CHAPTER: 3
CIVIL SERVICE IN THAILAND

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses in brief the historical description of regime transitions and transformation of bureaucracy in Thailand. Secondly it also takes into account, the Thaksin government perspective for understanding the Thai bureaucracy under regime shifts. Thirdly, it analyse the role of the Thai civil service along with the over all view of Thai civil service in the context of globalisation. The selection case study justify national development organisation such as the Civil Service Commission (CSC) and Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) and generalisation about the role of the civil service which would explain the national development in Thailand in the context of globalisation. The case study provides contents analysis.

Unlike the other Southeast Asia countries, Thailand readily attracts simplistic conventional wisdoms about the traditional nature of its society and the degree of institutional continuity. Thus, Thailand is the only country in the region which was not colonised being spared of the disruptive effect of colonialism on its national institutions. Although an absolute monarchy was replaced by a constitutional version six decades ago, that institution, through the role of an incumbent with over 50 years tenure has been seen as a dominant symbol of national identity and values. Besides, the Buddhist faith has acted as traditional bond and source of continuity among relatively homogenous population. Thailand has not stood still; however for example, the role of monarchy itself has changed significantly during the period of constitutional limitation. Ironically, the role of the civil service was expanded in the late 1950s by the military dictator, who also put the country on the path of modern economic development. Nevertheless, in Thailand a Civil Servant (In Thai word Karajakam) is “one who serves the king’s mission.” Development has been spectacular in recent decades as a result of globalisation, ushering in a train of domestic social changes with notable political effects.
which make it necessary to reconsider established views of the nature of the Thai political order in the present context.

3.2. Background and Evolution of Thai Civil Service

The present Thai civil service system has evolved from the Sukhothai period, then the Ayudhya period and finally into the current Ratanakosin (Bangkok) period. During the Sukhothai period, the relationship between the king and his people was paternalistic. In times of peace, everybody was occupied in earning a living as a civilian. On the other hand, when the kingdom was at war they united to fight the enemy. Thus, it was practically impossible to make a distinction between soldiers and civil servants.

The paternalistic form of government was later replaced by the master-servant form during the Ayudhya period. This system was influenced by Indian (Brahman) and Cambodian ways of thinking. The power to rule was believed to have derived from God and was to be exercised through a king. It was the duty of every able-bodied man to serve the king by working for the state. The king was declared to own all the land and people. That is to say, the king was not only the lord of but also the lord of life. It is assumed that the administrative system, especially public personnel administration, was originally developed in 1459 when King Borom Triloknart promulgated the Laws of Civil, Military and Provincial Hierarchies in which the rank, duties and privileges of officials were fixed and regulated. Tin Prachyapruit argues, “in his attempt to centralise the administration, King Triloknart established for the first time a true bureaucracy in the Weberian sense. This bureaucracy was divided into two categories: civil and military”.

Government officials were classified into two groups, one for civil administration and the other for military affairs. The title “Samuha Nayak” was given to the supreme head of the officials engaged in civil administrative. The second highest rank, “Samuha Prakalahom” was granted to the person who was responsible for military affairs. While

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the division between civil and military officials appeared to be clear-cut, this was far from the truth. It was impossible to maintain a clear division between civil and military affairs since military officials had to deal with civil administration in time of peace and in times of war they also had to go to battle. It was also 'customary' during King Triloknart's reign, for every male who turned eighteen to become a government servant of some kind.2

During the early Bangkok period, the main principles of public administration employed in Ayudhya remained in use. The king still held absolute power over his subjects and he himself led the army onto the battle field. In peacetime, the king's main responsibility was to administer public affairs throughout the kingdom. The reign of King Mongkut (1851-1868), which coincided with the spread of Western colonialism, was a turning point in regard to contacts with the outside world, especially European countries. Following his father's policy, King Chulalongkorn (Rama V: 1868-1910) saw the need to develop further relationships with the West. Thus, Thailand had to face the internal and international problems caused by inappropriate administrative organisation. For example, the tax collection system had, by this time, proved inadequate. King Chulalongkorn, therefore, realised that there was an urgent need to reform the public service organisation.

Thai public administration has been conducting on a formal basis for centuries. Throughout the long periods of absolute monarchy (from the late thirteenth to eighteen centuries), Thai kings ruled through an organised structure. A major change was made during the reign of King Rama V (King Chulalongkorn) in the late nineteenth century with the main objective to establish a reasonably effective system of government similar to that of western countries. The model became the foundation of the present organisation of the Civil Service. Moreover, King Chulalongkorn converted the government from a theoretically omnipotent but actually ineffective oriental despotism into organised administrative agencies under the direction of the king with the intention

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to head off colonial imperialism of France and Great Britain in the late nineteenth century. King Chulalongkorn understood that major internal reforms would be necessary or he would lose his country. The king maintained:

"The greatest difficulty of the present day is the protection of our territory...Today we have Britain at our left and France at our right...We can no longer live in isolation as we once did. In our protection of the country three main measures can be taken such as friendly diplomatic relations, the maintenance of defences forces and orderly administration. We will administer the country well if we foster opportunities for the people to earn a living so that they are benefited by the government. Then they will pay the taxes which are the economic foundation of the government. Consequently, an effective administration and a fostering of the ways of providing for the livelihood of the people are the most important, final purposes of the kingdom".\(^3\)

By 1892, King Chulalongkorn had established a series of 12 ministries, organised along hierarchical lines, responsible for specific functions and headed by ministers who collectively constituted a council or cabinet under the personal direction of the king. A few years earlier a system of regular salary payments had been initiated for segments of the civil service. With the creation of the new ministries a clear distinction was drawn for the first time between civil and military function. Personnel administrators, however, tended to rely on preferential customs and fell far from the directives and principles laid down. Different ministries and departments had their own practices and methods.\(^4\)

Before 1929, heads of departments had full authority to recruit officials on any basis they chose. Recruitment was chaotic. There were no set of examination, even of a qualifying character. However, such personnel practices were changed by the initiation of the Civil Service Act of 1928, which took effect on April 1, 1929. The purpose of this act is described in its preface:

"It is the desire of His Majesty to systematise the civil service administration so that competent men will be selected for public offices. They will have a career in the civil service in order that they will not be anxious to earn their income by other means. The public service will gain more benefits because there will be public servants who are competent, who know the ways and means of public


service, are aware of their duties and responsibilities and have permanent disciplines”.5

With the implementation of this act, the structure of personnel administration underwent a tremendous change. A prototype Civil Service Commission (called the Committee for Maintenance of Civil Service Act) was set up to enforce the merit system in the civil service. As Siffin argues, “The prototype of a ‘civil service commission’ was not established in Thailand until 1928, in the last years of the old absolute monarchy which was swept away by a group of political and civil officials in 1932”.6 Along with the political transition in 1932 that transformed the government from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy, the role of the civil servant changed noticeably. Before the revolution, civil servant served the king, but after the revolution, the civil servants were regarded as serving the state. It was also thought that the civil service regulations under the 1929 Act were no longer appropriate as they were not in line with the new democratic regime. Hence, the second civil service act was passed in 1933 to replace it.

The Government Administration Act, promulgated in 1933, is the foundation of modern Thai bureaucratic organisation and administration. Adoption of the Government Administration Act of 1991 was the first step to reform toward a decentralised administration. Thai public service has broken into 3 major groups; i.e., 1) Central Administration, 2) Provincial Administration, and 3) Local Administration.

The Civil Service Commission (CSC) as outlined in the Civil Service Act of 1992, assumes roles and responsibilities in three major functional areas: a) advising the Cabinet with respect to public personnel management, the civil service system, government agency restructuring, organisation and welfare matters; b) directing the management of public service personnel, including the issuance of regulations and directives, considering, analysing and setting procedures, determining positions and

salary levels, recruiting and selecting government officials, monitoring discipline, appeals and grievances; and c) developing the capacities and quality of civil service personnel, protecting and maintaining the fairness of the merit system to prevent poor and unfair treatment of civil servants and ensuring that compensation, welfare and fringe benefits among government officials under various departments are appropriate and consistent.

The Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) serves as the secretariat to the CSC and is the operational unit assigned to undertake the CSC functions described above. It is headed by a secretary-general, who is accountable directly to the Prime Minister. As an expert agency in public personnel management, the OCSC also serves as the secretarial for a number of committees, which consider civil service matters at policy level among them the Civil Service Reform Committee, the Public Personnel Size Control Committee, the National Compensation Committee, etc.

The public sector, the main instrument for the national development has gradually expanded into a huge organisation with a myriad of rules, regulations, and complicated procedures. In the past, public sector organisations focused on compliance with the regulations rather than upon results or responsiveness to the needs of the society. Civil servants and public officials secure their jobs following the traditions of their offices, adhering to the regulatory procedures and practices installed by their agencies. Therefore, their conduct, attitudes and values are characterised by tendencies towards control, oversight and guardianship. The aging structures are not unable to adapt to the rapid changes nor are they able to provide needed services to the public in a timely, effective and efficient manner.

Past attempts to improve the public sector were largely unsuccessful. The main difficulties included frequent changes in government and a lack of continuity combined with the absence of a central agency with responsibility for the public service reform. When a government changed, the committee that served as consultant and the
organisation that acted as secretariat also changed. Also, resources allocated to the activities of reform were inadequate to sustain a serious and continuing commitment to the effort.

3.3. Thailand Bureaucratic State Transformation

Thailand was known as a 'bureaucratic state,' where civil and military bureaucratic elite ruled the country for decades. In 1988, the first democratically elected Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan came to power. But he was ousted in a military coup in February 1991, which was an attempt to reassert the influence of the civil bureaucrat and military in politics. However, the military dominance was put to an end in a bloodiest popular up-rise against General Suchinda who was overthrown in May 1992. Since then, for almost a period of ten years most of the policies reforms of Thailand had been procrastinated. Macintyre commented that Thailand policies were stabilised in the 1990s, but political processes created unstable, weak and indecisive governments. The effect on the civil service policy was no exception as successive governments have been distinctly indecisive about reformation.

The late 1990s witnessed a tremendous change in Thai politics both in the institutional structure and in the alignment of political forces. This should not be viewed simply as a response to the crisis but taken as part of a longer and deeper process of change in the political economy. In the early part of the decade, Kevin Hewison flagged that "Thai social and political life has reached a watershed...a new mixture of social and

political forces are emerging to reshape the Thai state." He further stated, "But the nature of those forces was subjected to a debate and the ultimate destination of this transformation was not clear." Hewison stressed the growing dominance of business capital. Anek Laothamatas, and Thirayuth Boonmee, focused on the role of the urban middle class. The Chulalongkorn university political economists foresaw a more complex contest involving businessman, peasant and worker.

