai society and as such reflects, supports and reinforces many of the social values and behaviours of Thai society. With the enhanced position of the bureaucracy in Thai society, bureaucratic values

are of extreme significance given that Thai society is a status society. Siffin (1966) suggests that there are at least four dominant social value orientations of the Thai bureaucracy. Firstly there is hierarchical status which he considers is inherently valued within the bureaucratic setting and the primacy of this value is indicated "by the fact that the bureaucratic system is to a considerable degree organised and operated to give meaning and support to status" (Siffin, 1966:161). Secondly there is personalism which refers to the reliance upon personal relationships as primary bases for behaviour within the system contrary to the more depersonalised behaviour in Weber's legal-rational bureaucratic system. For the Thai "membership in the bureaucracy is viewed and valued as a way of life, and is too meaningful to be subjected to formal rules and regulations" (Siffin, 1966:162). Thirdly, security is a basic value. It is the desire to preserve membership in the system. The significance of security is that the bureaucracy is a way of life and a source of status and that outside the bureaucracy there are few if any attractive alternatives. Fourthly, there is the abiding enjoyment of social pleasures (Sanuk) or simply fun where there is "the tendency to regard social and ceremonial activities as a legitimate dimension of the bureaucratic way of life, and the lack of appreciation shown to grim, earnest, manifestly serious, driving officials" (Siffin 1966:162).

He also contends that other value orientations are apparently non-existent in the Thai bureaucracy. These include "secular rationality and the related value of efficiency. Likewise,

functional performance, or persistent emphasis upon productivity, is not highly valued in the system" (Siffin, 1966:162). This contention ties in closely with Mosel's (1959:321) view that "work performance is more likely to be 'ego-oriented' than 'task oriented'".

Other bureaucratic values in the Thai bureaucracy have been suggested in Mosel's (1959) highly perceptive article on Thai administrative behaviour. They, more or less, support many of the postulates of Siffin. Firstly, in making decisions the Thai personality tends to be unconcerned with precedent and is likely to play situations "by ear" but structuring his behaviour within the limits of the superior-subordinate hierarchy. Secondly, official interactions are very personalised and informal organisation is elaborate so that the bureaucrat's behaviour, and other people's perception of it, is based more on his 'personalised' role than on his 'official' role. Thirdly, submission to higher rank and compliance with authority are not simply matters of regulation but rather expressions of respect for the dignity of rank. "Submission to higher rank is seen as natural and proper; it is a carry-over of habits acquired elsewhere in the Thai culture" (Mosel, 1959:322).

The emphasis on rank and status, the hierarchical nature of the bureaucracy, the general tendency of decisions being made at the top and transmitted downward together with the upward referral of decision-making by subordinates to

superiors have resulted in small reliance upon techniques of delegation.[1] Authority being personal means that no delegation is usually made to a subordinate of specific responsibility over a period of time. Siffin (1966) points out that instead specific orders or assignments are given to subordinates.

Mosel (1959, 1966) notes the tendency amongst administrators to place little reliance on planning in the implementation of decisions once they are made. He contends that planning requires some predictability which in the Thai administrator's perception is usually not present mainly because "unpredictability stems directly from the very loose role structure which characterises Thai society in general" (Mosel, 1966:196). Hence, as others are likely to be unpredictable, this is likely to encourage a low emphasis on detailed planning.

However instead of sound planning the Thai administrator becomes an uncannily good coper. He turns to very short-span planning involving trial and error to get the job done. Indeed

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1. The writer recounts the incident where he requested the Thai Liaison Officer to alter slightly the hired bus itinerary by a deviation of about one kilometre to make a one half hour stop. Even though the bus had been hired for the full day and the deviation did not actually involve additional distance, the bus driver required permission from the bus company. The writer assisted by the Thai Liaison Officer had to telephone through four levels of authority of the bus company to receive permission which was finally granted by the company manager. From the time of the first telephone call until the permission was granted was four hours. The western trained Thai Liaison Officer stated that such problems were routine.

Mosel (1966:177) gives praise to the Thai in that "Thai administrators are very good at coping. I sometimes think that they are better at coping than we are at planning".

Supervision and discipline are two facets of the bureaucracy which have direct influence upon behaviour within it. In the small group situation (with which this study is most concerned) a particular degree of personalism thrives, sometimes in ways different from the formal hierarchical structure. In Siffin's (1966:231) view "if there were to be an ideal type by which to assess Thai supervisors, it would be a wise, just, paternal, authoritarian official who does not lose his temper". He adds that the supervisor should be as clever as his subordinates, regarding them as individuals and he should never let productivity override his concern for their well-being. In terms of general situational leadership theory this implies that the ideal should be for a relationship oriented style rather than for a task-oriented style of leadership behaviour.

However Siffin (1966) contends that in practice the typical supervisor is authoritarian with the full force of superior hierarchical status supporting his position. If this is the case then in terms of leadership theory this implies a tendency towards a task-oriented style of leadership behaviour. What appears to be emerging from Siffin's observations, particularly in the small group situation, is a supervisor combining both task-oriented and relationship-oriented behaviour. However in situational leadership theory the true effectiveness of the leadership behaviour will in fact depend upon situational

variables and not in the adoption of one particular style of leadership behaviour.

It seems that the main purpose of Thai supervisors at the lower levels is to maintain the system to cope with immediate demands and to maintain routines rather than becoming systematically involved in establishing production objectives in a "rational" way. From a superior's viewpoint, the good supervisor "is one who can fulfill the expectations of his superiors with a minimum of trouble for them, and in a manner suitably expressive of his broad responsibility for deference and assistance" (Siffin, 1966:223).

The second of the two facets influencing behaviour is discipline described by Siffin (1966:223) as "a set of norms specifying behaviour, and the sanctions which are intended to enforce those rules". Although there are numerous civil service statutes outlining the disciplinary code, Siffin contends that the most commonly enforced norms are those prohibiting dishonesty, namely in relation to stealing government funds, certain aspects of exploitation of members of the public, and grossly improper conduct towards superiors. Again what the above supervisory and disciplinary norms emphasise is the hierarchical nature of the system and the wide-ranging obligations the subordinate has to the superior.

In a study of the behaviour of Thai supervisors at the middle-level of management in two ministries, Mosel (1965) found that subordinates were generally well satisfied with the

performance of the supervisor. The self-perceptions of administrators indicated their belief that their subordinates did not need very close supervision but that the best way to ensure good performance was to keep checking on subordinates until they did a good job.[1] They further believed that giving subordinates more information than they need spells trouble, and that they understood the problems of their subordinates reasonably well. One of the most interesting self-perceptions of the administrators concerned the appointment of new administrators - in this they considered that their duties should be re-adjusted to fit their abilities thus, in Mosel's view, showing specifically a person-centred or human relationship orientation.

When subordinates were asked to perceive the behaviour of their superiors, their perceptions agreed rather closely with the superiors' perceptions of themselves. "Qualities most frequently mentioned as the strong points in one's superior were his 'benevolence' and personal supportiveness" [Mosel, 1965:9].

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1. Assumedly Mosel differentiates between "very close supervision" and "continual checking". Although some may argue that little difference does in fact exist between the two forms of supervision, the writer holds the view that "very close supervision" involves almost continuous supervision of every facet of the assigned task, whereas "continual checking" involves periodic checking only.

Thailand, like other Southeast Asian countries is undergoing dramatic and far-reaching changes particularly in the expansion of compulsory education, increased urbanisation, the Westernisation of industry and management techniques, and the spread of communication media into remote areas. It is natural to think that such dramatic change will be reflected in the bureaucracy that will have to help provide different and additional services likely to be generated by the new demands. Hence it is relevant to examine what effects present day changes have had on the Thai bureaucracy.

Current change and the Thai bureaucracy

Major changes in Thai society over the past two decades have been mainly due to the attempts to modernise the nation generally, using many Western ideas and techniques. This is not to say that traditional customs and values are not being maintained but the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation are placing strains on their maintenance. For example some urban professional workers are beginning to neglect aspects of Buḍdhist ceremonials (Bunnag, 1973). On the socio-economic front there is increasing wealth being concentrated in Bangkok resulting in an even greater divergence between a powerful, rich, educated elite in Bangkok and the rural peasant (Girling, 1981). Thus, far from being able to develop a decentralised system of government, the forces of industrialisation and westernisation appear to be providing further bases for the strengthening of centralisation in Bangkok.

