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A HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF  
BUREAUCRATIC TENDENCIES IN THE  
BURMESE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

By

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## Chapter I

### Theoretical Background

Modern society is to a large degree a bureaucratic society. Many of its functional requirements such as allocation of means, operation of productive systems and maintenance of society as an integrated unit are carried out and controlled by large and complex organisations. Examples of such organisations include trade unions, government bureaucracies, religious institutions, industrial enterprises and other voluntary organisations. Among these organisations government bureaucracies are very important because this type of organisation provides a general framework within which the society operates and controls its social forces to stay within the bounds of law and order. However, in most underdeveloped countries it also initiates, promotes and develops its social and economic change.

In Burma where the development of secondary formal organisations are at a minimum, the government machinery constitutes the most important of all formal organisations. The role of the government bureaucracy is further enhanced because it is not only responsible for the general functions of law and order but also initiates social change. It promotes such measures as community development programs, introduction of new technology to agriculture and also operates new industrial enterprises which

are vital to the economy. So this paper studies the Burmese government machinery as to its developments, its characteristics, forces that shape these characteristics and their interrelationships and on the basis of our findings upon 203 higher and middle grades civil servants we shall draw meaningful generalizations about social forces and bureaucratic behaviour in the Burmese social setting.

As regards the "theory of bureaucracy", there existed categories for description and analysis and empirical generalizations connecting these categories. These prove helpful in analysing the structure of bureaucracy, the conditions of its growth and decline, the sources of intra-bureaucratic conflict, the relations of bureaucracy with its social and political environment, and the connections between the bureaucratic structure and the social and personal characteristics of the bureaucrat.

For our purpose we shall begin with the definition of the concept 'bureaucracy'. This word has both a 'popular' and a 'technical' usage, and these two usages must be differentiated. The popular view conceives of bureaucracy as government bureaus and equate it with 'red tapism', that is inefficiency, delay and mal-practices. This term connotes problems and weaknesses which are commonly found in government organisations. On the other hand, bureaucracy can be defined from a purely technical point of view without any reference to its strength, weaknesses, desirability

or undesirability, in many ways. To mention a few, Chester I. Barnard has defined a formal organisation as "a system of consciously co-ordinated activities or forces of two or more persons"<sup>1/</sup>. Thus, according to him a bureaucracy is an organisation in which human activities are formally and consciously co-ordinated to achieve the desired objectives. According to Peter M. Blau, "the type of organisation designed to accomplish large-scale administrative tasks by systematically co-ordinating the work of many individuals is called a bureaucracy"<sup>2/</sup>. However, Max Weber who may be considered the founder of the systematic study of bureaucracy has laid down the characteristics of a bureaucratic organisation as follows :

- (1) The regular activities required for the purposes of the organisation are distributed in a fixed way as official duties.
- (2) The organisation of offices follow the principle of hierarchy, that is each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one.
- (3) Operations are governed by a consistent system of abstract rules and consist of application of these rules to particular cases.
- (4) The ideal official conducts his office in a spirit of formalistic impersonality.

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<sup>1/</sup> Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 72-73.

<sup>2/</sup> Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society, (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 13,14.

- (5) It constitutes a career.
- (6) Appointment of officials are made on the basis of technical qualifications.
- (7) Payments of officials are in a form of fixed salary in money.<sup>3/</sup>

And as such, various categories of description of this form of organisation have been given by many social scientists in many different ways. However, although a bureaucracy may be very broadly defined there are certain characteristics of a purely bureaucratic type of organisation which they commonly agree. The enumeration of such characteristics will be as follows :

- (1) The organisation is made up of roles that will have to be performed by a large number of individuals and an individual may have to perform a role or sometimes more than one role.

Here, it appears necessary to clearly understand the meaning of the concept 'role'. The role is scientifically defined by H.M. Johnson as "that sector of the actor's orientation which constitutes and defines his participation in an interactive process"<sup>4/</sup>. For instance, the role of a father or brother, a manager or a clerk, etc.. It thus involves a set of complementary expectations concerning his own action and those of others with whom he interacts. Both the ~~actor~~<sup>actor</sup> and those with whom ~~the~~<sup>he</sup> interacts possess these expectations.

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<sup>3/</sup> From Max Weber : Essays in Sociology, translated by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 196.

Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, translated by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 330, 331, 334, 337, 340.

<sup>4/</sup> H.M. Johnson, Sociology: A systematic introduction. (New York: Burlingame, 1960), pp: 82-86.



- (2) The roles or a collection of roles which are normally referred to as offices or positions are formally organised in a pattern prescribing a positive relation between the rank of a unit and its powers.
- (3) The roles are learned by the respective individuals in the organisation.

Here, we encounter the process of socialization, that is learning which enables the learner to perform social roles.<sup>5/</sup> However, the socialization of bureaucratic roles takes place in the organisational setting although other forms of socialization such as learning to defer to authority figures or the internalisation of discipline which are helpful to the performance of bureaucratic roles usually begin in the early childhood and outside the organisation.

- (4) The activities of the individuals are controlled within the roles, that is the individual perform impersonal official obligations within the bounds of rules and regulations or orders laid down by the organisation.
- (5) <sup>the</sup> The organisation of roles is nothing but a means to attain the objectives formally agreed to accomplish, that is the organisation as a whole sets certain objectives and the individual activities function toward the attainment of the desired objectives.