The starting point for the transformation of the 1990s was the compromise negotiated over the 1980s between the old forces of the bureaucratic polity and the new forces of metropolitan and (to a larger extent) provincial business. The essence of the compromise was simple. The provincial barons learned how to manipulate the new electoral politics and came to dominate parliament and cabinet. After some fractious negotiation, the heads of the bureaucracy learned to live with this new situation. They attached themselves to leading politicians and political parties. The framework of the bureaucracy remained in place with only minor qualifications of bureaucratic power. The barons gained political status, access to business opportunities and the ability to trickle public goods back to their baronies. The scandals had a significant new characteristic. In most of the plots to extract profit from the budget or from the control of natural resources, bureaucrat and political baron worked hand in hand.

In retrospect, it can be seen that this compromise depended on two strict conditions: first, the relative protection Thailand enjoyed from external forces, both

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13 Piriyarangsans, Sungsidlh and Pasuk Phongpaichit (eds.), Chon chan klang bon krasae prachathippatai thai (The Middle Class on the Tide of Thai Democracy), (Bangkok: Political Economy Centre, Chulalongkorn University, 1993), pp.3-50, (in Thai).
financial and political; secondly, the weakness of civil society. In the 1990s both the conditions reversed back, the outside world intruded and civil society strengthened.

The resulting changes occurred in two phases, firstly, it revolved around the attack on the bureaucrat-baron compromise mounted by urban-based pressure groups and eventually backed by broad urban support which culminated in the passing of the constitution and the appointment of Chavalit in late 1997. Two groups with different backgrounds and agendas joint together to enhanced this campaign. The first group included the successors of the 1970s radicalism. Their voice was clearly articulated by Thirayuth Boonmee. This group operated largely at the level of discourse and within a limited circle of those who are politically aware. But at times due to political and social strain, it was able to spread a wider base of support among the urban middle classes and draw on a network of 1970s veterans who were in positions of influence within the bureaucracy, political parties, media, NGOs and pressure groups. Earlier, they campaigned for “democracy” to break down Thailand’s centralisation and bureaucratic paternalism. But when the party politicians chose to join with the old centralised paternalist state, the 1970s activists lost faith in “democracy.” Thus, from the state to the individual and community, they tried to strengthened community and non-governmental organisations by demanding rights which limits and restrict or transferred state power.

The second group consisted of “establishment radicals” or “conservative modernists” from the ranks of senior bureaucrats, professionals, modern businessmen

14 Ibid.
and executives. Again they operated largely at the level of discourse within a few elite. But gained power from their collective status and influence and was able to raise wider support from the urban middle classes at critical points. In the 1990s, this agenda was most clearly represented through the voice of the then Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun who argued (as the army previously had) that the major threat to Thai politics was Thailand’s primitive capitalism uncontained. It helps in building a vision of national unity and secured social harmony by containing the power of Thailand’s primitive capitalism though the paternalistic influence of good ethical people. It looked towards the West for models (constitution, separation of powers, good governance) and sometimes also for direct assistance to achieve this vision.

Coming together of these groups enabled them to draft the new constitution. This constitution enshrined many of the rights and reforms on the liberal agenda, much of the political engineering on the conservative agenda and a battery of new judicial and semi-judicial institutions required for implementation. However, the passing of such an ambitious new charter was doubtful until the onset of the economic crisis regenerating wider support among big business and the urban middle class in 1996-1997. The latter recruits had little idea on the content of the charter’s but adopted it as the symbol of an urban desire to exercise greater control on both politics and economy. After the constitution had passed, the reactionary forces regrouped. The reform alliance had to fight further battles to implement the constitution’s provisions. During the elections for the new senate in March-April 2000, the Bangkok electorate plumped for this alliance and of the city’s eighteen seats eight were won by NGOs and activists, while five fell to conservative modernists.

This alliance was also the vanguard of the urban revolt which drove Chavalit out of power at the onset of the crisis. But beyond this historical point, the alliance ran up against its own limitations. Neither of the two major groups in the alliance had the will or the electoral base to translate its agitation influence into parliamentary power. Moreover, in the aftermath of the constitution’s passage, the huge ideological gap between the two groups drew them apart.
The second phase of the transformation took place within the realm of parliamentary politics. At the beginning of the decade, all the major parties were coalitions of provincial businessmen. In the mid 1990s, the Democrat Party went through an initial stage of transformation driven by the urban upsurge described above. In the late 1990s, this transformation broadened with the arrival of new and powerful forces in Thai politics against the background of economic crisis. The new forces were external influences, particularly those emanating from Washington. In part, the exposure of Thai politics to these forces was a simple consequence of the growth and liberalisation of the Thai economy-Thai politics become subject to the judgement of "the markets." But in part, this was also a direct result of the neo-liberal project to open up markets and impose on them new rules and practices. Quite explicitly, Washington seized the opportunity offered by the Asian crisis to advance this agenda. The initial focus was on reform of financial markets, but logically had to broaden into a reform of the legal and political systems which framed these markets.

Kanishka Jayasuriya has summed up this process around Asia as the replacement of "developmental states" by "regulatory states."\(^\text{16}\) In a developmental state government seeks economic growth by promoting domestic capital. In a regulatory state, the administration of the economy is transferred to rule-based institutions (central banks, law courts) power is concentrated within a social and technocrat elite, parliaments become puppet shows and civil society is "managed." Jayasuriya's analysis is based on East Asia with its political tradition of dictatorship and one-party states and

needs to be modified somewhat to suit Thailand. The space for political contestation is more open, hence this "regulatory" agenda is not the single state project, but one of several competing projects in the political arena. By aligning itself with the IMF and US ambition to seize the crisis as an opportunity to restructure Thailand’s financial system, regulatory framework, capital markets, and much besides, the Democrat Party became the local representation of this agenda. As predicted by the Jayasuriya model, this led to increased aggression towards (and isolation from) civil society activism.

The second analysis of these new forces in Thai politics was the growing assertion of rural interests. Driven largely by conflicts over resources, rural politics had become more organised, more sophisticated and more assertive. Though the early 1990s, a series of marches, sieges of Government House, road blocks and protest networks indicated an insistent demand for space within the formal political process. This trend continued through the crisis as economic hardship and social stress increased, the political allocation of hardship become a matter of public debate and the pro-urban, pro-globalise Democrat Party attempted to suppress rural demands. The New Aspiration Party toyed with the opportunities offered by populist appeals reaching down to this rural surge. Many of the old mechanisms (military, political, cultural) for controlling rural politics, built up during the cold war, were still in place or capable of revival. The New Aspiration Party itself was wary of unleashing a strident populism which was aware of the dangers and limitations. But whether or not Chavalit chose to leap up on the tiger’s back, the tiger was certainly there.

All the government formed after 1992 were coalition partners formed loosely without common policies or ideological commitment. The inability to exert strong leadership has been due to the fragile nature of the 3-4 party coalition, instable cabinet and defection of parties and individuals leaders and parties lobbying for better position in the government. Thaksin promises strong leadership but the Thai political system does not allow this to happen. After the interim governments of Ananda Panyarachum, a coalition government was formed by Chuan Leekpai in 1992 following the general

\[17\] Macintyre, op. cit., p.147.
elections. In addition to the first Chuan government another four different governments ruled Thailand up to 2001. Thaksin Shinawatra and his new Thai Rak Thai party won the January 2001 elections.

Thaksin’s *Thai Rak Thai Party* (Thai Love Thai) was formed to capture the Democrats’ urban bias and commitment to globalisation. It sought support from local businessmen and farmers who felt they had been neglected during the crisis in favour of Thailand’s small cadre of globalised firms and urban middle class who profited on the coattails of globalisation. The party’s manifesto promised to “bring about reforms in the fundamental structure of the country in all respects, so that Thailand is strong, modern and ready to face the challenges of the world in the new era.”

In the early 1990s, liberalist like Thirayuth Boonmee and Anek Laothamatas imagined that an alliance between the urban middle class and a peasantry upgraded by wealth and education could reduce the chronic tendency of “instability” and carry forward through a liberal agenda of reforms. In their models, globalisation was a benign force assisting the liberal agenda. At the end of the decade, the innovations of political reform had transformed the political environment. The prospect for an alliance of peasant and middle classes was derived from European models of the nineteenth century which proved to be of little relevance to the globalisation world at the outset of the twenty-first century. Globalisation was no longer perceived as a benign ally of liberal aspirations. Thai party politics had moved beyond the state of competing business gangs but hardly in the way, predicted. The divisions in Thai politics increasingly ran along two main axes.

The first axis tracked attitudes to neo-liberalism and globalisation. At the one end stood the Democrat Party with a base of support among business and white collar middle class who either saw their interests best served by globalisation and were attracted by the image of internationalism and modernity. On the other end were the business which had been mauled by the crisis, social conservatives concerned about

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18 Ibid.
the consequences of greater foreign penetration, dissident activists and the Thai Rak Thai Party manoeuvring to mould this material into a political force. The second axis tracked the social distance from city to village. At the one end stood the coalition of urban activism which had been so successful in changing the political structure and shrinking the space of the elected politicians.

The political arena is moved away from "bureaucracy" to "general elections." To become prime minister, cabinet members and MPs, one has to be an elected politician— not a high bureaucrat. The majority of cabinet positions of recent governments of Chatichai, Chuan, Banharn and Chavalit are mostly held by businessmen and not by former bureaucratic elites. The struggle for political power is becoming a struggle among several political parties for the member parliament and cabinet posts. Within the political party, the struggle among politicians is for senior ranks in the party so that they can qualify as the party's nominees for ministerial portfolios.

The process of democratisation in Thailand had eroded the traditional power of the bureaucrat. Since Thailand is still at an early stage of transition, the power of the bureaucratic elites in the bureaucracy remains prevalent. In the new politics the goal of the bureaucratic elites is to prolong their traditional power. Under democratic polity elected politicians are replacing bureaucratic elites as the new political heads or superiors of bureaucrats in ministries. More and more bureaucrats perceive the importance of elected politicians as the new "patrons" who can support their career advancement in the bureaucracy.

3.4. Thaksin's Domination

Thaksin Shinawatra came to power in 2001. His Thai Rak Thai party have significantly altered the landscape of Thai domestic politics. Utilising an admixture of populist policies and elite co-optation, both Thaksin and the Thai Rak Thai party have accumulated immense power – thus, they were majority in the present MPs 350 and its absorption of smaller parties in unprecedented in Thai politics. Equally unprecedented
are the seeming inability of opposition parties and other traditional centres of power to contain Thaksin's accumulation and exercise of power. Under the circumstances Thaksin's leadership is set to continue beyond 2004. Additionally and perhaps more importantly these developments taken together would possibly transform the larger national political economy, tending it in the direction of a dominant party system with all the attendant implications.