Girling (1981:102) points to one political consequence of modernisation as the reinforcement of the bureaucratic state having been achieved "partly through technocratic improvement and expansion of administrative capacities and partly through access of bureaucratic leaders to new sources of wealth (from business partners and from abroad)".

Part of the modernisation process has been the large numbers of administrators who have been sent to the West for further education. The U.S.A. has been the chief recipient of Thai students. As a result foreign degrees especially at masters and doctorate level have become some sort of status symbol and consequently highly valued. In his examination of promotion in the Thai bureaucracy Dhiravegan (1978:101) notes that "a foreign (notably Western) training is considered of better quality" and the (1978:104) "the elite status in the Thai bureaucracy is positively related with educational achievement and can be empirically substantiated". Evers and Silcock (1967:91) stated that:

> scholarships, the main avenue to foreign degrees, are, ... mostly controlled by the Civil Service Commission. Those best placed to receive a scholarship are either government employees themselves - one third of Thai students studying abroad in 1963 were in fact government officials taking leave of absence - or sons or daughters of civil servants .

What effect has Western education had on the Thai as an administrator? Again, the situation is difficult to assess. The more obvious effects would presumably be in the traditional Western bureaucratic values of rationality in decision making, impersonality of the office holder, and efficiency in production roughly along the lines of the Weberian model. But this has to be weighed against the traditional Thai values and the characteristics of the Thai bureaucracy previously stated. A strongly entrenched bureaucratic elite assumedly with an eye for career promotion seems unlikely to introduce too many Western administrative ideas especially where they may conflict with traditional Thai values. Indeed it is wise to heed Mosel (1959:323) in "that many of the difficulties in Thai administration can be remedied only by changes in the larger social and economic system in which administration is embedded" and that "to give young officials an overdose of 'rationality' and 'accountability' (à la West) might easily stimulate increased dissatisfaction with the standards of the higher officialdom".

Even in modern times the possible conflict between adopting Western administrative modes and behaviours as opposed to more traditional Thai modes, or even some modification of the latter, gives rise to interesting speculation if one takes note of Wichiarajote's (1982)

highly interesting and most perceptive theory of affiliative versus achieving societies.[1] For example, Wichiarajote (1982:16) considers that the outstanding characteristic of affiliative society is having respectful fear for seniority. The socialisation process inhibits behaviour so people behave very politely, gently and have respectful fear (Krengchai, Krengklua)[2] especially in the presence of superiors. This contrasts with the achieving society which is characterised by a high level of individuality and where relationships are based on reason and activity rather than on more personal attributes like affection.

As to rationality in planning and policy making which Wichiarajote asserts is of basic importance in a democratic society, Thailand, in his view, still lacks this trait mainly because there is a lack of research and because the education system does not encourage students to think critically.

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1. Affiliative society is the society in which people seek for social acceptance and human relationship as their primary goal of life. It is basically governed by the value of spiritualism in the context of traditional authoritarian culture. Achieving society refers to a society stressing an achievement value aiming for efficiency of work. Achievement motivation is uppermost in that individuals are eager to obtain results and solve problems themselves. At present, Thai culture and society are located somewhere between these two extremities (Wichiarajote, 1982:6).

2. Krengklua and Krengchai have already been discussed on page 128 of this study.

Further, he contends that in Thai society there is a lack of self-discipline that sets it apart from the more highly disciplined achieving society of the West. Within the group-work situation Wichiarajote (1982:19) describes the Thai system as being one where the leader decides the work, generally plans it himself and issues assignments to subordinates as opposed to the more broadly based system of the democratic society where there is shared planning, participative decision-making and work assigned according to ability and responsibility.[1]

Wichiarajote himself states that he is only attempting an explanation of the trends of socio-cultural development and indeed would not wish to see Thai society develop from a spiritual-oriented culture into a materialistic-oriented culture. Rather his wish is:

> ...to achieve the equilibrium between spiritualism and materialism with peace of mind as the final goal of life. This ideal goal of balanced development is essentially a synthesis between ideal elements of Affiliative Society and Achieving Society (Wichiarajote, 1982:28).

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1. Wichiarajote may have taken "ideal" stances for both the affiliative and achieving societies. There are many examples in Thailand and the West which defy at least some of the characteristics of the group-work situations stated above. Conventional wisdom and experience, however, suggest that the general thrust of his argument is true.

Whether such an idealistic balance can be achieved in a country that is rapidly developing industrially, becoming more urbanised and adapting many Western industrial techniques and administrative procedures is problematical. The uncanny ability of the Thai to borrow foreign practices, adapt them as required and blend them into the Thai culture may be a more difficult exercise in the face of highly technical development and an all-engulfing communications explosion.

Before proceeding to explain the position of the teachers' college in the Thai education system and more particularly the place of the academic department head in the college it is pertinent to summarise the characteristics of Thai administration and administrative behaviour identified in this chapter. In most cases the behaviours revealed have not been the subject of systematic empirical research and hence must be regarded with some caution. However reasonable weight must be given to the statements made as they have been the results of observations and experiences of reputable scholars of Thailand over at least four decades. Such scholars and writers as Embree (1950), Mosel (1959, 1966), Riggs (1966), Siffin (1966), Evers and Silcock (1967), Bunnag (1973), Neher (1975), Dhiravegan (1978), Punyagupta (1979), Girling (1981) and Wichiarajote (1982) have all attested in one way or another to the general trends of the Thai administration and associated behaviours summarised below.

Whilst it is acknowledged that such observations may not necessarily carry the same weight of evidence as empirical research the combined wisdom and long experience of these scholars and writers must be heeded. On a much lesser scale most of these trends revealed are compatible with the writer's much briefer experience and observations.

Summary of characteristics of Thai administration and administrative behaviours of Thai administrators

As the characteristics of any administrative system, itself a part of a larger societal system, help influence and mould the administrative behaviours of its members and as these behaviours in turn reflect, maintain, but sometimes modify, the characteristics of the administrative system it is difficult to separate the two, that is the administrative system and administrative behaviours, into an appropriately discrete categorisation. Hence this summary will reflect a combination of the administrative system and administrative behaviours.

Against the background of a Thai society that places great value on status, deference to authority, the pervasive influence of Buddhism and extreme reverence for the monarchy, and, a functional bureaucracy that reflects, inter alia, these values in its strongly and traditionally entrenched hierarchy the following behaviours and characteristics are postulated:

a. Decision-making: generally decisions are made by leaders at various levels of management with relatively little real participation and feedback from subordinates. Major problems that require decisions are moved upwards, usually being referred to Bangkok for solution.

b. Devolution of 'real' power: in keeping with the strongly hierarchical nature of the bureaucracy, and the upward movement of problems, there is little devolution of power even at provincial level. This is closely allied to the very limited delegation of authority and responsibility among lower echelons of the bureaucracy.

c. Hierarchical status inherently valued: many actions of individuals are conditioned for the purpose of improving personal status and acknowledging the status of superiors.

d. Reliance upon personal relationships in the system as against the more depersonalised relationships in Weberian bureaucracy. The greater likelihood exists that decisions may be made on an ad hoc basis and situations played 'by ear'. There appears to be a substantial degree of tolerance of subordinates' behaviour by superiors as membership of the bureaucracy is seen and valued as a way of life.

e. The patron-client system strongly reinforces subordinates' deference to superiors which is reflected in the appropriate respectful behaviours (Krengchai, Krengklua).

Such behaviours tend to limit critical comment by subordinates of superiors' decisions etc.

f. Emphasis on written reports, submissions: there is evidence to suggest that the large number of reports required and extensive paper work at all levels of the bureaucracy tend to delay administrative decisions and clog up administrative channels. This is closely bound up with the decision-making process continually being moved up the line, and is in keeping with all highly centralised bureaucracies.

g. The bureaucracy tends to be an ego-centred rather than a task-centred system. There appears to be much greater emphasis placed on human relationships than on productivity or task-completion.

h. Coping as opposed to planning: there appears the tendency not to plan in reasonable detail ways of implementing decisions made but rather to rely on ad hoc coping procedures. However the Thais seem to cope quickly and well.

i. Supervision is carried out in a rather authoritarian and paternal fashion with the full force of superior hierarchical status supporting the supervision though concern for subordinates' well-being is strong.

j. Self-discipline of individuals not generally regarded as being as strong as in many Western nations. This may be due to the tendency of Thais to be fiercely individual in much of their daily behaviour .

k. Western education highly valued by Thai administrators. It has been viewed as one stepping stone to promotion. Whether it has affected basic philosophies of administrative techniques is not clearly evident.

l. Rationality in long-term and middle-term planning is still lacking in Thai administration.

m. Modernisation processes in Thailand are thought to be reinforcing centralisation of bureaucracy in Bangkok.