Thus, trade unions, government bureaus, business corporations, and the like are formal structures in the sense that

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<sup>5/</sup> H.M. Johnson, op.cit., pp. 117-118.

they represent rationally ordered instruments for the achievement of stated goals. However, there also existed informal structures such as family, clan, cliques, etc. which are organised to accomplish some agreed purpose through the allocation of functions and responsibilities. The informal organisation, according to Chester I. Barnard, is the aggregated<sup>6/</sup> the personal contacts and interactions of the associated groups of people. The informal organisation is indefinite and rather structureless, and has no definite subdivision.<sup>6/</sup> Thus, in the informal type of organisation the activities are less predictable since they are based on personal relationships, the goals are less clearly defined and the life of the organisation may be limited to the life of the individual. Therefore, a bureaucratic type of organisation is considered superior to any other type of organisation in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline and in its reliability. According to Max Weber, "the fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compares with other organisations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production. Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs - these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic organisation".

"Its specific nature --- develops the more perfectly the more the bureaucracy is 'dehumanized', the more completely it

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<sup>6/</sup> Chester I. Barnard, op.cit., pp. 114-115.

succeeds in eliminating from official business, love, hatred and all purely personal, irrational and emotional elements which escape calculation."<sup>7/</sup>

The bureaucratic structure therefore demands reliability and predictability of behaviour. It is designed to induce an impersonal and rational orientation toward <sup>tasks</sup> ~~tasks~~ which is conducive to efficient administration. The impersonal official obligations are bound by specific rules and regulations. These like laws set forth commands and instructions, and persons subject to them are forced to follow. The more authoritative pronouncements there are, the more the individual is bound and the greater is the degree of inflexibility. Also, there is a constant need to provide mechanisms of control to check on the fulfilment of obligations and adherence to rules and regulations... Largely this task of supervision is built into the hierarchy of authority, that is the role of higher-in-rank includes obligations to check on the performance of lower-in-rank. However, to the degree that such enforcement through organisational behaviour is not sufficient specialized control agencies tend to develop. These are units outside the regular line structure which are in charge of specific sets of rules or orders. Hence, adding control units to the regular line control increases the accountability of the organisation. Accountability is likely to increase efficiency but it also often produces tensions and dysfunctions.

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<sup>7/</sup> From Max Weber; Essays in Sociology, op.cit., pp. 214-216.

Many social scientists have also observed that bureaucratization even in a strictly technical sense is not always functional or efficient. Among those who have empirically studied the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucratic structure, Robert K. Merton has pointed out that the demand for control made of the organisation by the top hierarchy takes the form of an increased emphasis on the reliability of behaviour within the organisation. The techniques used to ensure reliability draw upon the principle that the maximum efficiency will be obtained if the enterprise is organised to operate as a well structured machine. Thus standard operating procedures are set up and ensured that these procedures are, in fact, followed. So within the structure of hierarchically arranged authority the individual activities are governed by general, abstract and specified rules and regulations which preclude the necessity for the <sup>issuance</sup> ~~issuance~~ of specific instructions for each specific case. However, procedures designed to deal with general cases at a particular time cannot cope up with the changing conditions. So, the very structuring of the administrative system in a <sup>mechanical</sup> ~~mechanical~~ manner results in unwanted and unexpected consequences. <sup>This</sup> ~~This~~ means, actions based up on training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past way in a changing <sup>situation</sup> ~~situation~~ results in <sup>more or</sup> ~~more or~~ less serious mal-adjustments. <sup>8/</sup>

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8/ R.K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", Reader in Bureaucracy, ed., R.K. Merton and others, (Glencoe : The Free Press, 1952), pp. 364-366.

According to R.K. Merton, control is the inherent characteristic of the bureaucratic machinery. Uniform rules and regulations are set up for the purpose of proper functioning of the organisation. But the increased demand for reliability of behaviour and strict devotion to rules and regulations lead to internalizations of these rules by the participant. Thus, adherence to rules and regulations originally conceived as a means becomes transformed into an end in itself. This behaviour pattern is therefore partly inherent in the control practices in the bureaucratic organisation and the great length of exposure to the socialization processes which promote control in various organisations may make individuals less adaptable to the changing situation.

In this paper we shall study the bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese civil servants. Our investigation is made on the basis of two bureaucratic attitude dimensions : emphasis upon procedure and obedience to superior authority. The internalization or attaching values to the general organisational rules and regulations or procedures is considered to be the cause of special rigidity in bureaucratic behaviour and <sup>procedural</sup> ~~procedural~~ orientation of its personnel. Also, obedience to superior authority or hierarchy of the organisation may influence his bureaucratic performance. On the basis of the above theoretical formulation we derived the following hypotheses.

- (1) Length of service : Since the extent of internalization of rules and regulations etc. vary with the length of exposure to the various socialization processes in the bureaucratic organisations we derived the following hypothesis.

Those officials who have longer years of service tend to be more bureaucratic in their behaviour than those officials who have shorter years of services.

- (2) Age : Since <sup>age</sup>~~age~~ of the individual and his years of service usually vary together those officials who are older will also be more exposed to the socialization processes in bureaucratic organisations. It therefore follows that :

Those officials who are older will have more bureaucratic tendencies than those younger officials.

- (3) Grade : There are certain requirements such as accommodating authority, conforming various rules and regulations, etc., which the individual must fulfil in order to attain higher positions in a bureaucratic organisation. Under the assumption that those who attained higher positions or those who are successful in the bureaucracy have acquired such qualifications we derived the following hypothesis.

Those officials who hold higher positions will be more bureaucratic in their behaviour than those officials who are lower in rank.

- (4) Method of recruitment : Under the assumption that those officials who had to serve through ranks in order to attain higher positions will be more exposed to the socialization processes in bureaucratic organisations we derived the following hypothesis.

Those officials who attained higher positions by serving through ranks will have more bureaucratic tendencies than those officials who are directly recruited to such positions.