The fallout on Thailand's economy on account of the Asian financial crisis in 1997 provided a major boost for Thaksin and the party which he formed in 1999 two years before the elections due to the widespread appeal of a populist agenda. Central to the populist agenda were practical steps to achieve a measure of internal self-sufficiency that had been proposed by the King a few years earlier. Key features of the scheme involved providing each sub-district (Tambon) with a million baht and encouraging the output of cottage industries by identifying a single product for each sub-district and a three year moratorium on farm debt.19 Public medical services were also made much more affordable at a flat rate of 30 baht per hospital visit. The introduction of these policies was well in line with the nationalist position of Thaksin and his party Thai Rak Thai. Large number of urban dwellers who were displaced by the crisis was able to relate to the populist agenda.

Thai Rak Thai party domestic political consolidation at least in terms of the sheer number of seats it controls is unprecedented, where broad-based coalitions tended to weaken major parties since smaller parties had disproportionate leverage to articulate their own agendas and "claim" lucrative and powerful ministries and departments. Thaksin currently faces few such pressures. Similarly, factionalism as an endemic feature of the Thai party system is a minimal problem, for Thaksin give the rules established for his party members and its present representation in parliament.20 Thaksin is also uniquely placed to have literally purchased political support and

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constituencies on the basis of his enormous wealth. More established and older parties on the other hand suffer from the unfortunate fate of factionalism. Hence, factionalism in the opposition parties significantly favours the Thaksin government as well.

Resistance also continues against Thaksin reflecting the diversity of interests that have come to characterise Thai society since the 1990s. At the ground level, there was widespread resistance by farmers opposing to the construction of Pak Moon Dam in Ubon Rachathani province in 2002. Similarly, there were widespread protests in the south as a result of the construction of a gas pipeline from Malaysia to Thailand in the same year. At the elite level, academics and policy-makers are equally critical of Thaksin. They point to the fact that notwithstanding Thaksin’s seemingly populist agenda, there is a good measure of self-enrichment and corruption. Domestic political consolidation is also viewed by such critics as the means to further consolidate Thaksin’s personal agenda and fortunes. There is also some concern that Thaksin’s policies are fiscally irresponsible and that an economic crisis is looming.

Notwithstanding, Thaksin’s recalibration of domestic politics in his favour continuous, one of the more significant continuation is how Thaksin has enlisted the assistance of provincial warlords to assist him in consolidating power in certain rural provinces.21 At the same time he has been an extremely harsh critic of the pervasiveness of drug addiction in Thailand and condoned what some regard as extra-judicial killings of suspected drug traffickers. By the end of 2003, some 2,000 such alleged traffickers had been killed and in most cases the police and military cited self-defence as the reason for the use of firearms and resulting fatalities.

Intellectuals are also unhappy with what appeared to be hard-earned democratic reforms which will be ignored and bypassed by the Thaksin government, giving Thai Rak Thai party significant parliamentary majority. Many of them view Thaksin’s domestic political consolidation as a return of the strongman to the politics of what was

assumed to be a bygone era of authoritarianism prior to 1990. They fear that it will weaken the institutions and restrain the accumulation and exercise of power by politicians. In fact immediately after his election victory and appointment as prime minister, the National Counter-Corruption Commission (NCCC) indicted Thaksin for not revealing some 4.5 billion baht in assets during his service in 1997. Fortunately for Thaksin, he was eventually acquitted by a thin 8 to 7 majority in August 2001. However, the mass media in Thailand which traditionally enjoyed good measure latitude from the government, has been extraordinarily critical of Thaksin - especially the two daily newspapers the Bangkok Post and the Nation, especially on issues those pertaining to dissent, poorly-informed decision-making and the pervasiveness of corruption.

Thaksin’s convergence of power led to possible rises of another major crisis in Thai domestic politics. If the current trajectory continues unabated, Thailand’s present domestic political developments predict the potential economic disastrous. It may be recalled that the last major transformation of Thai political economy occurred in the 1980s when, as Anek Laothamatas argued, Thailand changed from being the bureaucratic polity, which is described by Fred Riggs as a more liberal state powered by independent business associations. The business association that Anek Laothamatas credited for bypassing formal controls and transforming the bureaucratic polity are no longer as cohesive and certainly not out to circumvent Thaksin’s bid to enlarge his power base. Rather, as mentioned earlier, powerful traditional business interests have already been co-opted by Thaksin. Accordingly, the recent developments have the potential to radically transform Thai politics and nudge it in the direction of a dominant party system with immense productive and transformative capacity that will in turn translate into power. The crucial question at this stage is whether another four years is sufficient for Thaksin to undertake this transformation. In this constant exhortation of the political systems of Malaysia and Singapore, it is quite clear that

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22 Daily English Newspapers in Thailand.
25 Ibid.
Thaksin’s reference to a powerful dominant party system led by a charismatic leader. Thaksin appears to think that such a combination will better harness Thailand’s economic and political potential. Whether the Thai electorate is persuaded by this argument or able to prevent it remains to be seen. Thaksin, on his part, appears keen on achieving such an outcome. The political system and the bureaucracy in Thailand have undergone the major regime transitions. The political regime of Thailand is in transition from a bureaucratic polity to a democratic polity. Executive control of the bureaucracy is changing hands from the bureaucratic elites to elected politicians who assume ministerial portfolios under a multi-party parliamentary democracy.

For the democratising Thai polity, the nature of coalition governments is a major obstacle to administrative reform. The "separate jurisdiction" nature of coalition governments and ministries in Thailand can pose serious problems. A typical minister protects and defends reform proposals initiated by his subordinate bureaucrats in his ministry. Psychologically, the minister feels that his clout and respectability depend on the perception of bureaucrats about his willingness to fight for them. In return, bureaucrats will strongly support the work and personal policies of the minister.

The same is true at the level of political parties. For members of a coalition party, the reform policies of his political party are more important than those of the government and other political parties. As a result, agreements are difficult to reach among coalition parties on specific key issues of reform bills such as the administrative court bill in Thailand. Among the political transformation, the civil service system is the backbone of the administrative machinery of Thailand development. Therefore, it is important to look into the development of civil service reform.

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3.5. The Development of the Civil Service Reform

Reform initiatives originated from both politicians and bureaucrats. In general, politicians and bureaucrats have different, sometimes contrasting reform visions. Politicians usually profess a reform designed to democratise the public bureaucracy. Common measures such as openness, transparency, accountability and accessibility in government, more transfer and promotion power of bureaucrats, more efficient bureaucrats, downsizing, streamlining, privatisation and better quality of public services are introduced. On the other hand, bureaucrats usually support "bureaucratic reform visions" which incorporate reform designs that contain pro-bureaucrat clauses, usually at the expense of the politicians.\textsuperscript{27} Examples of such reform measures advocated by bureaucrats are: removing the transferring power from politicians, promotions and positions, higher salary and benefits and structural expansion of bureaucratic agencies.

The current reform efforts are the most comprehensive and significant steps ever taken to overhaul the bureaucracy in a concrete and measurable way. The success of these efforts requires the policy direction, involvement and sincerity of the political leadership. Unless there is continuity in this work, the government bureaucracy which is the essential tool to implement policies of the leadership will be ineffective in carrying out the government mandate and will be unable to cope with external changes. Unless these reforms are carried out seriously and with continuity, the bureaucrat will be an obstacle to economic recovery and the reform of the political system that is essential to overcome the current crisis will fail. One great concern is that an ineffective and outdated bureaucratic structure will contribute to the development of crisis in other areas that will have an even greater impact on the people than is already the case.

In April 1991, the Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) launched a major civil service reform and development project with two major purposes:

1. To modernise and improve the efficiency of civil service by restructuring the size of government organisations and the number of employees, streamlining work procedures and changing the role of the public service from one of governing and controlling to that of servicing, promoting and directing.

2. To improve the quality and moral standards of civil servants by improving the recruitment and selection system to attract highly capable and outstanding people to the right positions, providing greater career advancement opportunities for highly skilled professional officials, promoting honesty and adaptability to change, and improving pay and incentive systems according to the type and nature of the job.

On January 7, 1992, the OCSC recommendations on measures to improve civil service and public personnel management systems were approved by the cabinet and sent to the relevant civil service agencies for implementation. The major recommendations adopted were to:

1. Maintain zero growth in the size of the civil service until the end of the Seventh national economic and social development plan (1992-1996)

2. Introduce a redevelopment system to help solve the problem of personnel shortage within organisation

3. Encourage agencies to review and revise there work procedures to improve service to the public

4. Encourage and support training and development actives to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of civil servants

5. Revise and improve the performance appraisal procedure for effective use as a tool to evaluate and screen civil servants during their probationary period, as well as for promotion and annual salary increase considerations.

These recommendations have led to a number of subsequent changes including the revision and promulgation of the new civil service act, which came into force on April 1, 1992. This act replaced the civil service act of 1975, the law which had been in effect
for 17 years without major revision. This new civil service act has brought about several significant changes in the Thai civil service system; e.g., a change in the roles and responsibilities of the Civil Service Commission (CSC) and the OCSC, modification of the position classification structure, procedural improvement in the system of appeals, complaint and disciplinary action and changes in the salary schedule, resulting in an average 23 percent increase in salaries of all civil servants, as well as the addition of position allowances to incumbents of executive and some professional or specialist positions.

Along with the changes stipulated in the civil service act of 1992, the Thai government has taken additional measures to ensure successful reform and development of the civil service system to create satisfaction among the public. On May 16, 1995, the cabinet approved a project proposed by the OCSC entitled Public Service Reform: Measures to Improve the Efficiency and Effectiveness of the Public Sector. This project undertook major changes in the programs in five prototype departments with the goal being to develop mechanisms, which could also be used to implement reform in all government agencies. The Eighth national economic and social development plan (1997 to 2001) emphasises a paradigm shift toward human resource development as major objective of national development, ensuring a quality improvement in the capacities and capabilities of all people in the society. The public sector must be the vital catalyst of the government in the implementation of the 8th plan. The first priority in this effort is to develop the human resource of the public sector so those public employees will understand their roles and responsibilities in effectively carrying out the civil service reform and policies of the 8th national economic and social development plan.