Thai education in brief

Educational administration. The Thai educational administration system is organised in accordance with the national administration system, that is on three levels, central, provincial and local level. Responsibility for the administration of education is divided among four ministries: the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of University Affairs. The Office of the Prime Minister can be said to be responsible for overall planning, financial and staffing aspects of the whole educational system whilst the

Ministry of Interior is responsible for primary education in municipal areas; the Ministry of Education for most of the educational system ranging from pre-primary education to colleges (including teachers' colleges) at the higher education level and the Ministry of University Affairs[1] is in charge of education at universities and special colleges. In the above organisation there is some overlapping of authority. Figure 15 shows the administrative structure of education involving the four ministries mentioned above. Government control of the system is strongly centralised, and although there have been some efforts at decentralisation of administrative duties, the Ministry of Education is still responsible for curriculum, text-books, setting of examinations and accreditation.

As the Ministry of Education is the one mainly responsible for teachers' colleges it will be discussed in more detail. Though the other ministries have major responsibilities in education their workings are not particularly relevant to this study.

The Ministry of Education is responsible for all types of education, arts, culture and religious affairs. It is concerned also with curriculum below the university level. The administration of teaching personnel and certain categories of educational administrators come under the aegis of the Teacher

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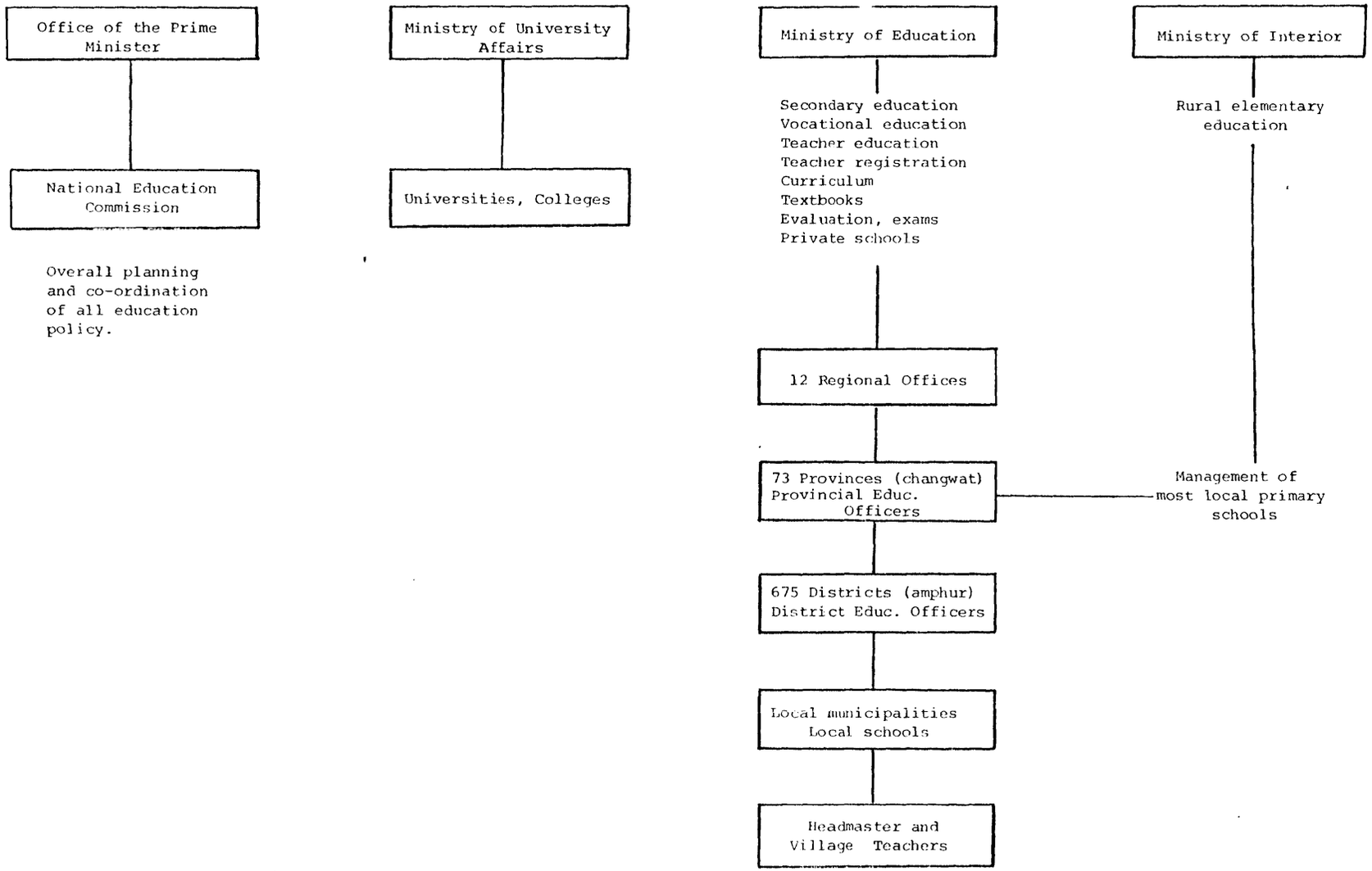
1. Whilst teachers' colleges and universities form part of the higher education level there is little doubt amongst Thai educators themselves that the universities enjoy a far higher status than do teachers' colleges. The fact that there is a special Ministry for Universities probably highlights this notion.

Figure 15

Organisational Structure of Thai Education



Civil Service Commission which itself is under the Ministry's jurisdiction.

There are fourteen departments under the Ministry's jurisdiction, each of which has its own specialised functions (Figure 16). The office of the Permanent Secretary is the central co-ordinating agency of the Ministry. Besides these fourteen departments, the central administration of education also includes twelve educational regions which have been set up for the purpose of improving rural education and adapting education more closely to the differing needs of the various regions.

Within the framework of the local administration of education the provincial educational office[1] is expected to comply with the assigned roles and functions in providing educational services as well as co-operating with other agencies at provincial level in aiding rural development. The head of the provincial education office is the provincial education officer appointed and assigned by the Ministry of Education.

The Department of Teacher Education. One of the fourteen departments under the Ministry of Education is the Department of Teacher Education which is currently responsible for the direct administrative control of thirty six teachers' colleges throughout the country[2]. Within the Department of Teacher