On the other hand, excessive adherence to bureaucratic rules or norms may be due to environmental conditions in which the bureaucracy operates. This is because the individual being a member of a larger society belongs to various sub-cultures such as families, class, rural culture or urban culture, etc.. The traditional beliefs and values socialized by the individual in a larger society provide him with norms and patterns which are of particular importance in his later performance of bureaucratic roles. For instance, the values and norms existing in the culture of most underdeveloped countries may not be in conformity with the bureaucratic norms of a highly industrialized society. Therefore, different types of pre-bureaucratic behaviour experiences that exist in different societies may have considerable influence over the individual's patterns of adjustment in the bureaucratic setting

From the above theoretical position we derived the following hypotheses.

- (5) Social origin : Since through <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ process of socialization all kinds of cultural values are internalized by the individual; the type of families from which the individuals came will be of considerable importance in their later performance of bureaucratic roles. We could therefore hypothesize as follows.

Those officials who are sons of government servants tend to conform more readily to bureaucratic roles than those officials who came from non-government servant families.

- (6) Geographical origin : Also, the place in which the individual had lived will influence his bureaucratic behaviour because those individuals who are socialized in the urban culture will be more exposed to the modern way of life than those socialized in rural culture. Thus, we obtained the following hypothesis.

Those officials who had lived in urban areas will be more adaptable to bureaucratic norms than those officials who came from rural areas.

- (7) Social mobility : Social mobility means the ability to move easily from ~~are~~<sup>one</sup> status level to another in the social structure of the country. Since social mobility of the individual in our study is measured in terms of the individual's father's occupational success, his educational level of attainment and his geographical origin against his occupational success we assumed that those individuals who have high official positions, who came from higher status families, who have had higher education and who also had lived ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> urban areas ~~are~~<sup>are</sup> considered to be less mobile than those officials, who came from lower status families, with lower level of education and also had lived in rural areas. Under the above assumption we derived the following hypothesis.

Those officials who are less mobile are likely to have more bureaucratic tendencies than those officials who are more mobile.

All these hypotheses will be tested on a group of 203 higher and middle grades civil servants in the Burmese government machinery and ~~an~~<sup>our</sup> findings will be related to the social forces in the Burmese setting.



## Chapter II

Administrative system under Burmese Kings

The study of the present administrative machinery would not be complete without reference to certain patterns which have continued from the past. The administrative system introduced by the British, after abolishing the Burmese monarchy, was continued in all essential aspects even after the attainment of independence and is considered to be highly divergent from the traditional Burmese administration. Yet the study of the present administrative system could be explained better if we consider its traditional developments, since no social system could have developed or existed without the influence of its past traditions. Many of the problems of the present-day administration could very well be explained through descending forces operating in the past. In other words, continuity of discontinuity of the traditional administrative practices in the modern bureaucracy will explain certain peculiar patterns of the present administrative system. With this idea in mind the present chapter will trace the development of the traditional administration and its related social forces.

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✓ Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure,  
(Glencoe : Free Press, 1957), Revised Edition, pp.3-16.

In analysing the traditional Burmese administration it will therefore be necessary and fruitful to find out what type of administration it was, to what extent it had evolved modern administrative practices such as proper division of authority and responsibility, payment of salaries and wages, development of career administrators, management through application of formal rules and regulations, etc., and what elements of it being carried on into the present administration. To guide us in our research we shall need a theoretical framework through which the significant aspects of the present system as well as its past developments could be fully comprehended. For that purpose, we shall use the formulation of German sociologist Max Weber who contributed much to the understanding of comparative administrative systems.

In his analysis Weber assumes certain types of administration as stages in the development of modern administrative practices, which could be classified into two main types: traditional and bureaucratic. The most primitive types of traditional authority are the cases where a group of personal administrative staff is absent. These are "gerontocracy" and "patriarchalism". The term gerontocracy is applied to the situation where imperative control is in the hands of a group of elders who are the most familiar with sacred traditions of the group, and patriarchalism is the situation where, within a group usually organised on both an economic and a

kindship basis, authority is exercised by a particular individual who is designated by a definite rule of inheritance. The decisive characteristic of both types, however, is that although authority is a private prerogative of the person or persons involved, it is an authority on behalf of the group as a whole, it must be exercised in the interest of its members and is not freely appropriated by the incumbent. Another type of traditional authority is "patrimonialism". This is the situation where a group of personal administrative staff, especially a military force, had developed under the control of the chief. The members are treated as subjects and authority becomes the chief's personal property which he appropriates freely among his administrative staff. This patrimonialism, however, is composed of two sub-types : centralized or pure patrimonialism and decentralized or estate patrimonialism. In the centralized type, the paramount chief or king alone exercises imperative control over his subjects, that is "sultanism". In this situation the patrimonial retainer receives his support either directly in kind or in the form of benefices. The amount is usually within the scope which is traditionally stereotyped and is not made hereditary. In such a situation it is possible to maintain a system of promotion on a basis of seniority or of particular objectively determined achievements. It is also possible to require a certain social status as a criterion of eligibility and to make use of the corresponding sense

of honour of a distinctive social group. In the decentralized type, all governmental authority and the corresponding economic rights tend to be treated as privately appropriated economic advantages. In such a situation, due to the appropriation of governing powers which include broadly political, military, and judicial as well as administrative powers by privileged social groups, the relation between the chief and his staff is not between the chief and his subjects but between the lord and his vassals, that is "feudalism". The members of such a privileged class participate in political and administrative decisions by a process of compromise with their chief. They also exercise imperative control on their own authority by means of their own administrative staff.<sup>2/</sup>

Weber also discusses the relation of traditional authority and the economic order. He stated that the primary effect of traditional authority on modes of economic activity is usually in a very general way to strengthen traditional attitudes. However, the type of traditional administration which is suited for economic development is decentralized patrimonialism, since it is possible to be organized on a monopolistic basis of meeting its needs partly by profit-making enterprise, partly by fees and partly by taxes.<sup>3/</sup> Since the types of administration mentioned above are all based on

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<sup>2/</sup> Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organisations, Translated by A.R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, London, 1947, pp. 317-325.