3.6. The Management of Civil Service in Thailand

Position determinations in the Thai civil service incorporate the principle of 'duties and responsibilities'. They are normally pre-established and consist of the duties and responsibilities assigned to an individual. Under this approach, only a person possessing qualifications to perform the designated duties and responsibilities can be
appointed to a particular position. The position level or 'status', depends on the duties and responsibilities assigned to that position – of the person would also be changed.

Position Classification in the Thai civil service has 2 objectives

1. to ensure equal pay for equal work; and

2. to put the right person in the right job.

Position Classification provides the following benefits to personnel management:

1. it determines groups of positions in organisations;

2. it is a useful tool to determine pay rates for staff by comparing the quality of work that they are expected to perform; and

3. it provides guidelines for staff development.

The Civil Service Act of 1992 continued to maintain the position classification system and sought to improve its implementation. The main features of position classified in this act can be summarised as follows:

1. the eleven ordinary civil servant positions posited are now grouped into categories of General Position, Professional or Expert Positions and Executive Administrative Position. Positions in each category will use a different set of parameters for the development of pay scales, determination of positions and career management considerations;

2. the degree to which task complexity is used in determining position level has been adjusted to reflect the changing role of the civil service;

3. a Position Classification Standard has been introduced to improve position classification by categorising positions into job function groups and applying a consistent standard to determine appropriate position for various job descriptions;

4. other implementation guidelines have been improved to ensure a more effective position classification system; i.e., an emphasis on improved coordination between the OCSC and the Bureau of Budget, and increased flexibility in personnel administration through the devolution of position classification authorisation to departments.
The following sets of guidelines have been developed to determine appropriate position classification:

1. the direction of manpower allocation is toward redeployment rather than creation of new positions;

2. position classification should reflect the changing roles of the government; i.e., from regulatory and controlling functions toward advisory and supportive ones. Consequently, responsibilities in higher level positions should be adjusted to fit these new roles effectively;

3. there should be a reduction in the number of officials responsible for operational functions, coupled with improved departmental work procedures and contracting out of jobs which no longer need to be done by the government;

4. career advancement opportunities must be developed to enable personnel with long experience, extensive knowledge and skills to attain special professional staff positions;

5. a position classification monitoring system should be developed, along with revision of the position classification system, to ensure effective utilisation of personnel in the various departments;

6. the function of position classification should be delegated to ministries and departments to ensure flexibility in personnel administration and responsiveness to the real staffing needs of the organisation.

The implementation of position classification has been changed in the following ways:


The rolling three-year plan for manpower allocation has been in use in all departments since 1983 as a tool in personnel management. This process takes into account several criteria which affect personnel administration, including the relevant national economic and social development plan, review of the department's responsibilities and organisation structure and position classification. The current plan provides for a number of approaches to improve the public administration of the government agencies and departments for delegation and decentralisation steps,
contracting-out, introduction of modern equipment and office automation, implementation of a redeployment policy and emphasis on human resource development.

2. Delegation of Position Classification Function

The CSC can delegate position classification powers to the ministry level Civil Service Sub-Commission (CSSC) or the provincial CSSC, a step which increases the authority of the Ministry and Provincial CSSC as well as giving those new tasks. A number of position classification duties have already been transferred to departments and the OCSC aims to delegate additional responsibilities. The OCSC itself will play a more significant role in developing public administration policies, principles, standard and monitoring systems. However, this new OCSC role is still in the process of development and needs to be instituted in conjunction with human resource development, both within the OCSC itself and in the government department.

3. Improvement of Position Classification

As mentioned above, for the purpose of ensuring efficient and effective personnel administration and position classification system, civil service positions are classified into three categories of General Positions, Professional or Expert Position and Executive Administrative Position.

4. Civil Service Career Advancement Opportunities

The Civil Service commission (CSC) policy is to have a position classification system to enable career advancement. Normally, position classification is determined by the quality of work. To give greater opportunities for career advancement, flexibility is introduced by looking at the person who occupies that position as well. In addition, the OCSC has set the following guidelines for civil servants to improve the quality of work:

- Empowerment of civil servants with greater responsibilities through delegation and decentralisation;
- Improvement in the quality of work through job enrichment;
- A shift away from operational toward advisory roles.
Moreover, CSC policy seeks to improve the ratio of position levels in departments, with the aim of flattening the pyramidal position structure. This is to give more career opportunities to civil servants and to improve morale.

With regard to Recruitment and Selection, under the Civil Service Act of 1992, recruitment and selection of personnel without experience in the government is undertaken through three processes; namely,

- Competitive examinations
- Selection; and
- Appointment of specifically qualified individuals to assume expert and specialist posts.

1) The Competitive Examination

According to the Civil Service Act of 1992, the Civil Service Commission is responsible for conducting the competitive examinations. Under specific circumstances, the Civil Service commission (CSC) may authorise other government agencies to assume responsibility for this function, but the examination content, procedures, fail/pass criteria and eligible lists are to be prepared by the CSC, which may at its discretion revise or reassign successful applicants listed for one position to other or for other positions.

The Examination consists of three content areas: General Knowledge, Specific Knowledge and Position Suitability. General Knowledge focuses upon two areas. The first consists of questions relating to general abilities, information acquisition, analytical and reasoning abilities. The subject matter is aimed at measuring mathematical, verbal and reasoning skills, which are assumed to indicate the trainability of the applicant. The second area consists of questions aimed at measuring comprehension and expression of the Thai language. The Specific Knowledge section may incorporate one or two subjects aimed at measuring knowledge and skills necessary for specific positions. The Position Suitability section attempts to evaluate the suitability of the applicant through
review of his/her personal history record, work experience and educational background, as well as by observable behaviours and conduct through interviews. Also considered relevant are: specific knowledge and ability that would benefit his/her work; knowledge of issues relating to national security; skills, experience, speed and demeanour; emotional stability, perspectives, ethical principles and moral values as well as the applicant's sociability and capacity to adapt to the social environment, his/her initiative and creativity and personality and astuteness.

Score of not less than 60 percent in each of the three areas is essential for passing the exam. Successful applicants are ranked based on their scores and placed on the list for appointment to the position for which they applied. The result is valid for a period of 2 years and applicants are call to fill the vacant posts in order of their rank.

2) Selection

In special circumstances where the Civil Service commission (CSC) deems a competitive examination unnecessary, government agencies may under the rules and procedures prescribed by the CSC, select a candidate for appointment. One such example is the appointment of a graduate of a school or educational institution operated by the government agency and approved by the CSC. Another example is the case of graduates in priority fields designated by the CSC if facing a shortage of personnel and where there are few candidates for the required positions. The list of priority fields, which currently comprises approximately 34 areas, is reviewed every 2 years. Individuals may be selected for these positions through an interview or other methods. A person selected must remain in that position for at least 1 year and not transfer to another department.

Another means of recruitment into the civil service is through the government scholarship program for studying abroad. The practice of sending competent students abroad began during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. Currently more than 400 scholars are selected for studying abroad each year.

The OCSC administers an annual competition, select qualified student for studying abroad under the government's scholarship program; i.e., the King's
Scholarship and the Royal Thai Government Scholarship. In addition to the general competition, a special competition is held for government personnel, lecturers in State University and other officials who qualify for further training and education.

It is the responsibility of the OCSC to place government scholarship recipients in civil service positions after graduation, in accordance with CSC policies and directives and in response to the manpower needs of civilian ministries, public agencies and departments.

3) Appointment of specifically qualified individuals to assume expert and specialist posts. Departments are authorised to recruit personnel for appointment as experts, professionals or specialists for their own organisations as required for the benefit of public service. Organisations request approval from the Civil Service commission (CSC) and follow the placement regulations specified by the CSC once the requests have been approved.

A major problem in civil service recruitment is that highly qualified graduates from well-known universities do not apply for the civil service because the image of the bureaucracy and prospect of civil service work is not appealing. This problem is likely to become increasingly more severe, in which case; the selection process will be limited to choosing the best among the lesser qualified. The CSC is seeking new approaches to recruitment and selections to ease this problem and to make a career in the civil service an attractive opportunity.

The civil service commission has encouraged departments to pay particular attention to the trial period of employment. Viewed as part of the public recruitment process to instate the best newcomers into the civil service, the probationary period has been adjusted to match the job in question and the fixed 6 month probationary period for any job title does no longer apply. Rather for different levels, given the fact that performances in higher ranks require higher and more diversified capabilities and may require a longer period for evaluation. In addition, to insure neutrality, the methodology
of evaluation of the probationary period has been changed from sole reliance on the judgment of immediate supervisions to decisions made by a group or committee.

The civil service commission emphasises merit promotion and designation to ensure that the bureaucracy has the right persons for the right jobs. To ensure expedient evaluation procedures, it relies on departmental sub-commissions for promoting and appointing personnel to positions in Level 8 and below while depending upon ministry sub-commissions for those in Level 9-10. The Commission also stipulates some evaluation supporting tools; e.g., job descriptions, etc. Furthermore, the current civil service act requires that the candidates must demonstrate outstanding work performance as well.

Taking into accounts administrative capabilities needed for the new flatter organisation structure, the requirements for highly competent and experience personnel are increasing. As a result, manpower planning guidelines stress development of executives by installing a flexible rotation and transfer system for all levels and positions as a means of creating multi-skilled and change-friendly personnel, as well as following the rule of thumb to put the right person in the right job.

Civil service compensation comprised of take-home pay and fringe benefits. Take-home pay refers to direct compensation received by public personnel on a monthly basis and consists of basic salary or wage and position allowance. Basic salaries or wages are paid to all public personnel. Salaries are distinguished from wages in that 'salaries' are for personnel with official status, while 'wages' are for employees with non-official status.

Allowances are paid only to those who satisfy specific requirements prescribed for each allowance. Examples of such allowances are managerial allowances, professional allowances, specialisation allowances, etc. Fringe benefits are considered indirect compensation and are divided into monetary and non-monetary benefits. Major monetary benefits are educational assistance, housing allowance, medical allowance, retirement benefits and survivor benefits. Among other things, royal decorations, long service awards and paid leave such as vacation, personal leave, sick leave, maternity
leave, religions leave for monkhood and pilgrimage, etc., are non-monetary benefits which comprises 70 to 30 percent.

The classification of salary structure of civil services as follows;

1. Basic Salary

There are 5 salary schedules for 12 types of public services. The coverage of each salary schedule is shown in Table3.1. Only the civil service salary schedule will be discussed here, since the other schedules are based upon it.