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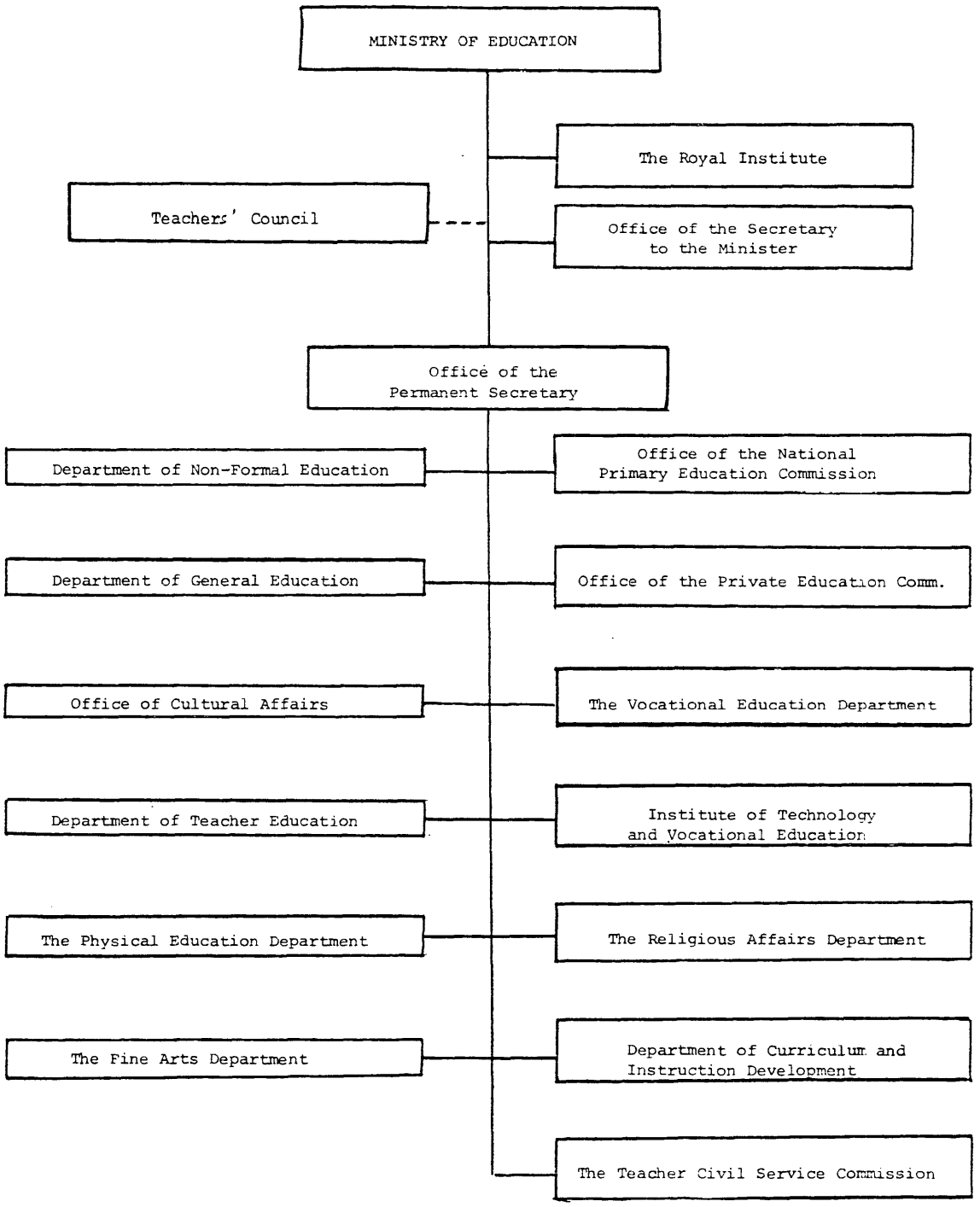
1. Provincial government structure has been previously discussed on page 145 of this study. Note that assigned roles are most usually designated from Central Ministry at Bangkok.
2. Six teachers' colleges are located in Bangkok and the remaining thirty are situated in the provinces so that there is at least one teachers' college for every two adjacent provinces.

Figure 16

Organisational Structure of the Thai

Ministry of Education

(from Thai Education in Brief 1982:29)

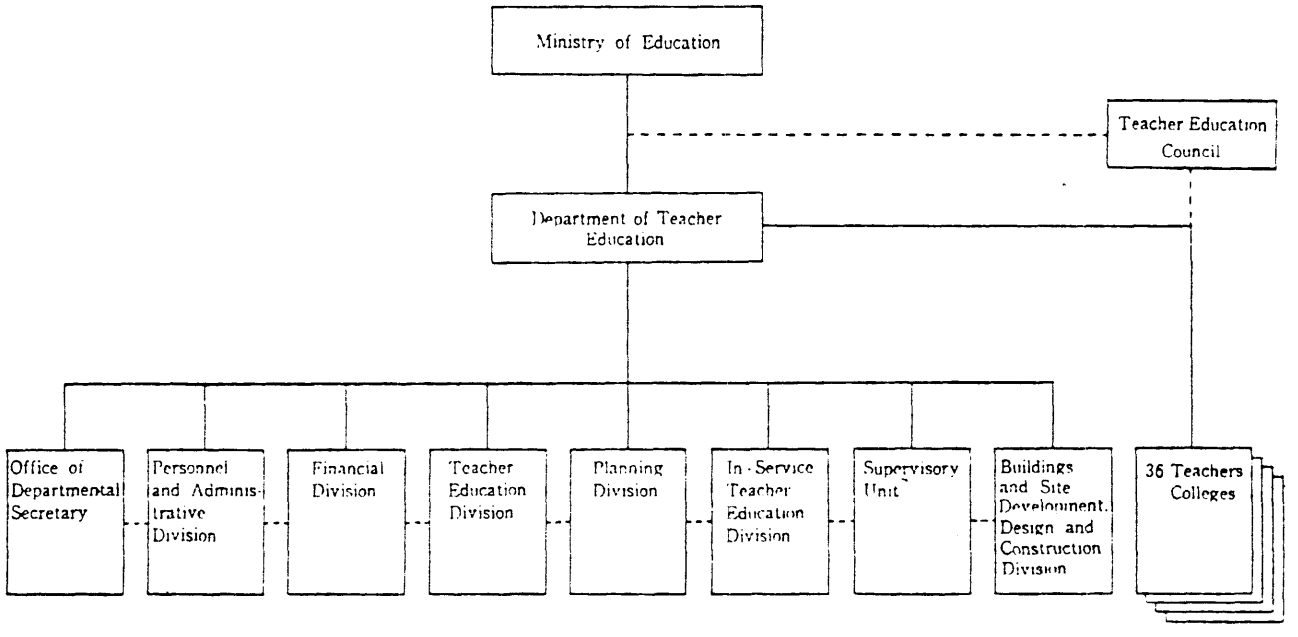


Education there are eight divisions all of which are located in Bangkok illustrating the highly centralised organisation of the Department. Figure 17 shows the administrative organisation of the Department of Teacher Education.

Figure 17

Organisational Structure of the Thai Department of Teacher Education

(from An Introduction to the Department of Teacher Education 1980:17)



Unlike most Western tertiary institutions which are responsible for producing their own individual institutional curriculum, the curriculum for all Thai teachers' colleges is produced centrally though it has the professional assistance of teacher educators. The curriculum is detailed and includes structure and rationale for the general subject areas covered. Hours of tuition and credit allowances are laid down. The curriculum aims "at producing prospective teachers with sufficient knowledge, ability, attitudes and skills to take roles that fit them into their social and economic surroundings, and to help them develop themselves and others from within the limits of their own country situations for a better society" (Curriculum 1976:1).

The Teacher Education Council of the Ministry of Education has the authority and the responsibility for the general management of teachers' colleges. Its tasks are to:

a. issue regulations for teachers' colleges;
b. stipulate qualifications and prerequisites for applicants wishing to enter teachers' colleges;
c. approve curricula, the granting of degrees, diplomas and certificates;
d. review the establishment, amalgamation and dissolution of faculties and departments;
e. review the establishment of teachers' colleges and the upgrading of teacher education institutions; and,
f. review appointments, transfers, removals of Rectors, Deputy Rectors and other senior teachers' college personnel.

The teachers' colleges. These colleges are bound by the Teachers' College Act of 1975 which defines teachers' colleges as institutes for education and research the objectives of which are to provide education, produce teachers to bachelor degree level, promote the professional and academic status of teachers and educational administrators, and support cultural and academic activities within the local community.[1]

The colleges are governmental entities within the Department of Teacher Education of the Ministry of Education and have the following official bodies: The Rector's[2] office and Academic Faculties. The rector of a college has responsibility for the general management of that college, and may have one or more deputy rectors who are responsible for tasks assigned by the rector. The rector is appointed by the king on advice from the Teacher Education Council usually for a period of four years but further periods of appointment may be made.

Each college has a Teachers' College Committee or Council consisting of:

a. A chairman (the college rector);

b. a deputy chairman (one of the college deputy rectors);

c. Elected committee members from staff within the college, and from persons outside the college.

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1. Source of statement - An Introduction to the Department of Teacher Education produced by the Department's Planning Division, 1980:33.

2. Sometimes referred to as College Principal or President.

This committee's tasks are to:-

a. set out regulations of the college for the approval of the Teacher Education Council of the Ministry of Education;

b. review curriculum matters and present such review to the above Council;

c. advise the college rector;

d. prepare the college budget to be presented to the Department of Teacher Education for approval by the Council; and,

e. prepare reports of work progress and yearly accounts.

The general structures of the teachers' college committee, the Teacher Education Council of the Ministry of Education and the Department of Teacher Education and the channels through which formal administrative needs are met, further emphasise the strict hierarchical nature of the bureaucratic process, related to teachers' college administration. Individual college autonomy as widely practised in most Western countries does not occur in Thailand.