<sup>3/</sup> ~~Max Weber~~, <sup>Ibid.</sup> ~~op.cit.~~, pp. 325-329.

traditional values and attitudes, these are grouped together as traditional administration. Thus, the prominent characteristics of the traditional administration would include;

(a) authority structure organised on both an economic and a kinship basis, (b) legitimacy claimed on the basis of sacred traditions, (c) obligations of obedience on the basis of personal loyalty are essentially unlimited, (d) thus, there was diffuseness in the division of duties and responsibilities among the administrative staff, and (e) customary laws and traditions play a very important role in carrying out the administrative functions.

On the other hand, bureaucracy, a form of organisation which prevail in modern industrialized society, is a highly formalized organisation where functions and roles are highly specialized and specifically defined. According to Weber, "the fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compared with other organisations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production. Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic administration."<sup>4/</sup> Thus, a bureaucratic type of administrative machinery would have the following characteristics; (a) a clearly defined sphere of competence subject to impersonal

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<sup>4/</sup> From Max Weber : Essays in Sociology; translated by H.H. Berth and C. Wright Mills, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1946), p.196.

rules, (b) a rational ordering of relations of superiority and inferiority, (c) a regular system of appointment and promotion on the basis of free contract, (d) technical training as a regular requirement, and (e) the members are remunerated by salaries in money.

On the basis of the above theoretical formulation we shall find out the type of administration that existed under Burmese kings. We shall consider which of the characteristics of the Burmese administration conformed to any sub-type or types of traditional administration and which of its characteristics were bureaucratic, since it could not be expected to conform entirely to the traditional system or a bureaucracy. This historical analysis will make us understand better the difficulties that were encountered by the British in changing it to a purely bureaucratic machinery as well as some of the adjustments that were present in the modern bureaucracy.

The administrative system under Burmese kings was found to be a highly centralized machinery. The king was the head of the State and all government functions were carried out by a group of ranking officials called wungyi, wundauk, wun, etc. under his control. These officials constituted the Hluttaw, the supreme court of the country. Thus, this group of administrative officials included both civil and military functionaries of recognized statuses, who occupied certain specialized roles or departments such as Akunwun, Lamaingwun, Kyiwun, Myinwun.

Myinwun, etc..<sup>5/</sup> Though these officials the king exercised civil and military underlings. As regards local administration also, all government functions were carried out through the king's appointees such as governor or myowun,<sup>6/</sup> and only at the lowest level administration was through hereditary chiefs such as myothugyis and ywathugyis.<sup>7/</sup> These hereditary local chiefs being made to carry out orders of the Hluttaw and since there was no appropriation of governing powers by the king with a group of his administrative staff, the traditional Burmese administration appeared to be a highly centralized one.

The highly centralized system of Burmese administration was more or less explained by the economic and social structure which existed under Burmese kings. The economy of the country was largely based on agriculture, that is irrigated

- 5/ ရှေ့ကပ်(စ်)စာနိဗယ်နှင့်ဦး ဇေမေဝင်တင်၊ ဘမ္မဒီပနီ<sup>၂</sup>ဆောင်း  
 ကျမ်း ၊ စာမျက်နှာ၊ ၆၀၊ ၆၅၊ ၆၆။  
 ဦး ဇေဝင်ဇေဝင်တင်၊ ရွှေနန်း သုံး ဝေါဟာရအဘိဓာန်ဦး ရေနံပါတ်  
 ၁၀၂၊ ၁၀၆၊ ၁၃၂၊ ၁၃၃။
- 6/ ရွှေနန်း သုံး ဝေါဟာရအဘိဓာန်၊ ဦး ရေနံပါတ်၊ ၈၁၊ ၁၃၆၊ ၁၃၇၊  
 ၁၃၈။
- 7/ ဦး တင်၊ မြန်မာမင်း နှစ်ချုပ်စုံ၊ အဆွဲ၊ စာမျက်နှာ၊ ၁၇၊ ၁၈။ ပုဂံ  
 မြို့စစ်တမ်း၊ ၁၁၂၇၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသုတေသနစာစောင်အဆွဲ-၃၂၊  
 အပိုင်း ၁၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၁၅၇-၅၈။ ဦး တင်၊ မြန်မာ့နှစ်ချုပ်ရေး  
 ပညာ၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၁၀၀။

cultivation. The irrigation system in the plains of middle Burma was first developed by the Mons who were pushed southward by the Burmese who came to settle in this region and did much to improve the original system.<sup>8/</sup> The development of the irrigation system, however, led to intensive cultivation such that the area became known as the Ledwin, the granary of the country. The man who raised the Burmese monarchy to its highest status was Kyansitha who consolidated his powers in the Ledwin area and later conquered the whole country.

The development of the irrigation system necessitated co-ordination, planning and control of a large group of individuals which became organised under the king in the form of a central government. Management by government was essential for the construction and maintenance of the irrigation system as well as for the protection of the area from enemies and also for cultivation. For instance, Anawrahta, the first king of the Pagan Dynasty had set up 43 towns which were military posts along the border and also some in the plains which formed military basis.<sup>9/</sup> For the construction and maintenance of the canals as well as for cultivation, various asu or athin were formed by the kings such as lagging asu being composed of those who were eternally

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<sup>8/</sup> G.H. Luce, "Old Kyaukse and the coming of Burman", J.B.R.S. Vol. XLII, June, 1959, pp. 75-112.  
D.G.F. Hall, A History of South East Asia, (London : Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1955) pp. 122-124.