**Table3.1: Application of salary schedules**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary Schedule</th>
<th>Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil service</td>
<td>1. Civil service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. University Official Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Teacher Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Legislative Body Official Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Bangkok Metropolitan Official Service*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Provincial Administrative Service*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Municipal Official Service*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Sanitation District Official Service*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** * are local public personnel


2. Salaries and Position Levels: The Civil Service salary schedule is composed of levels and steps. 'Level' stands for one of the eleven position levels; 'step' represents the salary ranges for each level and partly indicates the years of service in a particular
A civil servant is paid monthly in accordance with his/her level and step as shown in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2: Salaries and Position Levels of the Civil Service Schedule**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position Title</th>
<th>Position Level</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Secretary or Equivalent</td>
<td>Level 11</td>
<td>C 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Advisor</td>
<td>Level 11</td>
<td>C 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Permanent Secretary Director General</td>
<td>Level 10</td>
<td>C 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Permanent Secretary</td>
<td>Level 9</td>
<td>C 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Director General</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of Bureau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Expert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division Director</td>
<td>Level 8</td>
<td>C 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section Chief</td>
<td>Level 7</td>
<td>C 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Official</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Section Chief</td>
<td>Level 6</td>
<td>C 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official</td>
<td>Level 1-5</td>
<td>C 1-5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Entry Salaries: Entry salaries refer to the first salary received by new civil servants. The entry salary rates vary according to the level of education, as described in Table 3.3

Table 3.3 Entry Salaries for New Recruits by Level of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Level/Step</th>
<th>Entry/salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>Level 1 Step 1</td>
<td>4,100 Baht/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Vocational Certificate</td>
<td>Level 1 Step 4</td>
<td>4,700 Baht/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Vocational Certificate</td>
<td>Level 2 Step 2</td>
<td>5,180 Baht/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor Degree</td>
<td>Level 3 Step 2</td>
<td>6,360 Baht/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Degree</td>
<td>Level 4 Step 2</td>
<td>7,780 Baht/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Doctor</td>
<td>Level 4 Step 3</td>
<td>8,190 Baht/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>Level 5 Step 4</td>
<td>10,600 Baht/month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Civil servants may receive salary increases in various ways:

1) When there are changes in salary schedules, salaries are adjusted to those of the new schedule;

2) When a civil servant is promoted to a higher level, his/her salary will increase to nearest amount of the new position level;

3) Annual merit raises result in an increase in salary by half a step, one step, one and half steps, or two steps, depending on performance ratings for the past year.

Apart from individual performance ratings, annual merit increases are also contingent upon government ceiling limits. The current limit on merit increases is no more than 6 percent of the total budget for salaries.
Position allowances were first introduced in 1992 as a means of reducing the gap between public and private sector income, especially for those in administrative and other highly competitive positions. Position allowances are paid only to public personnel who satisfy the requirements and conditions prescribed for each position allowance. There are five types of position allowances:

1) Priority Profession Allowances are paid to those who hold hard-to-fill positions which require special technical/professional knowledge, such as medical doctors, engineers, architects, etc.

2) Professional Allowances are similar to the Priority Profession Allowances, but are paid to those at Level 7 and above who have acquired certain experience in their profession.

3) Specialist Allowances are paid to Senior Advisors (Level 9-11) with high expertise in the core functions of the departments.

4) Academic Allowances are paid to assistant professors, associate professors and professors in public universities.

5) Managerial Allowances are paid to those in administrative positions of division director (Level 8) or higher.

The National Compensation Committee (NCC) was established following the promulgation of the Salaries and Position Allowances Act of 1995 to make public compensation determination. The NCC membership comprised of the Minister of Finance as Chairman, ten ex-officer committee members, one representative from each of seven central personnel agencies and five appointed scholars.

Under the Act, the major duties and responsibilities of the NCC are:

1) to make recommendations and provide consultation to the Cabinet with respect to salaries, wages, position allowances, welfare and fringe benefits for civil servants and employees of civilian departments, as well as military officers and cadets under the Ministry of Defence;

2) to conduct annual review of salaries, wages, position allowances, welfare and fringe benefits for civil servants, military officers and cadets and employees of
government agencies, based on information and opinions derived from Central Personnel Agencies and the Ministry of Finance, in order to improve the appropriateness, justification, consistency and equity of public compensation. To this end, the Committee must take into account changes in the cost of living, private sector compensation, the country's financial status, the differences in earning among officials at different levels in the same and different services and any other factors deemed relevant.

In 1974, as a measure to solve the Human Resource Development problems facing the Civil Service, the OCSC set up a Planning and Coordination Centre for Civil Service Training. The main duties of this Centre were to formulate training policy and plan for training coordination in the public service. Later, in 1980, the Civil Service Training Institute (CSTI) was established to replace the Training and Coordination Centre and to serve as the training arm of the OCSC. The CSTI major functions are to enhance the formulation of training and development policy, to provide training leadership and to coordinate the training activities of every ministry.

In 1989, after nine years of sustained efforts, the Cabinet passed a resolution to adopt the Civil Service Development Policy. All ministries were instructed to consider the policy as the major set of guidelines in planning and conducting training and development activities for civil servants. The adoption of this written policy statement by the cabinet can be considered as one of the most important changes in the modern Thai civil service system. At the least, it has demonstrated acceptance and intention of the government to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of civil servants and to provide more support to government agencies in carrying out their training and development activities.

The Seventh national economic and social development plan for 1992-1996 emphasised the issue of manpower development in the public service; it was stated that 'training and development of government officials should be ranked as top priority and at the same time, the budget spent in carrying out training and development activities must be considered as a public investment'. The Eighth national economic and social
development plan (1997-2001) focuses on human development as one main objective of national development.

The evolution of personnel training and development in the Thai public service indicates that efficiency, effectiveness, quality and moral principles of civil servants are the prime concerns of the government and the public. In order to establish and maintain these most desirable qualifications, priority must be given to performance orientation so that deficiencies and ineffectiveness can be reduced and eliminated.

3.7. The Civil Service Development Policy

The rationale of the civil service development policy states that 'the Government realises that the civil service system should be improved to enhance the performance of government officials and to render services to the public at a higher speed. In this case, training and development is a vital tool to strengthen knowledge, capability, skills, appropriate attitudes and values of civil servants in performing their work.'

A policy statement on Civil service training and development was revised and approved by the Cabinet on November 19, 1996, which consisted of eleven important considerations:

1) Systematic and continuous training programme, development must be provided, supported and strongly encouraged for civil servants at all levels, occupations and functions.

2) A rotation system must be supported for the benefit of civil servant development.

3) Training and development must be geared towards equipping civil servants with up-to-date knowledge, skills and appropriate attitudes to effectively serve the people and to perform duties assigned in a manner consistent with the changing conditions and must develop their potential to give the country a competitive edge in the global arena.

4) Training and development of civil servants must be practical in orientation, with approaches and methods that produce tangible results and effective practices.
There must be effective evaluation and follow-up mechanisms to ensure that the training and development efforts are worthwhile.

5) Training and development programs must be provided to civil servants who are promoted or transferred to positions or functions which change their duties and responsibilities.

6) Appropriate techniques consistent with the Public Sector Manpower Development Policy must be used to upgrade the quality of work performance and to fully utilise existing personnel instead of increasing the number of staff. This also applies to civil servants in specific occupational areas where there are serious personnel shortages.

7) Training and development of civil servants must be supported in all units of government and should be considered as a necessary investment. The allocation of budget and length of time for training and development must be clearly determined.

8) Close collaboration and coordination in the utilisation of resource must be promoted among government, academic and private sector institutions to ensure effective results, minimize waste and to prevent redundancy.

9) A policy and implementation plan for training and development of civil servants should be set up among departments, agencies and provincial units and effective mechanisms created for evaluation and follow-up.

10) The creation of training and development units within ministries, departments and provinces should be promoted and supported to ensure that they will have appropriate structures and a sufficient number of qualified staff.

11) Central agencies and other agencies concerned must be encouraged to support and to collaborate and coordinate with ministries, departments and provincial unit in terms of budget, manpower, foreign assistance and instructional personnel in carrying out development activities consistent with this policy.

In order to effectively implement this policy, the CSC issued manuals detailing measures to be taken by the ministries and departments in preparing their own civil service development plans in accordance with the policy statement.
Performance evaluation is one of the means used to improve overall public personnel performance. Practically, it is used for the purposes of appointment, professional enhancement opportunities and salary step increases. The Civil Service Act specified that a supervisor is obliged to encourage his/her subordinates to conduct themselves appropriately as civil servants and to perform their duties effectively. For the purpose of salary step increases, ministries and departments are authorised to conduct performance evaluations in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by CSC. Superior officers have to review the quality and quantity of work accomplished; the efficiency and effectiveness of efforts, ability and industry exhibited in work, work performance, observance of discipline and appropriate behaviour. Salary increase depends on the evaluation. For a one-step increase one must earn a satisfactory evaluation; if the evaluation does not meet satisfactory level an increment for that particular year would be denied. Excellent and outstanding ratings will earn a one-and-a-half or a two-step increase respectively. Clearly, effective performance evaluation for salary increase or promotion cannot be realised if the influence of such social values as personal prevail in the performance evaluation process. If they do their favourites they will always win in the promotional game which is now played in the Thai civil service system.

The Civil Service Commission values this aspect as one of the most important in public administration. Effective employee relations promote cooperation in the public sector; it creates understanding unity and good relationship among departments so they can work as one organisation. There is no formal unit established for management employee mechanisms that have been set up to take care of financial and social matter; e.g. internal sports activities to create unity and cooperation among officials within the organisation, welfare and loan services which are aimed at easing financial difficulties. Civil servants are not allowed to set up or join unions, so there is no union for civil servants. However, there is a Civil Servants Association, which can take a stand on conflict issues and protect the civil servants' rights. Conflict and administrative problems are considered through the Civil Service Act, which provides disciplinary action, appeals and complaints. The Government is considering the creation of an administrative Court
to handle appeals and cases involving ministries and departments and conflicts between government and bureaucrat.

To discipline public servants has been a prime concern of the government in the past and at present. The policy statement of new governments always stresses that the government must make efforts to prevent and suppress corruption and misconduct in the public service. One of the objectives of the civil service reform and development project of 1991 was to improve the quality and moral standards of civil servants; to ensure that civil servants work better and behave better.

In the Civil Service Act of 1992, disciplinary procedural systems have been revised, with the introduction of the code of ethics as an important positive measure for government officials to maintain their good discipline. Section 91 of the Act states:

"An ordinary civil servant must observe and conform to the rules, administrative practices, and the code of ethics for civil servants prescribed by the civil service commission (CSC)."