Organisational structure within a Thai teachers' college. A typical administrative organisation[1] of a teachers' college is shown in Appendix B. Figure 18 shows the outline

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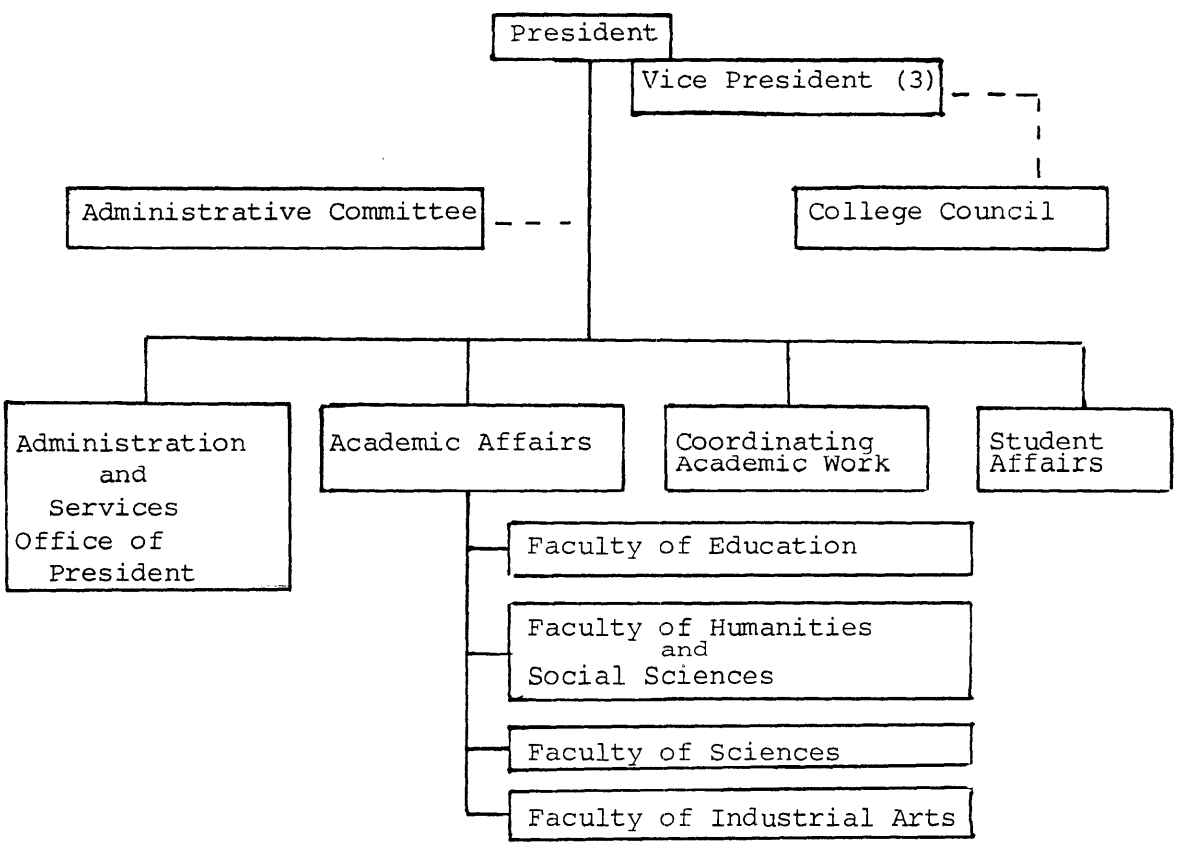
1. A detailed explanation of all functions of College administration is not relevant to this study. However the academic faculty and department structure are relevant as the academic department head is the major focus of this study.

administrative organisation of a college and more particularly the structure as related to academic departments.

Figure 18

Outline Organisation of a Typical Thai Teachers' College[1]



In the organisation shown (Figure 18) there are four faculties which comprise thirty academic departments all under the aegis of a Deputy Rector responsible for academic affairs. The Faculty of Education, for example,

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1. There are of course differences in organisations between colleges but in general this is a reasonably typical example. However not all colleges have a faculty of Industrial Arts.

contains five departments such as Foundations of Education, Curriculum and Instruction, Psychology and Guidance, Educational Technology and Testing and Research. Likewise other departments specifically related to a subject discipline form part of the other faculties.

The academic department head. Each academic department is headed by a staff member elected by the members of that department, in theory, for a period of four years but in practice the period varies considerably because of local factors. For example the writer has known some department heads to have retained the position for less than one year. Whilst the position of department head is a designated and authorised position on the teachers' college staff establishment it is not part of the external hierarchical civil service of the Ministry of Education or Teacher Education Department. It remains solely as part of the internal organisational structure of the college and is filled from within college staff.

In general the department head is expected to exercise leadership within the department and carry out the policies laid down by the College Rector and the Head of the appropriate faculty. Colleges, through promulgations, tradition, and long standing practices, have assigned various administrative tasks to department heads. Observations by the writer over a period of six years of Thai department heads suggests that individual heads have distinctive sets of interests, orientations, expectations, obligations and styles of leadership behaviour, all contributing to differing approaches to their departmental management and administration. Hence this

study concerns the human dynamics of administration - leadership behaviour in a particular situational context of an academic department head in selected single-purpose Thai teachers' colleges. As Hannah (1979:15) so pointedly remarks:

> There is a dearth of understanding and study about the behaviours and influence of people in education administration. Proper administration requires an understanding and appreciation of how people working in a system react to various administrative patterns.

More particularly Hannah poses questions as to what is the best and most productive managerial approach; how do people in tertiary institutions behave in terms of different administrative perspectives? What attitudes should be fostered among administrators to effect a better educational environment and what competencies are required of them?

This study represents one small attempt to help remedy this dearth of empirical study about the behaviours of people in educational administration by examining the leadership behaviour of Thais at the middle-to-low level of management as depicted by the academic head in Thai teachers' colleges.

Against a background of Thai culture with its particular social values, its strongly entrenched Buddhist religion, its traditionally hierarchical bureaucracy, together with a variety of postulated administrative behaviours derived from this background and using Situational Leadership Theory as a basic framework, the researcher in the next chapter poses a series of questions about the leadership behaviour of academic department heads in selected Thai teachers' colleges. From the questions posed nine hypotheses are formulated.

CHAPTER 6

QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

This research is concerned with the study of leadership behaviour, particularly leadership styles, of academic department heads of government teachers' colleges in Thailand, using as a general theoretical framework the Situational Leadership Theory of Hersey and Blanchard (1977). The study aims to survey leadership styles and in no way purports to be a diagnostic - remedial type programme. The study further attempts to explain the perceptions of leadership styles of department heads as perceived on the LEAD - Self and LEAD - Other instruments against the background of Thai culture and custom.

In more specific terms the study aims to measure three aspects of leadership behaviour in accordance with Situational Leadership Theory:

1. leadership style;
2. style range; and,
3. style adaptability

as perceived by the academic department heads themselves (self - perceptions - LEAD - Self) and as perceived by subordinates (staff members) of their respective departments (perceptions by others - LEAD - Other). Furthermore, through questionnaires, observations, personal interviews and discussions it is hoped to offer explanations, either causal or corroborative, of the above perceptions of leadership behaviour.

Particular questions and hypotheses the research attempts to answer and test respectively are set out below:

Question 1. What, if any, are the formally promulgated leadership tasks of academic department heads in Thai teachers' colleges? The purpose of this question is threefold; firstly to add a further dimension to the understanding of the background of this study; secondly to ascertain whether leadership tasks are indeed formally promulgated within the colleges; and thirdly, if so promulgated, to collate the leadership tasks. Before investigating leadership style, style range and adaptability it is essential to ascertain the tasks the teachers' colleges expect their department heads to undertake. Quite obviously any formal lists of duties will have specific influence on leadership behaviour. Furthermore, the interpretations individual department heads place on the formally listed duties will usually differ, and, also affect their behaviour. In like manner, the informal organisation of a college, and more especially within any academic department, will add further dimensions to the roles department heads play and to the behaviours expected of those roles. It is of course possible that investigation will reveal no formally promulgated leadership tasks and if that be the case then the next question is highly pertinent.