<sup>9/</sup> နိး ဘဝ်း : ဓမ္မဝိသုဒ္ဓိ : နိး ဗြဟ္မစာရဝိသုဒ္ဓိ : ဝိသုဒ္ဓိဝိသုဒ္ဓိ



engaged on the lamainga or royal lands by tradition,<sup>10/</sup> and myin su, thin su, thenat su, etc. being composed of those who had to work on the lands or canals for a specified period within the year or when they were not engaged in other kinds of services such as military services.<sup>11/</sup> This however is a sort of corvee labour since the required number of men had to be supplied by the heads of such asu, athin, as and when sanctioned from the king. The formation of these asu athin was followed by later kings in a more organised form.<sup>12/</sup> Although there were at first stationed in the Ledwin area later became spread out all over the country such that these formed the basis of the social structure:

The nature of the economy that existed in traditional Burma was simple, largely based on self-sustaining village economy.

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- 10/ ရွှေခန်းသုံး ဝေါဟာရအဘိဓာန်၊ ဦး ရွှေခန်းပိတ်၊ ၁၀၂။  
ဓမ္မဒိပဠိဆောင်း ကျမ်း၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၁၆၄။
  - 11/ ဦး အဘိဓာန်၊ ကိုး ဝဂ္ဂိယသိင်္ဂါ၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၅၄-၅၆။  
မြန်မာမင်း နတ်ချစ်ပုံ၊ အတွဲ-၂၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၁၅၀။  
ဓမ္မ ဒိပဠိ ဆောင်း ကျမ်း၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၆၄။
  - 12/ ဦး တုလား မဟာဝရသေဝင် ဇာတ်ကြီး၊ အတွဲ-၁၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၃၂၅-၃၃၃။  
- ၄၆ - - - - - အတွဲ-၃၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၁၂၅-၁၂၆။  
ကျောင်း သုံး မြန်မာဝရသေဝင်၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၂၅၃။  
ကုန်း ကောင်းဆီမဟာဝရသေဝင် ဇာတ်ကြီး၊ အတွဲ-၁၊ ဓမ္မဒိပဠိ ၃၀။

Most of the villages, though, self-sustaining or self-sufficient were not as fully economically independent as Indian villages. In the villages in Burma each household supplied its own requirements such as food and clothing. But for other household wants they draw their supplies from nearby villages. In one of these neighbouring villages there might be a group of blacksmiths making dahs and taywines, and other implements for household or agricultural use. In another village, there might be a group of potters, or carpenters. Another village would make mats, or carts or cart-wheels, etc.. Often good and inferior qualities of the same article were manufactured in different villages. On the other hand, the Indian villages were well organized communities providing their own requirements within their own limits.<sup>13/</sup> Thus, there was no specialization and division of labour in the Burmese economy as in the Indian economy and this might be due to the use of simple equipment for production in the Burmese economy.

Another important consideration in analysing the traditional Burmese economy is the type of trade that developed under Burmese kings. Due to the simple nature of the economy there were few productive occupations other than agriculture. The Burmese people also had few material wants and so the retail trade that developed was very simple. Most of the trade was carried on

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<sup>13/</sup> J.S. Furnivall, An Introduction to the Political Economy of Burma, (Rangoon, 1957) pp. 37-38.

among the neighbouring villages at the fairs and bazaars where cultivators would bring in their produce and exchange<sup>it</sup> for their year's supply of ngapi, salt, etc. which their lands did not yield.<sup>14/</sup> The various commodities that were traded were taken round the adjacent country-side in carts or boats, or if portable, might be carried long distances by pedlars.<sup>15/</sup> There was little wholesale trade because most of the surplus that could be produced was taken in the form of taxation by the royal government and only the remainder was traded among nearby villages. However, there was some external trade carried on both overland and by sea. Overland trade was with Yunnan, China and Siam, while seaborne trade was carried on with England, France and other European countries. Both the imports and exports were largely controlled by the State. The export of precious metals and natural products such as rice and teak timber were prohibited.<sup>16/</sup> However, commodities that were exported composed of ivory, pepper, beeswax, catch, teak timber, gold and silver (in spite of prohibition).<sup>17/</sup> The imported goods were mostly firearms, broadcloth, piece goods, hardware and glass, velvet, and other luxury goods,<sup>18/</sup> which were

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<sup>14/</sup> Ibid, pp. 147-148.

<sup>15/</sup> Ibid, pp. 37-38.

<sup>16/</sup> G.F. Harvey, History of Burma, (London, 1925), p. 350.

<sup>17/</sup> E. Sykes, An account of an embassy to the kingdom of Ava, sent by the governor-general of India, in the year 1795, (London, 1850), Second Edition, p. 412.

G.F. Harvey, Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>18/</sup> Crawford, Journal of an embassy from the governor-general of India to the Court of Ava, (London, 1934), Second Edition, p. 55.

mostly for State or for royal consumption. Thus, it was found to be largely State trading. Internal trade also did not flourish and this was partly explained by the system of taxation imposed by the Burmese kings.

The economy of the country being largely based on irrigated cultivation, required a large group of individuals for the construction and maintenance of the canals, for cultivation and also for the protection of the country which became organised under the royal government. Heavy taxes were, thus, imposed by the king since it was needed for the maintenance of the administrative machinery. Taxes which were collected under the Burmese kings could be divided into four major categories : land revenue or rent, water rates or taxes, taxes imposed on the production or manufacture of goods, and sales and purchase taxes which were collected on both domestic and imported goods..