Failure to perform one's duties faithfully, honestly and fairly and violation of rules and regulations lead to disciplinary action. The following conduct and action are considered malfeasance in office, a breach or a gross breach of discipline:

- to wrongly perform or refrain from performing an official duty in order to obtain unjust gain for oneself or others;
- negligence in the performance of official duties causing detriment to the service;
- intentional failure to carry out laws, administrative rules; cabinet resolutions or national policies which causes detriment to the service;
- disclosure of official secrets causing detriment to the service;
- treating members of the public in an insulting, contemptuous, overbearing or oppressive manner;
- seeking or permitting others to seek gain which may affect impartiality or bring
discredit to the service

To take or not to take disciplinary action against a civil servant will depend upon
the nature and circumstances of the violation. According to the Civil Service Act of
1992, it is the duty of the superior officer to take immediate action when it is found that
there is reasonable evidence to believe that a civil servant under his/her supervision is
in breach of discipline. It also stated in section 99, that apart from proceeding with
disciplinary action where there are reasonable grounds to do so, the superior officer
must encourage his/her subordinates to maintain discipline and prevent them from
being in breach by himself/herself behaving in such a way as to serve as a good model.
Moreover, he/she is expected to provide his/her subordinates with appropriate moral
training, development and undertake other actions to develop good attitudes, rational
thinking and disciplined behaviour.

When bureaucratic procedures stipulate that disciplinary action must be taken
against a public servant, the case must be taken through a just and prompt investigation
in search of the facts. Normally, when an accusation is lodged against a civil servant or
where there is cause to suspect that a government officer is guilty of official misconduct,
the supervisor must investigate the matter as soon as possible and decide whether or
not there are reasonable grounds for this accusation or suspicion. The superior is
expected to take the following action:

1) if the case is in connection with a non-gross breach of discipline, the superior
   authority will proceed as he/she deems administratively appropriate;
2) if the case relates to a gross breach of discipline, the first action taken will be
   appointment of a commission or inquiry;
3) so that the accused person can prepare a defence and explanation during
   the course of the inquiry, he/she will be officially informed of the grounds upon
   which the accusation is based, together with summary evidence supporting
   the accusation;
4) if the inquiry finds that the accused is in breach, action will be taken under the Civil Service Act as appropriate. However, if the inquiry finds there has been no breach, the disciplinary action will end;

5) if the accused is found guilty of a breach of discipline not amounting to a gross breach, punishment is by reprimand, reduction in salary or a salary step demotion depending on the seriousness of the breach. But, if it is considered a gross breach of discipline, punishment is by dismissal or expulsion, depending on the gravity of the case;

6) a civil servant who is punished under the civil service act is entitled to appeal within thirty days from the day on which he is informed of the order of the punishment. Appeals can be submitted to the Provincial, Department, or Ministry Civil Service Sub-Commission (CSSC) or directly, to the Civil Service Commission (CSC). Consideration of appeals is governed by the rules and procedures prescribed in the CSC regulations;

7) in addition to the above mentioned disciplinary actions, a civil servant may be discharged from service with compensatory gratuity or pension if found that he/she is unable to carry out official duties, that he/she conducts himself/herself in a manner not befitting the position, that his/her work performance is deficient, or if unable to carry out official duties, conduct not in a manner befitting the position, deficient work, and or if the appointing finds that continuing employment will be a detriment to the service. In this case, the discharged employee can lodge a complaint with the CSC within thirty days from the day on which he/she is informed of the discharge order.

The principle followed in handling disciplinary proceedings against public servants is given in section 101 of the Civil Service Act of 1992.

“Punishment shall be appropriate to the nature of the breach and care shall be taken to ensure that it is not vindictive or determined in anger, or imposed upon an innocent person".
On March 8, 1994, the government announced the first code of professional ethics for Civil Servants in the Royal Gazette (Appendix II). This code of ethics was developed and submitted to the government by OCSC as part of the civil service reform actions.

The rationale for establishing this code of ethics is to:

- ensure the appropriate conduct of and responsibility towards the civil servant's duties;
- bring about efficient and effective work performance among civil servants; and
- uphold the honour and reputation of civil servants, so as to encourage admiration and respect among the general public.

Above all, it is believed that this code can be used as a tool to help solve, or at least minimise, the problems of breach of discipline and misconduct in the public service.

To implement the code of professional ethics for civil servants effectively, the OCSC submitted a plan to the cabinet which was approved in June, 1995. Some of the measures that need to be carried out are as follows:

1) The Eighth national economic and social development plan of 1997-2001 must include the intention to implement the code of professional ethics for civil servants through establishing and carrying out measures with support from the government and concerned agencies.

2) The subject of professional ethics for civil servants must include training programs of civil servants at every level, especially at entry level.

3) The professional ethics for civil servants must be included and tested in both competitive examinations for government service and selective examination for promotion to higher positions.

4) A category related to civil servants' personal conduct conforming to the professional ethics must include performance appraisals for annual salary increase or promotion.
Success or failure in implementing the code of professional ethics for civil servants will depend upon the sincerity and continuing support from the government, the strong commitment from department among civil servants.

3.8. Public Service Reform in Thailand

The impact of Thailand's economic crisis has been pervasive and far-reaching. Many business organisations collapsed or transferred their business to foreign investors. The unemployment rate increased markedly in almost every kind and level of business activity; the quality of life of millions suffered a decline, as did resources required for development in every sector. At the same time corrupt and unethical practices began to increase. All these have caused serious problems for the country. Solutions to the problems required courage and sacrifice from the leadership and cooperation from every sector of the society, political, public organisations, private agencies, the media and most importantly, understanding and support of the general public.

The process of transformation from a bureaucratic polity to a democratic polity, involves the tussle between bureaucrats whose goal is to maintain their traditional power and the new political actors, such as elected MPs, who want to see the Thai bureaucracy reformed.28 The new guiding reform philosophy in Thailand, to a great extent, follows the principles of the democratic governance paradigm which advocates a government that is smaller and does less, a government with a global vision and flexible organisations, a government that is highly accountable to citizens and elected politicians, and a government that is fair.

Through globalisation and the Third Wave information era, Thai reformers easily learn about the reform experiences of other countries, who are very open to ideas,

especially from the developed countries such as the OCED. Information about administrative reform in other countries is widely collected by government officials and politicians. There is an unusual willingness among Thai reformers to look into western experiences such as the United Kingdom and the United States for reform innovations. Study-trips are often organised by ministries and departments to send their officials to learn how foreign counterparts are reforming their bureaucracies. Redundancies and waste of public funds for such purposes are common. Very often, Thai reformers will use the success experiences of foreign countries to justify their reform proposals. In practice, the problem is that the particular context that provided for the success of reform of foreign countries is not given serious consideration. Thai reformers tend to pick and choose freely certain aspects of Western reform experiences that would strengthen their reform proposals and support their "hidden agendas." For example, the "hidden agenda" of a reform proposal submitted by bureaucrats may contain clauses that lead to domain expansion and the creation and upgrading of positions with higher Position Classification levels to fulfil their career advancements opportunities.

Public service reform is a critical requirement for effective management of the public sector which enable the country to surmount the current crisis and move towards a strong and self-reliant path in this era of globalisation. The expectations of the Thai people are that the country's public service reform efforts will result in a public administration mechanism that is efficient, transparent, credible and reliable. The mission of the government must be to ensure a public sector management system that operates effectively, efficiently, honestly and transparently.

In a changing polity such as Thailand, and impact of globalisation, administrative reform follows a more "macro" or governance tradition with goals to install democratic governance in the bureaucratic-dominant administrative state. The institutionalisation of

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democratic institutions such as, the establishment of an Ombudsman Office, Administrative Court, and Freedom of Information Act, are examples of reform proposals congruent with the governance tradition. Of course, micro reforms such as improving the efficiency of public services in the management tradition are also practised at the same time.

Studies on improving the public service pointed to the need for several measures: improvement in the bureaucratic system; decentralisation of functions to local administrative units; elimination of some public sector activities; improvement in the quality of government officials and of services to the public; creation of an incentive system for civil servants; and the development of means to prevent misconduct and corruption. In 1998 Cabinet Resolution established a Permanent Public Service Reform Commission and an Office of the Public Service Reform Commission. The Cabinet also approved in May 1999, a management reform plan proposed by the Commission that takes a holistic view of reform, revising the entire public management system under a results-based model known as New Public Management. The new approach emphasises on outputs with the public as its central focus. Budgetary allocations were proposed for the operation of the reform efforts.

The Public Service Reform Commission has the following responsibilities:
• to make proposals and give advice to the Cabinet on determining and revising the government roles and functions, organisational structures and government management system;
• to develop administrative laws consistent with the development of political, administrative, economic and social institutions and to study, with a view to their revision, acts, regulations and directives that are seen to inhibit an effective bureaucratic system;
• to carry out, monitor and evaluate activities geared towards implementing the Public Service Reform Master Plan and report their progress to the Cabinet;
• to promote public awareness and disseminate information about public service reform;
• study obstacles and problems in government agencies and recommend solutions.

To summarise, the activities of the Public Sector Reform Commission comprise three major areas of undertaking:

1) Policy Development: The Commission is responsible for the development of recommendations for policies and measures to bring about significant changes in the Thai bureaucratic structure and operational procedures. These recommendations have involved several important areas, among them are setting measures to right-size the government workforce and government agencies consistent with their functions; drafting the Public Organisation Acts of 1999 to transform government agencies for greater flexibility and to enable alternatives in public management; establishing a Senior Executive Service to improve the recruitment and training of highly capable senior executives as professional managers for public organisations; revising the roles and functions of ministries in the Economic Ministry Group, i.e., the Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and Ministry of Industry to increase the country's efficiency and capacity to compete in the world community.

2) Research and Studies: The Commission works with educational institutions and research institutes to conduct research, undertake studies, and suggest innovations to enable greater efficiency in the bureaucracy: studies conducted have involved evaluation of measures to right-size the government workforce; constraints and obstacles within government agencies in the implementation of Cabinet directives and measures; studies on means of more actively involving the private sector in public sector activities; and appropriate models for increasing private sector responsibility for the management of activities previously entrusted to government agencies. In addition to the publication of papers and studies the Commission also organises academic meetings, seminars and workshops to disseminate information about and progress of the public service reform efforts.

3) Management of Reform Activities: To stimulate and promote cooperation of all sectors of society in the reform process, the Commission has worked to establish a network of citizens, the media and public and private sector organisations to support the
efforts. The dissemination of its papers, reports, seminar proceedings, research studies and other information as well as other public relations activities through the media is aimed at gaining the understanding and support of government officials and employees as well as the general public. There has been noticeable success in this effort, with citizen groups, the media, as well as civil servants becoming more interested in the reform activities and in the outcomes and changes that are taking place.