Question 2. What, in the absence of formally promulgated leadership tasks, are the expected and customary tasks of the academic department heads in Thai teachers' colleges? In the absence of formally promulgated tasks, the role expectations and associated tasks of individuals in designated leadership positions are usually determined by the history and tradition of the particular organisation, by custom and common practice. Over a period of time an organisation becomes characterised by particular modes of behaviour and by the expectations

of certain behaviours members have of each other. This latter notion also applies to the leadership situation where subordinates have certain role expectations of leaders and vice versa. Where no formally designated leadership tasks exist for academic department heads in Thai teachers' colleges, it will be necessary to ascertain the leadership tasks tradition, custom and practice expect them to perform. It may well be that different colleges have different task expectations.

Question 3. What are the actual leadership tasks academic department heads are undertaking? This question is closely linked with the two questions above. Even though formally promulgated leadership tasks may exist this does not necessarily mean that individual leaders comply with all or any of them. Indeed it is likely that some particular leaders will modify certain tasks to suit their own individual personality or life style, or in the extreme situation completely change the tasks if they disagree with them. There is an infinite number of reasons to account for leaders either ignoring, modifying or completely changing formally designated tasks. Even some of the leadership tasks, customarily expected of leaders may suffer similar fates so that, in some instances, the actual leadership tasks performed,may not be those formally stated or traditionally derived. It is quite feasible then to witness all three, or, variously and severally, parts of all three categories, formal, traditional and actual leadership tasks, over any given period of time.

Question 4. How are academic department heads appointed; for example, by seniority of service, by academic qualifications,by administrative qualifications, by popular vote or by other means? This is a very

straightforward question to ascertain how academic department heads are appointed, for the method of appointment may have an effect upon subordinates' perceptions and expectations of their academic head. For example a head may be appointed because of great expertise in the subject discipline of the department and thus may derive his power of authority, in part at least, from such expertise. Such appointment will no doubt influence the subordinates' perception of this head in relation to this expertise. Or if appointed solely on seniority or length of service and with, say little administrative ability, a different set of subordinates' perceptions is likely to be present. In other words it can be argued that the method of appointment coupled with the particular qualifications of the appointee can influence leader-subordinate situations and thus affect leadership behaviour.

Question 5. What is the general maturity level of individuals or groups of individuals in each academic department? This question is concerned with two characteristics of the members of the academic departments: firstly, their job maturity, that is their qualifications, ability and technical skill to do their jobs; and, secondly, their psychological maturity, that is their feelings of self-confidence, self-respect and willingness to take responsibility. Task maturity is thus seen as a dual factor concept - willingness (motivation) and ability (competence). In specific terms the data from this question should reveal whether individuals (or groups of individuals) are:

(a) not willing or able to carry out allotted tasks (low maturity level);

(b) willing, but not able to carry out allotted tasks (moderate maturity level);

(c) able, but not willing to carry out allotted tasks (moderate maturity level); and,

(d) willing and able to carry out allotted tasks (high maturity level).

In previous studies the attempts to measure maturity of members by the use of the Maturity Scale (Hersey et al., 1977) and Maturity Style Match (Hambleton et al., 1979) instruments have been fraught with problems.[1]

The findings from the 1980 Thai pilot study with regards to measurement of maturity level of staff members presented even greater difficulties and finally it had to be resolved by a series of estimations from department heads, staff members themselves and from the researcher. These estimations indicated maturity rankings from

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1. This is not to denigrate these two instruments in any way. In the 1979 Sydney study at a college of advanced education the subjects generally felt that the instruments relied too much on hypothetical statements of major objectives and criticised the possibilities of inadequate recall of past interactions with members or with their own past performances. They preferred personal interviews and specific questions which they considered gave more reliable data. The situation in Thailand proved infinitely more difficult in the 1980 pilot study where subjects found problems stating required objectives and recalling past performances. The researcher was advised by the Thai liaison persons to try to gauge maturity through more simple questionnaires, discussions and observations. There is little doubt that this represented one of the most problematical areas of research method, data collection and analysis.

moderately high (M3) to high (M4).[1] These tentative results were based, inter alia, on the following data:

(a) job-maturity: individual members had "good" teaching records; sound experience in teaching in schools or other institutions; and, above average academic qualifications; and,

(b) psychological maturity: members in the main expressed their willingness to attempt allocated tasks and confidence in themselves. Not one member felt that he could not carry out satisfactorily his designated duties as a member of his relevant department.

Personal observation of some of the department members where this was possible by the writer and working with some members certainly revealed

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1. Of the 47 subordinate members participating, the researcher considered that 40 could reasonably be categorised as moderately high to high in maturity level. Two of the remaining 7 were not able to be ranked and 4 were considered as low because they were new to the job.

the general feeling that individuals had a quiet and unassuming confidence in their own abilities.

Though the evidence is very limited and the data gathering procedures not as well controlled and systematic as one would prefer the following hypothesis is posited in respect of subordinates' maturity levels:

Hypothesis 1

> That in terms of Situational Leadership Theory the maturity level of subordinates in academic departments of Thai teachers' colleges will range from moderately high (M3) to high (M4) in respect of their normally allocated duties as lecturers in their appropriate subject disciplines.

Question 6. How do academic department heads in Thai teachers' colleges perceive their own leadership behaviour in respect of:

a. leadership style;

b. style range; and

c. style adaptability

in terms of Situational Leadership Theory? In terms of the previously discussed theoretical concepts of

Situational Leadership Theory, each department head will exhibit in a given situation a leadership style which is bound up with task behaviour, relationship behaviour and the level of task maturity of the department head's subordinates (refer Figure 8). This question specifically examines the perceptions that the department heads have of their own leadership behaviour (self-perceptions) in respect of a number of given situations using the LEAD - Self instrument.

Whilst there appears to be a general dearth of studies in leadership behaviour at the middle-to-lower management level in Thai education institutions, the pilot study carried out by the writer in Thailand in 1980 indicated very clearly that the basic leadership style most frequently perceived as being used by academic department heads themselves (self-perceptions only) was that designated as participating (Style 3 - high relationship/low task).[1] This style emphasises the leader's "participating" role, with the leader and his staff members sharing the decision-making

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1. The definitions of leadership styles and the various designations, for example, Style 2, Style 3 have already been explained in Chapter 3 of this study which deals with the theoretical framework of Situational Leadership Theory.

process through two-way communication. Furthermore, there is much facilitating behaviour from the leader since he considers his staff members to have the ability and knowledge to do the task.

The self-perceptions of the academic heads also strongly indicated that their supporting leadership style was that described as selling (Style 2 - high task/high relationship) because most of the direction is provided by the leader who attempts through two-way communication and socio-emotional support to get subordinates psychologically to involve themselves in decision making. Noticeably lacking in the self-perceptions was the use of the delegating style (Style 4 - low relationship/low task) which broadly supports the postulated administrative behaviour of Thais in that delegation of authority is not widely practised.

The two major leadership styles presented above suggest that in the case of Style 3, the leadership style matched the observed moderately high maturity level of the majority of department members and hence the participating style was most appropriate and could be termed a "high probability style match". On the other hand Style 2, in theory more appropriately matched to a moderately low maturity level (M2) was generally inappropriate as virtually no department members were considered by the writer to fall into this category and could thus be described as "over leadership".

Furthermore the lack of Style 4 - delegating behaviour - indicated a major mismatch of maturity level and appropriate leadership behaviour as it would be considered that a high maturity level amongst members would lead to heads delegating much authority and responsibility to subordinates. Of course the possibility exists that the heads of departments themselves do not perceive their subordinates as having, in general, maturity levels other than from low to moderately high (M1 to M3) and hence their leadership styles as shown in the pilot study would be considered generally appropriate.

However no department heads in replying to a questionnaire and in discussion either before or after the administration of the LEAD instruments conceded a low maturity level amongst respective departments. Certainly different viewpoints emerged but the general consensus was the the teachers' college members were capable of doing their jobs and were highly co-operative. Perhaps the most feasible explanation of some mismatch between appropriate leadership behaviours and subordinates' maturity level is the apparent widespread reluctance amongst Thai administrators to delegate real responsibility and authority to subordinates even where

the subordinates may be both competent and willing to undertake any given responsibilities or authority.