Land revenue or rent : Revenue was collected from the royal lands or Avadaw lamaingmye and from the State land or Naingandaw mye. The lamaings were of various types <sup>19/</sup> and most of these being situated in the Ledwin area, paddy was largely grown on them. The Naingandaw mye which, being composed of those lands other than small private individual holdings, were either cultivable or non-cultivable spread all over the country. Thus, paddy as

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ဘုရင် ဝိုင်းစုရဘဲ ခေတ် ခြေ များ တွင် ငွေ နန်း ရိုး လဆိုင်း ။ အောင်ပင်  
လယ်လဆိုင်း ။ မင်္ဂလာလဆိုင်း ။ လက်ခဲ ခေတ်လဆိုင်း ။ လက်ခဲ ခေတ်လဆိုင်း ။  
ရွှေမျိုး ပေး လဆိုင်း ။ နွား မျိုး ပေး လဆိုင်း ။ စေတနာဖြင့် ခွဲခြား ဖတ်မှတ်  
စား ကြောင်း ဆွေမျိုးရသည့်။  
ငွေ နန်း မျိုး ဝေါဟာရအတိုင်း ဦး ရေ နံပါတ် ၁၀၂။  
မြန်မာမင်း နှစ်ချစ်ပုံအဖွဲ့ - ၃၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၅၁။  
ကိုး ဝိုင်းစုရဘဲ ။ စာမျက်နှာ ၅၀။

well as other crops could be grown on them. The amount of tax collected in the form of land revenue or rent varied according to the type of lands on which the peasants worked, but roughly 20% of the produce was collected of which 10% went to the royal treasury and the remaining 10% was distributed among the hereditary revenue officials or workers. <sup>20/</sup> Land revenue was usually paid in kind, that is in baskets of paddy. However, where the State lands were situated far away from the capital and where paddy could not be grown revenue was collected in terms of <sup>21/</sup> silver or copper equivalent in value to the amount of taxes.

<sup>20/</sup> လမိုင်း မြေပေါ်မှစပါး တင်း ၁၀၀ဆွတ်လုပ်ကို သော်လှ ၁၀တင်း သွင်း ရ မြီး အပိုတင်း ၂ တင်း နှီး လက်ခုပ် ၂ ဖိတ်၊ ကောင်ချီစား ၂ ဖိတ်၊ သော် ဝတ် ၂ ဖိတ်၊ အစေါင် ၂ ဖိတ်၊ နိုင်စား ၁ ဖိတ်၊ သမင်း ၂ ပြည်ချက်ပေး ခေါင် ရသော်။

ရွှေခန်း နှုံး ခေါ်စာ ၁၀ အတိအကျ၊ ဦး ရေ နံပါတ် ၁၀၂။  
 မြန်မာမင်း နှစ်ချစ်ပုံ၊ အစွဲ-၃၊ ဝါချက် ၅၁။  
 အုရင်မင်း မြန်မာမှတို့ သော်လှစုန်စား သော်၊ မိုး စပါး များ မြင်လုပ်  
 တိုင်သော် မြေများ မှ ပေး ကောင်ချီစားအခွန်မှစား တယဦး နှစ်ဖိုး စ  
 ပါး ၂ သတင်း ရမူလယ်ပုံ ( နှစ်ပယ်ခွဲ ) လှင်စပါး ၂၅ တင်း ထူးမြင်သော်။  
 တိုး ခရိုင်သမိုင်း ၂ စာမျက်နှာ ၅၀။

<sup>21/</sup> " နိုင်ငံ ကော် မြေ ပေါ်မှစပါး အခွန်အဖြစ်လုပ်တိုင်ရသမျှ ကောင်သဘဲခင်း လူး မြေခင်း စသော်တို့အ ပေါ်တွင် ကောက်ခံပုံမှစ လေမြို့နယ်ရှိသူရဲမင်း မြေ၊ အခြေ ကောင်သဘဲလုပ်သော်အခွန်၊ စား တယဦး လှင်ခွန်မကြေး ရရှိ၊ အပို ရှိ-၂-မတ်၊ အထဲ ရှိ-၂မတ် ရေး စား ရှိ-၂မတ်မြင်သော်။ "

( စလေမြို့ ၁၁၄၅ စစ်တမ်း )  
 " ပုခံမြို့ကျေး သွင် ကောင်သဘဲခင်း လုပ်သော်များ ကိုယဘခင်း သွင် ၅ ကောက်ခံသော် " ( စလေမြို့ ၁၁၄၅ စစ်တမ်း )

" တလုပ်မြို့ကျေး သွင်သဘဲခွန်မှစား တတင်း ကြိုလုပ်လှင်ခွန်မ ရှေး ၅၊ မြီး စား သူ၊ ရေး စား သူ၊ ပေး သော်ရသော်။ " ( တလုပ်မြို့ ၁၁၄၅ စစ်တမ်း )



The taxes imposed on fishery were usually collected in terms of silver or copper and was either imposed at a fixed rate per annum or based on the volume of production. The basic idea of such collections was that all the natural resources, whether produce of land or water, were State property and the subjects who were engaged on such property had to pay reasonable fees to its owner. Taxes imposed on the production or manufacture of goods: This source of collection included taxes imposed on the large-scale production of natural products such as palms, coconuts, batelnuts, etc. and taxes imposed on cottage industries such as weaving, pottery, oil-milling, salt refining, etc. Such collections were made in kind or in copper or silver depending upon the type of products. Since these various occupations were spread all over the country the amount collected varied widely according to the place or the officials engaged in such collections. In this manner taxes were levied on all kinds of produce all over the

28/ ခဲနီလှိုင်တီး-ဗွာပွင်တီး-တိုင်းတိုင်းလား-သေဝ်ဗွာတံတိုင်း-ခွန်ကြေး-၃၅၀-  
 ဆက်ခွင်း ဂသဏ်။ ဗျာဒီပဉ္စလေဝင်း ကျမ်း ၊ ဝါမျက်နှာ ၃၂။

29/ ကျောက်မေ့ဒိဋ္ဌိပွင်"ဆင်း ဆည်လုပ်ပုဂ္ဂိုလ် ၁၅၀၀ ကိုယ်လျှင် ၆၆၅၊ ကွန်လုပ်ပုဂ္ဂို  
 ၅၀၀၀ ကိုယ်လျှင် ၆၆၅ စသည့်အတိုင်း ပေး ဆောင်ကြရသည့်" ( ကျောက်မေ့ဒိဋ္ဌိ  
 ဝင်္ဂဇာတ်စာတမ်း )