The Public Sector Management Reform Plan utilises a number of mechanisms to effect changes in the management of five major core functions of the public sector:

a) Revision of the roles, functions and management approaches of the public sector
b) Budget, finance and procurement management reform
c) Personnel management reform
d) Legal reform
e) Reform of cultural and public values.

A) Revision of the Roles, Functions and Management Approaches of the Public Sector

This mechanism emphasises the setting up of clear directions for restructuring the roles, functions and management approaches of public sector organisations to achieve the goals of social and economic development and to increase the country's capacity for competing in the global marketplace. In order to undertake this mission, the overhauling of the organisational and management structure of six key ministries related to economic policies was set as a priority. The restructuring activities focus on increasing opportunities, reducing bureaucratic constraints and increasing the country's leverage in international negotiations. The National Economic and Social Development Board is entrusted with the responsibility of implementing the policy.

B) Budget, Finance and Procurement Management Reform
This mechanism focuses upon effecting changes in the budget management system to emphasise outputs and outcomes. The Bureau of the Budget is responsible for implementing the changes. The new management approach is expected to result in greater efficiency and effectiveness in the budget system, making the allocation process more flexible and convenient and ensuring that it is consistent with the current needs. The legal basis for budget allocation must also be revised for consistency and appropriateness. Effective budget management will then lead to improved public management processes as a mechanism to control and examine the utilisation of resources for the public benefit.

C) Personnel Management Reform Plan

Under the New Personnel Management System, the government requires highly competent leaders with vision, discipline and a strong sense of responsibility, along with strong, honest and professional staff loyal to their organisations. Responsibility for this plan is given over to the Office of the Civil Service Commission. The reform activities till date have set up various measures for implementation to move the bureaucracy toward this 'New Management' approach, focusing on preparing the top executives to take the lead in implementing the reform plans in their organisations throughout the public sector. Besides, 'right-sizing' of the public sector workforce has been undertaken to promote flexibility and appropriate recruitment and appointment criteria have been developed to ensure that there are competent, suitable and motivated individuals in each position in the bureaucracy.

D) Legal Reform

The existing laws and regulations of the public management system need to be amended, updated and made consistent, realistic and responsive to the need of solve problems in a timely and equitable manner. The Public Sector Management Reform Plan includes significant focus on the improvement of the legal process. For example, a change in the procedures for drafting and
promulgating laws are aimed at speeding the process, simplifying the language for easier understanding, making the laws responsive to change and ensuring that the central database of laws is complete, current and available for use by various organisations. These changes will be of great assistance to organisations in carrying out their work more conveniently and quickly. The Council of State is charged with the responsibility for implementation of this plan.

E) Reform of Public Sector Culture and Values

The attitudes and conduct of public servants play an important role in successful public sector management. The reform process requires the cooperation of and acceptance by all civil servants to make it successful. Government employees need to participate in working towards the goals of the reform plans. The Office of the Civil Service Commission is responsible for the implementation of a plan to reform the public sector culture and values to correspond with the new public management system. Professional codes of conduct and ethical behaviour of public servants have been developed, along with revision of the procedures for rewards and punishment procedures and a system for protecting those who provide information to the government sector. When public officials have acquired a new set of cultural values for public service, the goals of the reform process will be more easily achieved.

In addition to the mechanisms described above, the Public Service Reform effort is assisted by other mechanisms. These consist of a number of bodies already in existence, like the Office of the Civil Service Commission, the National Compensation Commission, the Board of Conduct of Public Service Activities by Public Agencies and the National Commission on Public Sector Human Resources Policy. These committees have worked along with the other mechanisms supporting public service reform through participation in the implementation of the Public Sector Management Reform Plan.

The activities implemented and the mechanisms set in place to carry out the Public Sector Management Reform Plan are the first steps in reforming the structure
and administration of the public sector, to create a new approach to public management for the country. These activities and mechanisms need continuity and support to ensure the accomplishment of the desired goals.

Personnel Management System is the core task to make reform or change successful. New Public Management Reform is necessary for developing potential of government staffs having quality and efficiency, which is the main task of changing policy of country development of method of works. In addition, organising workforce in the public organisation is to be of right-sizing and flexible for management. The outcome is measured by the following:-

1.) Rightsizing of Public Workforce

Workforce that corresponds with functions in organisations has the right size of the basic philosophy of personnel management. The appropriate workforce makes public sector lose budget cost. At present the expense of personnel is 42 percent of the total budget cost. If nothing is done workforce will increase continuously, which will result in the collapse of the public sector and hinder the budgets for developing the country. The important policy for Public Management Reform now is rightsizing of public workforce.

The Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) as a secretariat of Public Service Reform Committee have submitted many measures in downsizing public workforces which are:-

• A Measure to Rightsizing the Government Workforce: Public Servants, issued on April 28, 1998, provides for elimination of not less than 80 percent of the public service positions vacated through retirement, with the remaining 20 percent reserved for allocation to high priority needs;

• A Measure to Rightsizing the Government Workforce: Permanent Employees, issued on May 26, 1998, eliminates vacant non-public service positions and those vacated through retirement;

• Early Retirement Scheme, initially launched on June 29 and then on December 7, 1999 aimed at streamlining and rightsizing the government workforce. The scheme targets the voluntary retirement of government officials who have reached 50 years of
age or who have attained twenty-five years of service. Thereafter, 80 percent of the vacated positions will be frozen.

Right-Sizing of public workforce in the past make downsizing workforce of Civil Servant and Permanent Employees concrete and clear. Overall result of the measure is to minimize number of Civil Servants 29,627 positions and Permanent Employees 9,889 positions, total is 39,516 positions. Actually, in case of normal retirement it saves the budget as in 1999, 1,662,675,790 baht and in 2000, 2,140,486,360 baht. The total is 3,803,162,150 baht. We can compare the budget expenditures and manpower in the Table 3.4

Table 3.4: Comparison of Budget Expenditures and Manpower during Fiscal Year 1995-2003 (in millions of Baht)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Expenditures</th>
<th>Percentage GDP</th>
<th>Salaries and Remuneration</th>
<th>Percentage Expenditures</th>
<th>Number of Employees**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>715,000</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>209,609.7</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>1,873,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>843,200</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>223,717.0</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>1,917,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>925,000</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>242,847.0</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>1,967,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>830,000</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>291,580.9</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>1,913,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>825,000</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>263,210.9</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>1,976,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>860,000</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>275,047.9</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>1,957,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>910,000</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>279,940.9</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>1,921,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1,023,000</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>287,494.5</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>1,624,185***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>999,900*</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>298,027.1</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: *Budget figures are from the Fiscal Year 2003 Budget Summary of the Office of the Budget. Salaries and remuneration include regular salaries of permanent civil servants, military personnel, police, justices, prosecutors, and government teachers.

**Manpower figures are from the remuneration and Compensation Policy Group of the Office of the Civil Service Commission and include those on the payroll as on September 30 of the fiscal year for civil servants, employees in central, provincial and
local administrative agencies, as well as those employed in state enterprises, but not including military personnel.

***Figures for 2002 do not include employees of state enterprises.

2.) Senior Executive Service System (SES)

The Senior Executive Service is an important component of the public sector reform agenda proposed by the OCSC. Its main objective is to establish a Senior Executive Service as a separate human resource management system for senior officials having executive responsibility with the aim of developing ethical, accountable and qualified leaders. Appointment to the Committee remains the authority of the permanent secretary, as prescribed in Section 52 of the 1992 Civil Service Act.

The proposed Level 9 Senior Executive Service is considered a primary step towards the creation of highly qualified leaders and the development of integrity and transparency in the public sector. The second step, development of a Level 10 Senior Executive Service, is in the planning stages.

Applying Senior Executive Service System (SES) will make public sector in the future having professional administrators. They have more knowledge, more vision, high responsibility, make decision bravely, and administrate focusing on benefit of people. The most important one is to reduce and protect buying and selling position.

3.) Delegating Authority in Assigning Positions

The Civil Service Commission has delegated to the Civil Service Sub-Commissions the authority to revise positions in all segments of work with starting positions of PC (Position Classification) Level 1, PC Level 2 and PC Level 3, for all positions PC Level 8 downward. The objective is to allow flexibility in adjusting the staff positions so that they correctly reflect the level of responsibility demanded by the civil servants’ work and the quality of work. This would help improve the efficiency and effectiveness in providing public services agent.
To facilitate the efforts of the government agencies for improvement of the system of work and administration, the OCSC issued three circulars.

1. Circular No. 0707.1/23 dated October 31, 1997, delegates the authority to adjust positions in the segments of work with starting positions beginning from PC Level 1 and PC Level 2. Adjustments are allowed for positions up to PC Level 5 for clerical or administrative work segments and up to PC Level 6 for technical or specialised work segments.

2. Circular No. 0707.1/24, dated October 31, 1997, authorises the assigning of positions in work segments with the lowest starting position of PC Level 3. For general academic work segments adjustments are allowed for positions up to PC Level 6, but for professional, or skilled work or work involving specialised skills, the upper limit is PC Level 7.

3. Circular No. 0707.4.4/5, dated April 25, 1994, authorises position assigning for scientific and technical work segments with the starting position at PC Level 3, and allows for adjustment in positions up to PC Level 7; for research and development segments the upper limit is PC Level 8, which also caps the work segments that begins with a minimum of PC Level 5.

The policy to delegate the authority for designating positions up to Level 8 is the first step toward the decentralisation of personnel management in the public sector from the central agency to the line agencies, facilitating a better match between the position and the individual’s competency and reliability in the work performance. The OCSC has also developed and distributed a computer programme that enables the agencies to evaluate the work of its staff making it easy to decide on promotion to the next level and helps build a basic database for the different positions.

4.) A Project to Develop a Model for Right-Sizing the Public Workforce.

The Office of the Civil Service Commission has developed a project to right-size the public workforce through a simulation model technique that helps develop a macro-level view of personnel needs. The project focuses on education and health sector needs for personnel during the period 2000-2002.
The major result of this project is the development of an appropriate indicator for forecasting which has the concurrence of the related government agency. During the project's implementation the simulation model has helped to provide an overview of workforce needs in the education and health sector that will be the basic tool for decisions on manpower planning. For example, the education sector forecast is that there will be approximately 24 million young people in the 'student' age bracket in the year 2008. Approximately 700,000 teachers and academic staff would be required to accommodate this number. However, the approximate number of personnel currently involved in the teachers and academic staffs is 660,000, with 500,000 of these under the Ministry of Education. If the current needs of the Ministry of Education in academic management were revised downward from 73 percent to 40 percent of future needs, the number of teachers and academic staff now required would decrease to 290,000.