The findings also emphasised the strong reliance upon personal relationships between the leader and his subordinates in the small-group atmosphere of the academic departments; an emphasis supported by the writer's previously postulated behaviour of personalism and human relationship-orientations[1] in the Thai bureaucracy. At some variance, however, with the postulated behaviours is that the leaders perceived themselves as sharing decision-making with their members whereas the postulated view was that decisions are usually made by a leader with relatively little feedback from subordinates. What may help account for this variance is the generally intimate, friendly and personal atmosphere that seemed to pervade the small-group situation of academic departments and the fact that individual group members usually had approximately similar academic qualifications and work experience. Thus the more friendly nature of the situation may have contributed to the sharing of decision-making between staff members and department heads.

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1. Refers to the administrative behaviours postulated previously on pp. 162-165 of this study.

On the weight of the evidence so far presented, and, accepting its considerable limitations, it is considered that Thai academic department heads are likely to perceive themselves in leadership situations in which they are:

(a) more involved in maintaining good personal relations with individual members than in setting detailed tasks. The emphasis is on behaviour that is more personally-oriented than task-oriented;

(b) generally supportive and aware of the concerns of subordinates;

(c) interested in involving the subordinates in the decision-making process though this does not necessarily imply that the decisions will be implemented in the way the subordinates would wish;

(d) unlikely to delegate major responsibilities to individual staff members; and,

(e) likely to assume that their subordinates are competent and willing to undertake assigned tasks. In other words they consider that their subordinates possess a moderately high to high level of task-maturity.

On these bases, slightly greater emphasis is placed on Style 3 rather than on Style 2.

On these assumptions the following hypothesis is postulated:

Hypothesis 2

Combined basic and supporting leadership styles of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges, as perceived by themselves (self-perception), and as measured on the LEAD-Self instrument, will be mainly Style 3 (participating-high relationship/low task) and/or Style 2 (selling-high task/high relationship).

If this is in fact the case, then it is obvious that the style range of the heads of departments will be restricted to two styles only of the possible four. Hence the following hypothesis is a necessary corollary of Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 3

Style range of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges, as perceived by themselves (self-perception), and as measured on the LEAD-Self instrument, will be narrow, being confined in most situations to Style 3 (participating-high relationship/low task) and/or Style 2 (selling-high task/high relationship).

Nor can the third aspect, style adaptability, be divorced from these two previous hypotheses. It is obvious that, if a department head perceives his own leadership style in terms of Styles 3 and 2 only in all leadership situations as defined by the LEAD-Self instrument, then his leadership effectiveness, in terms of Situational Leadership Theory, will not be as effective as in those designated situations where Styles 1 and 2 are considered most appropriate. It can be argued that a department head has developed over a long period of time a particular leadership style or styles[1], as posited in this study participating (Style 3) and selling (Style 2), and consciously or unconsciously, adopts it in every situation, whether it be considered effective or otherwise. Hence it is likely that the department head will not readily perceive for himself the most effective leader behaviour in each of the twelve situations posed in the LEAD-Self instrument. In other words he may try to use his restricted leadership style range as a means of solving each of the twelve

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1. This refers only to self-perceived styles. It may be that the leadership styles the head considers that he uses mostly and that he thinks he has developed over a period may not be the styles that his subordinates would consider he uses.

leadership problem situations depicted in the LEAD-Self instrument. Assuming that he adopts only Styles 2 or 3 (or some combination of these) in all twelve situations, he could, in fact score "correctly" (most appropriate style) in the three situations where Style 2 is most appropriate and in the three situations where Style 3 is most appropriate. Although this is theoretically possible it is indeed most improbable.

One note of caution should be injected at this stage and that is, in terms of the LEAD instruments, perhaps the least significant of the data is the total effectiveness score along the third dimension (refer Figure 7, p.80). The reason is that there is not necessarily any correlation between the scores obtained on the effectiveness dimension, and the effectiveness of a leader in terms of his current working position. What has been posited in this study is that the department head is actually working with experienced department members who enjoy a suggested level of task-maturity ranging from moderately high to high, that is, on two possible levels only, yet the LEAD instruments are designed to permit respondents opportunities to make decisions in designated leadership situations on all levels of task-maturity.

It has been found by the researcher in his previous studies that there is more value in examining leaders' responses to each of the twelve situations to see whether the questions in which leaders choose the most appropriate answers are clustered, or whether the questions in which the most inappropriate answers were given, also clustered. Such examination affords insight into those areas where leaders tend to be naturally effective

and into those areas where more appropriate leadership behaviour is needed.

Keeping in mind firstly the note of caution about effectiveness scores, secondly the hypothesised use of two leadership styles only by department heads and thirdly their virtual non-use of the delegating (Style 4) and the telling (Style 1) leadership behaviour styles, but referring specifically to the style adaptability score as measured from the responses to the twelve situations (LEAD - Self), it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 4.

> Style adaptability of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges, as perceived by themselves (self-perception), and as measured on the LEAD - Self, and Tri-Dimensional Leader Effectiveness Model, will result in low effectiveness scores.

Question 7. How do academic department members perceive the leadership behaviour of their own department head in respect of:

a. leadership style;

b. style range; and,

c. style adaptability in terms of Situational Leadership Theory?

This question is concerned with how the lecturer members (subordinates) of a department perceive the leader behaviour of their department head or, how they think he would behave, in a number of given leadership situations. The twelve situations stated are exactly the same as those used in the LEAD - Self instrument and hence offer a comparison between how the department head perceives his own leader behaviour and how his subordinates see it in these situations. The theoretical concepts of this perception by others of a leader's behaviour are those of

Situational Leadership Theory, as discussed in Chapter 3, and above. in relation to Question 6 and Hypotheses 2,3, and 4.

As in Hypotheses 2, 3 and 4 above, there is no direct Thai empirical evidence as to how subordinates in a tertiary academic department depict their head's leadership behaviour. The minor exception to this is the writer's pilot study in Pranakorn and Nakorn Pathom Teachers' Colleges in 1980 in which there was a strong trend to Style 2 (selling) as being the basic style of leadership behaviour of department heads as perceived by their subordinate staff members. However, there was also strong support for Style 3 (participating). In the main, Styles 1 (telling) and 4 (delegating) although perceived by some as being used at times by department heads were generally considered to rate lowly. With little or no empirical evidence known to the researcher, it is therefore necessary to fall back on the researcher's observations of members of departments and on the types of administrative behaviour of Thais postulated previously in this study.[1] Observations, though limited in scope, and informal and formal discussions with some department members suggest the majority of members as being supportive of their department heads. No precise reasons are offered for this behaviour but the Thai penchant for maintaining pleasant relations, the relationship-centred orientations of Thai administrative systems, and the generally informal atmosphere of small-group situations together with the appropriately respectful behaviours of subordinates

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1. Refer to pp. 162-165 of this study.

to leaders (krengchai) must be considered as contributing factors. Furthermore the lack of a delegating style of behaviour both in the pilot study and supported by the previous postulation on Thai administrative behaviour would appear to add a limitation to the styles of leadership behaviour subordinates attribute to their heads.

In general, with what little evidence is available and on the bases of observations and postulated Thai behaviours in administrative systems, the researcher assumes that, for the most part, subordinate members would perceive their department heads' leadership behaviour as being characterised by their giving clear directions yet working through two-way communication, some sharing of decision-making with subordinates, and generally showing concern for individuals' work problems. These leadership styles could thus be described as selling (Style 2) and participating (Style 3). On the bases of the stronger trend towards Style 2 in the pilot study and the lesser trend towards Style 3, the following hypothesis is formulated:

Hypothesis 5.

> Combined basic and supporting leadership styles of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges, as perceived by their subordinate (staff members), and as measured on the LEAD - Other instrument, will be mainly Style 2 (selling - high task/high relationship) and/or to a lesser degree Style 3 (participating - high relationship/low task).

If, indeed, the members of each department perceive these two

leadership styles only of their department heads, it follows, as a corollary, that the style range of the department heads will be restricted to one or possibly two leadership styles of the four possible styles indicated by Situational Leadership Theory. Hence it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 6.

> Style range of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges, as perceived by their subordinates (staff members), and as measured on the LEAD - Other instrument, will be narrow, being confined in most situations to Style 2 (selling - high task/high relationship) and to a lesser degree Style 3 (participating - high relationship/low task).