30/ "ဆန်း မှာဆန်း ဝယ်လျှင် ခွန်မကြေး ၇၅၊ ဘိုဂို-၂၀၀၊ ရေး ဝေး ၇-၂၀၀  
 လက်လှောင်ဆန်း လျက်၂၅၂၀၀လက်လှောင် ပေး ရသည့်" ( စလေမြို့ဝင်္ဂဇာတ် စာတမ်း )  
 ဆန်း မှာပုသိမ်မြို့နယ်ဆန်း ဆန်း ၃၅၀၊ မှတစ်လျှင်ဆန်း လုံး ၆၆၅၀၀။  
 ဦး ဘိုး ဆူး ၊ ပုသိမ်ဂဝဇာတ်၊ ဝါမျက်နှာ ၇၅  
 မုဒုမမြို့နယ်ဆန်း ပင်ဆွင်ဆွင်း ပင်စိုက်ဖိုး သူတိုင်လျှင် ၆၆၅၊ ( မုဒုမမြို့ဝင်္ဂဇာတ်  
 စာတမ်း )

ဆန်း ခွန်မှတစ်လျှင်ဆန်း သီး ၃၇၀၀၀ ( ကျောက်မေ့ဒိဋ္ဌိဝင်္ဂဇာတ် စာတမ်း )  
 တစ်လျှင်ဆန်း သီး ၂၀၀၀၀ ( ကျောက်မြေဝင်္ဂဇာတ်စာတမ်း )  
 ဆိုး တစ်လျှင်ခွန်မကြေး ၇၅၊ ဘိုဂို-၂၀၀၊ ရေး ဝေး ၇-၂၀၀လက်လှောင်  
 ၇-၂၀၀လက်လှောင်ဆန်း ၂၅၀ ( စလေမြို့ဝင်္ဂဇာတ်စာတမ်း )  
 ဝိတ်မြေဝင်္ဂဇာတ်ဆန်း ၅၀၀ ၊ ဝန်း လျှင်ခွန်မကြေး ၅၀၀လက်လှောင် ရသည့် ( ကပုဂ္ဂ  
 မြို့ဝင်္ဂဇာတ်စာတမ်း ) ။ ဆီတစ်လျှင် ၅၀၀ ၊ ဝန်း လျှင်ခွန်မကြေး ၅၀၀လက်လှောင်  
 ဆား တစ်လျှင်ခွန်မကြေး ၅၀၀ ( ကပုဂ္ဂမြို့ ဝင်္ဂဇာတ်စာတမ်း )







lanaing asu worked for the king.

Naingandawmye : This included all kinds of land in the country other than private individual holdings. Almost on all cultivable lands various asu ahmudans, that is those who were in the king's service, were assigned for cultivation and so such lands became known as Ahmudansawye. This Ahmudansawye could be categorized into sawye, that is for subsistence; nawye, that is for residence; and lekawye, that is for cultivation. On the former two types of land : sawye and nawye, no taxes were levied.<sup>33/</sup> Apart from this the produce of the Naingandawmye on the whole went to the royal treasury in the form of taxation.

Athiwe or bonmye : This was composed of large communal property usually situated adjacent to the villages in which the athi or the common people lived. Such lands were handled by the elders or the village headmen who allotted these to the villagers who were property less. However, such persons did not attain title to the lands on which they worked; it still remained to be communal property.<sup>34/</sup>

Bobabaing or dammaugyame : This was composed of small individual holdings, either in the form of private allodial lands or obtained by the right of first clearance. Such lands usually became subdivided as dowry in each generation<sup>35/</sup> as a result that each individual holdings became smaller so much so that they lost their significance in the economic structure.

<sup>33/</sup> မြန်မာ့သမိုင်း၊ နှစ်ချစ်စုံ၊ ဆယ့်-၃-စတုရန်းပုံ ၁၅၂။

<sup>34/</sup> - ၄၆ - ဆယ့်-၂-စတုရန်းပုံ ၁၀၀-၁၀၂။

<sup>35/</sup> J.S. Furnivall, op.cit., p. 91.

Thus, almost all lands in the country, whether cultivable or not, were owned by the State and the king was the sole owner of land. The sale or transfer of lands in the country was also strictly prohibited by the king.<sup>36/</sup> Hence, private ownership of land did not develop under Burmese rule and the people who worked on the land were 'landholders' rather than 'landowners'.<sup>37/</sup> Because the concept of ownership with attendant rights to sell and buy as one pleases had never been established in the Burmese landed system, land alienation and <sup>land</sup>lordism other than that exercised by the king himself had never developed. The land as well as the economic and political power was almost entirely appropriated by the king without any intermediate persons such as feudal vassals in Western Europe in the middle ages who held part ownership in land. This factor further strengthened the hands of the State already highly centralized and organized because of the necessity to construct, maintain, and protect the irrigated and public works.

The highly centralized Burmese administration was headed by the king who was designated to be the chief by means of sacred traditions. He claimed to be endowed with supernatural or super-human powers or qualities and also of divine origin. For instance, Kyansitha, the divine founder of the earlier Pyu Kingdom, claimed to be an incarnation of Vishnu and of his coming as allegedly foretold by Buddha.<sup>38/</sup> These were such as were not accessible to ordinary

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36/ မြန်မာ့အစိုးရ: နှစ်ချစ်ပုံ၊ အတွဲ-၂-ဝေ၊ မြန်မာ့အစိုးရ-ဝေ၊ ၂-ဝေ၊ ၂-ဝေ။  
 36/ ပုံနှိပ်မှု: ၂၀၁၃၊ တမ်း: ၂၊ ၂၄၀။

37/ Mr. Gibson, 'Settlement Report on Meiktila, 1896-98', p.29.