As for the health sector, it was found that the main problem is in the distribution of health workers, with a high concentration in Bangkok and in metropolitan centres. For example, the population of Bangkok is only 10 percent of the country's population, but 50 percent of the number of health workers are located there. The project to set simulation models to downsize the public workforce in the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Public Health has created greater understanding among the cooperating staff of each agency in the concepts and approaches needed for more effective and efficient manpower planning.

3.9. The Future Perspective of Thai Civil Service System

In the 21st century, the relationship between nations/countries is changing dramatically. With the development of modern communication, the exchange of goods and services nationally, regionally and internationally is increasingly becoming a "global community." The trans-national cooperative activities cause a great impact on the national economy and politics as well as on the regional and global economics. The external factors develop together with the internal pressures cause new challenges
towards the civil service role. In order to cope with these challenges, the civil service should review and reconsider its own roles and functions, at the same time, find best measures to exercise its functions. A civil service, which is capable enough to meet the requirements of the present situation, should learn how to recognise in advance the social demands and development factors and meet the demands creatively. It also learns how to think and act independently and actively. Instead of exercising its functions as a machine, the civil service should act as facilitators to help economic organisation to gain ample opportunities of development, to create a convenient business and investment environment for both external and internal economic sectors. The renovation and adjustment right inside the administrative system is also a must. A modern civil service for 21st century must be an environment in which not only institutions and agencies but also individual of the civil service as well as of the society can develop comprehensively.

Threats to the future quality of public services are a problem of great concern for the Thai government. Labour shortages due to the consecutive growth of the economy and the success of population management, changes in social values, the adverse image of the public service, the introduction of medical insurance for private sector employees through the social security act of 1990, and the emergence of old-age income insurance in the private sector have affected the ability to attract and retain competent personnel in the public sector. All these contribute to the continuing outflow of persons of ability and integrity in the Thai bureaucracy. In turn this will affect Thailand’s future economic and social development.

With such a wide gap between demand and supply of labour, many private companies compete to offer high compensation and some even adopt brain drain policies. As a result, qualified and experienced public personnel continue to leave and few highly qualified candidates enter the service. Government reorganisation is required to maintain a competitive advantage; Thailand is no exception to this situation. The civil service commission is aware that it needs to change its approach to public personnel
administration, civil servants and civil service development and to develop innovative policies and guidelines to improve the performance of public administration.

Current innovations in public personnel administration are:

- Fast-stream project: aims to attract competent new hires from leading universities along with retaining gifted civil servants in the public sector;
- Delegation and decentralisation to increase the capability of responsible committees in personnel administration, such as ministry sub-commissions, etc. so that the civil service commission can concentrate on its mission of playing a strategic and consultative role rather than an administrative one.
- Manpower planning: to search for new approaches to selection of employees for the public sector with the emphasis being on reduced personnel utilisation in order to make funds available for remuneration reform, thus lessening brain drain problem.

Other strategies include:

- Employing flat organisational structure in departments by classifying more specialised/higher rank positions and fewer operational/lower rank positions;
- Freezing the size of manpower by allowing departments to replace only retiring positions;
- Out-placing underutilised personnel via an outplacement centre run by the OCSC in line with the cabinet resolution;
- Conducting analytical studies to develop process for transferring work to the private sector to increase private participation in public service. The Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) and functional departments must make a major effort to shift non-core business to the private sector, ensure better budget utilisation and decrease the size of bureaucracy. If the budget saved can be transformed into an attractive compensation package, this will help retain good employees in the public service;
- Separating executive personnel management from ordinary personnel management as practiced in other countries.
In the strategic plan of the OCSC for the next five years (1996-2000) the four key approaches to recruitment and selection involve:

- establishing an active recruitment and selection system;
- utilising technology in the administration of competitive examinations as well as advanced techniques in assessing applicants;
- using an assessment centre approach both for promoting executives and assessing new recruits; and
- delegating personnel transactions, especially recruitment and selection to the implementing agencies.

Many programs and activities have thus been introduced to achieve results in those key areas, such as an internship program called the "Chaiyaruek Project", where university students are selected for internship to experience civil service activities. The project aims to promote the right attitude toward the civil service role in the development of the nation.

As a result of the impact of economic growth, social change and international position classification in which the labour market concentrates more on specialised, professional or expert positions, in the future, the OCSC plans to improve the position classification system by:

- using international position classification standards in further developing the system;
- conducting studies relating to effective position classification approaches which focus upon career advancement, particularly for executives, and flexible personnel administration systems, which provide better opportunities for promotion;
- coordinating with departments to study and set suitable position classification structures for specific departments and for those who work overseas;
• studying the position classification process for executives, commensurate with international standards to ensure flexibility in the civil service.

The compensation reform mission of the Nation Compensation Committee (NCC) to cope with the problem of attracting and retaining personnel, the NCC has set as its mission a reform of public compensation, through the following procedures, given in order of difficulty and complexity:

• to improve the internal equity of the public compensation in the same and different public services;
• to raise public compensation to the level where public personnel need not be concerned about making ends meets so they can dedicate their efforts and spirit to working for public benefit;
• to bring public sector compensation closer to that of the private sector for positions requiring equivalent knowledge, abilities, and experience for the sake of social justice and for the assurance of the flow continuity persons of high calibre to the public sector, as well as to facilitate the future exchange of staff between the public and private sector

The ultimate goal of Thai public sector compensation reform is to achieve par with private sector compensation, with greater emphasis being placed on take-home pay. Means of curbing or controlling public personnel costs while raising the salaries of civil service workforce are under consideration to control the size of the government workforce and to selectively raise public sector salaries. To facilitate the selective salary increases, the Thai public service salary scale is moving toward a shift from currently used 'single-pay-scale structure', where every occupation in the same public service organisation uses the same pay scale, to a 'multiple-pay-scale structure', where occupations or schemes of service have their own pay scales.

The Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) is conducting a number of projects to enhance efficiency and effectiveness within organisations; namely, the
Public Service Performance Improvement Project, the Competency Enhancing Pilot Project and the Re-engineering Project. Each project has a common focus: to analyse present function of organisation to retain core functions and discard obsolete ones. Meanwhile, government agencies are being encouraged to develop vision and mission statements which are customer-oriented, concentrate on oversight rather than execution, and which promote privatisation and contractorisation. The vision statements should focus on deregulation, which is expected, will lead to an analysis of the present organisation structure and to the design of an improved structure that is modernised, technology-oriented and which is consistent with the vision and mission statement of the organisation.

The concept of smaller government is the approach being sought, incorporating privatisation and the contracting-out of functions which the private sector has the ability to perform as well as or better than the public sector. Financial and budgetary reform will have to be undertaken simultaneously to allow more freedom and flexibility in financial administration at the departmental level to enhance efficiency. Government agencies are being encouraged to manage by results through a planning and monitoring process rather than by controlling input.

3.10. Conclusion

In the context of globalisation mentioned above it required a serious commitment to continuously improve the Civil Service systems is required to quickly develop capacities and strengthen system in order to respond to rapid changes and to serve as mechanism for national development, working along with the political leadership to overcome crises, solve the national problem and increase the competitiveness. This clearly states that the civil service of Thailand is changing rapidly, in the 21st century with a rational and appropriate organisational structure and a contingent of civil servants qualified and capable enough to exercise their tasks effectively qualified to make a positive contribution to the renovation and development process of the nation.
Changes in the Thai Civil Service have taken place gradually over time. Now this change is becoming more strategically planned and proactive, moving toward government administration characterised by a global perspective, a flatter and smaller organisation and a global perspective and better and faster service by committed professionals. The Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) expects to play a leading role and serve as a consultation centre to provide advice and assistance to departments inaugurating changes in their organisation. The contingent of civil servants will be strengthened and developed in capacity and quality, administrative agencies will be rationally restructured, administrative procedures will be simplified and administrative institutions will be perfected. The new policy on training will enable civil servants to understand and get involved in the development of civil service in the region as well as in the world.

The civil service of Thailand has undergone several dramatic changes particularly in the last decade. To reform and restructure the civil service to become more dynamic, proactive, citizen-oriented and customer driven in its dealings with the public are being done to equip the civil service for the 21st century. Besides, efforts are also made to develop human resource management to bring about the paradigm shift in the civil service. The need to change the mind-sets and customer-driven and ultimately to create an excellent work culture is the cornerstone of success. As the present environment is characterised by international trade liberalisation, globalisation of markets and new geopolitical realities, civil servants are to be trained to be equipped with technical and practices to develop skills in trade negotiations. Emphasis is also given to behavioural change and the cultivation of positive work ethics and values among civil servants along with the importance of sustainable development while promoting development. Human resource development will continue to be an important strategy to provide the vehicle for civil servants to cope with the changing environment and to foster the habit of learning so that they will always be ready, responsive and be better able to manage change, which are taking place constantly.
The civil service of Thailand continues to give high priority to the implementation of administrative improvement programmers as a continuous and on-going effort, in order to contribute more effectively to the development of the nation. The paramount concern is the achievement of the targets and goals encapsulated in national development policies and aspirations. The national vision is to achieve a fully developed nation status in the intellectual, spiritual and material demands purposeful and expeditious action on the part of all concerned. The civil service's significant role in this effort, as pacesetter, facilitator and regulator, requires strong leadership, total commitment, creativity and innovativeness.

The Thaksin Shinawatra government has recently implemented the most extensive reforms of the Thai bureaucracy since King Chulalongkorn sought to modernise it in the 19th century. An attempt was made to restructure bureaucracy as it had become unresponsive and inefficient, which acted as a barrier to democracy. It is not surprising that attention focused on the newly powerful societal groups as they became an important part of the polity.

One should take note of the role that political rhetoric about administrative reform plays in boosting the public image of the prime minister, individual ministers and the coalition government. In administrative reform of the Thai bureaucracy, there is a large gap between what is said and what is done. In coalition governments, political rhetoric about administrative reform from the prime minister to the individual ministers does daily exercises that often make news. Under coalition governments, administrative reform of the Thai bureaucracy under the principles of the democratic governance paradigm is very difficult to achieve. But the fact is that ministers who are elected cannot function without a bureaucrat that facilitates the democratic regime's policies. In Thailand, the performance of the Thai political system in the future rests on the success in balancing political reform with administrative reform.