All the previously stated hypotheses, that is numbers 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, indicate the researcher's contention that leadership style and style range of department heads, either self-perceived or perceived by their subordinates, will be limited to two styles namely Styles 2 and 3. The rationale and assumptions for these contentions have also been offered. This would mean that, in similar vein to the restricted style adaptability from the self-perceptions of the department heads themselves, staff members of the department would perceive, at least on the LEAD - Other instrument, a number of the twelve designated situations where ineffective or inappropriate behaviour would be utilised by their head. If hypotheses 5 and 6 are proved, then it is likely that at least six of the twelve

situations where leadership Styles 1 and 4 would be the most appropriate behaviour, will be perceived by the staff members as requiring Styles 2 and/or 3. According to Situational Leadership Theory and taking into account the assumed maturity level of the staff these latter two styles would thus not be appropriate. Hence the posited habitual leadership Styles 2 and 3, of department heads, as perceived by their subordinates, used in all twelve situations of the LEAD - Other instrument, would indicate a proportion of ineffective or inappropriate leadership behaviour according to Situational Leadership Theory.[1] Thus it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 7.

> Style adaptability of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges, as perceived by their subordinates (staff members), and as measured on the LEAD - Other instrument, and Tri-Dimensional Leader Effectiveness Model, will result in low effectiveness scores.

Question 8. How does the leadership behaviour of an academic department head in a Thai teachers' college, as self-perceived, compare with the academic department head's leadership behaviour as perceived by his department members with particular reference to compatibility and incompatibility in:

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1. The lesser significance of the total effectiveness score on the Tri-Dimensional Leader Effectiveness Model in relationship to a leader's actual daily work situation has previously been discussed on p.191 of this study.

a. leadership style;

b. style range; and

c. style adaptability?

If the previous six hypotheses are proved true, then on the bases of Situational Leadership Theory and on the measures obtained from the LEAD - Self and the LEAD - Other instruments together with the effectiveness scores from the Tri-Dimensional Leader Effectiveness Model, there should result general compatibility in leadership style, style range and style adaptability between the self-perceptions of department heads and the perceptions by subordinates of their department heads' leadership behaviour. Although Hypothesis 2 predicts Style 3 as the main self-perceived behaviour style supported by Style 2 compared with Hypothesis 5 which predicts Style 2 as the main behaviour style of department heads as perceived by subordinates supported to a lesser degree by Style 3, it is considered that general compatibility will result if these Styles 2 and 3 occur in generally the same proportions. Thus, even though Hypotheses 2 and 5 appear to be incompatible, in reality the difference is not significantly great to posit incompatibility between the leadership styles self-perceived and perceived by subordinates. If however there is a significant disproportion between the two sets of perceptions then the result has to reflect incompatibility.

The general compatibility postulated implies that both the department head and his subordinates will perceive his leadership behaviour in much the same way for all twelve designated situations. That is self-perceptions and perceptions by subordinates will be

very similar according to the scores on the various instruments used. Where this high degree of compatibility occurs specifically between the leadership styles self-perceived and those perceived by members, then the leader's leadership personality (self-perceptions plus perceptions by others) will indicate a large public arena on the Johari Window (Figure 13) which implies much disclosure by the leader of his attitudes and leadership behaviour and a correspondingly great deal of feedback by subordinates of their leader's impact upon them. Furthermore Hersey and Blanchard (1977 : 243) indicate in their research that there tends to be a high correlation between the openness of a leader's public arena and his effectiveness within a specific organisational setting. The following hypothesis is proposed:

Hypothesis 8.

There will be a high degree of compatibility between the self-perceptions of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges of their leadership behaviour in:

a. leadership style;

b. style range; and

c. style adaptability

and their subordinates' (staff members) perceptions of their respective department head's leadership behaviour.

Question 9. Can particular patterns of basic and supporting leadership styles amongst academic department heads in Thai teachers' colleges be identified? The main purpose of this

question is to see whether there is a generally perceived pattern of basic leadership styles amongst academic department heads as well as a pattern of supporting leadership styles. It specifically concerns the separate patterns of basic and supporting styles and hence differs in scope from Hypothesis 5 which dealt with combined basic and supporting styles as perceived most frequently. The general perceptions of the above patterns are confined only to perceptions by staff members (LEAD - Other) and do not include self-perceptions by department heads (LEAD - Self). It is considered more appropriate to consider perceptions by others as in Situational Leadership Theory this reflects leadership style of a leader. This means then that, in general harmony with Hypothesis 5 (perceptions by staff members) that the overall pattern is likely to be Style 2 (selling-high task/high relationship) as the basic leadership style whilst Style 3 (participating-high relationship/low task) will be the supporting-leadership style. Thus it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 9.

> The overall pattern of leadership styles of academic department heads of Thai teachers' colleges will be Style 2 (selling-high task/high relationship) as a basic leadership style together with Style 3 (participating-high relationship/low task) as a supporting leadership style.

Question 10. Have Thai cultural traits, especially those previously postulated administrative behaviours, significantly influenced the

perceived leadership styles of academic department heads? No hypotheses are proposed in relation to this question firstly because of the possibility of many and varied cultural traits affecting leadership behaviour in innumerable tangible and perhaps intangible ways and secondly because the previously postulated administrative behaviours are themselves tentative and generally not backed by any systematic empirical research. It is considered more useful to ascertain through individual questioning, individual and group discussion, and personal observation, answers to such questions as:

a. Is there any particular hierarchical status attached to the position of head of department?

b. Are there readily identifiable power bases used by heads of departments in the process of influencing subordinates?

c. Is there a heavy reliance on personal relationships between the department head and his subordinates as opposed to task-orientations?

d. Are significant authority and responsibility delegated to subordinates?

e. Is decision-making a participatory process or is it mainly undertaken by the department head?

f. Are there discernible differences in leadership styles of academic heads who have had Western education over those who have not?

g. Are traits like krengchai and krengklua evident? If so, do they hinder genuine criticism or affect any other aspect of the administration of a department?

h. Do academic heads' leadership behaviour reflect merely ad hoc coping behaviours rather than sound middle to longer term planning procedures?[1]

i. Is there a noticeable lack of self-discipline in terms of carrying out designated duties? If so does this adversely affect the department heads' leadership style?

j. Do religious tenets or practices affect leadership behaviour? Does, for example, Buddhist karma influence that behaviour?

Although these questions are by way of example only it is quite possible, indeed most probable, that other questions will arise from the questioning of, and discussion with, Thai academic heads and staff members. Any additional factors raised that could be seen as relevant influences on the leadership behaviour of academic heads would need to be considered in the results of this study.

In summary, this chapter has posed ten questions which the study has set out to investigate. The questions are concerned with the promulgated and actual tasks of heads of academic departments in Thai teachers' colleges; levels of task-maturity of staff members of departments; methods of appointment of academic department heads; self-perceptions by department heads of three aspects

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1. It is realised that frequently in any administration situation or leadership situation unforeseen incidents occur that demand quick but firm decisions sometimes on an ad hoc basis. The tenor of question (h) above is based on the type of department which is generally unorganised or disorganised, where little or no planning is done and where the department tends to lurch from crisis to crisis.

of their leadership behaviour - style, style range and adaptability; perceptions by their subordinates of the same three leadership behaviour aspects of their department heads; the compatibility or otherwise of these two sets of perceptions; the possible identification of an overall pattern of basic and supporting leadership styles amongst department heads; and, the possible influences of certain Thai cultural traits on the leadership behaviour in the department situation.

Hypotheses have not been postulated for every question, however, nine hypotheses have been formulated from five questions as Table 4 indicates.

Table 4

Summary of Questions and Derived Hypotheses

Hypotheses Number	Subject	Derived from Question Number
1	Maturity levels of subordinates	5
2	Self-perceived leadership styles of academic department heads	6
3	Self-perceived style range of academic department heads	6
4	Self-perceived style adaptability of academic department heads	6
5	Leadership styles of academic heads perceived by subordinates	7
6	Style range of academic department heads perceived by subordinates	7
7	Style adaptability of academic department heads perceived by subordinates	7

Table 4 (continued)

Summary of Questions and Derived Hypotheses

Hypotheses Number	Subject	Derived from Question Number
8	Compatibility of general leadership behaviour of self-perceptions of academic department heads and their subordinates	8
9	Overall patterns of basic and supporting leadership styles of academic department heads	9

Hypotheses 2, 3 and 4 all being postulated from Question 6 are highly interrelated as are Hypotheses 5, 6 and 7 each being postulated from Question 7.

The next chapter is concerned with research design and methods used to answer the questions and test the hypotheses posed above.