38/ D.G.E. Hall, op.cit., pp. 123-124.

people. Hence, sacro-sanctity was the basis of the claim to legitimacy and recognition was a duty on the part of the subjects. <sup>39/</sup> The king therefore expected complete submission from his subjects and the passive acceptance of his authority by the people was partly due to their strong beliefs in religion which supported the idea of cause and effect, that is kamma. Thus, the king combined his separational authority with cultural and traditional symbols in exercising the power apparatus he headed.

The next important consideration is the group of administrative staff that developed under Burmese kings. The whole group of administrative staff composed of the king's personal retainers. <sup>40/</sup> The relations of the administrative staff to the king was not determined by the impersonal official obligations, but by personal loyalty to the king. Also the whole administrative apparatus down to the local level being manned by the king's appointees such as governors or myowuns, the administrative machinery under Burmese kings was nothing but the extension of the king's household staff. Thus, the administrative system which was organised on a kinship basis approximates Weber's concept of traditional authority.



39/ မြန်မာမင်းတို့၏ အုပ်ချုပ်ပုံစံတမ်း။

40/ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီးသည် သာသနာ့ရေးရာ၌ အထူးအရေးကြီးစွာ စောင့်ရှောက်စီမံခဲ့ပြီး ဝယ်မည်ဦး မွင်္ဂလာဝန်ကြီး အရာရှိများ ဦးချင်းတို့ကို ယင်းဝန်ကြီးခံအဖြစ် ဖြစ်စေပြီး နောက်ဝန်ကြီးခန့်ပြန်လျှင် နေဝင်လက်ခံစားရမည်။ ဤသို့ ဝန်ကြီးခံအဖြစ် ဖြစ်စေပြီး နောက်ဝန်ကြီးခန့်ပြန်လျှင် နေဝင်လက်ခံစားရမည်။ (အမတ်မင်းကျော်စောဝန်ကြီးမှူးကြီးများ အကြောင်း မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသုတေသနစာစောင်အတွဲ ၄၅၊ အပိုင်း ၂။)

Also, as opposed to the bureaucratic system of free appointment, the household staff under Burmese rule was recruited on a patrimonial basis, that is recruited from persons who were already related to the king by traditional ties of personal loyalty. Every appointment down to the lowest level was considered the gift from the king and opportunities were opened only to those who were in contact with the king or those who were his favourites. However, recruitment to the high administrative posts solely on the basis of personal relations became quite limited. Such officials needed to be conversant with all spiritual, temporal and court affairs which were mostly learned or trained inservice, such high posts were mostly filled on the basis of promotion. This means the appointees had to work through various ranks, usually on serving more than one king, to attain such positions.<sup>41/</sup> However, although such posts were attained by serving through ranks, there were no strict or definite ranking of offices in the administrative hierarchy.<sup>42/</sup> thus, the attainment of office under Burmese

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<sup>41/</sup> ဆိုး တော်စုရသး နတ်တက်မှုင် မေတင်း တေတင်း ဝူတေတော်ယာသနာဖြူ  
ဆရာတော်တော်မော်ပုဏ္ဏိဋ္ဌိး နုတိုဗြေး တေတော်တိုင်း မင်း ဘဲတေတော်ဆရာ  
ဖြူတော်ကြား စေတော်။ ဝင်း တေတော်တော်ရွှေအစွင်း ဝန်၊ မြင်း ဝန်ခေန်  
တေး ဘုဏ္ဏိ၊ တဖြိုး တေတော်နု ဝိအဖြတ် ရေတော်ပိုင် ဝန်ဖြိုး ခေန်ဘုဏ္ဏိ။  
ဝန်ဖြိုး မူး ဖြိုး မူးသး တေဖြောင့် ၊ တေတော်နု ၁၄၅၊ ၁၅၀၊ ၁၅၂ -  
၁၅၃ - ၁၅၄ - ၁၅၅။

<sup>42/</sup> J.G. Scott, Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Vol. 1, Part II, p. 475.

kings was quite a complicated process which depended largely upon the arbitrary will of the king.

As regards the division of duties and responsibilities among the administrative staff of traditional Burmese administration, we found that there were no clearly defined spheres of competence, that is offices. These officials carried out the duties which were bound by precedents handed down from the past.<sup>43/</sup> They carried out all governmental functions whether civil, judicial, or military, in joint responsibility.<sup>44/</sup> Thus, for the efficient functioning of the administrative machinery there need to be a great deal of co-operation and co-ordination among these officials.

<sup>43/</sup>ဝန်ကြီး နှစ်ဦးစွာ ဆိုသည့်အရာ သာမန်အားဖြင့် ကေဂျာန်မင်း ဖြစ်တိုက်ဆွတ် ဌာန ရွေးပြည် ကော်  
ကြီးမှ ရွေးချယ်ခြင်းများ ယေဘုယျ နိုင်ငံရေး နှင့် အရေး ဖြစ်ရေး ဌာနများကို ဆိုက်  
ဆေးတစ်ရပ်ခင်း အလုံးစုံကို ပြုစုပြီး အောက်ဖွဲ့သော သာမန် ကော်မရှင်း မပွင့်လင်း  
ကြောင်း အကြီး စီးပွား ကော်မရှင်း ဖွဲ့သော ကော်မရှင်း ပြုစု ကော်မရှင်း  
တိုင်း စား နိုင်ငံ ကော်မရှင်းပင် သာမန် ကြောင်း များ တိုက်ပြုစုပုံ ဖွဲ့စည်း  
ဓမ္မဝတ်၊ ဂုဏ်ဝတ်၊ လောကဝတ် အကြောင်း ဥပဒေ ကိုရေး ဆိုသော လက်ထပ်နှင့်  
ဆွဲရေး အမှုမဟာ သေခံပတ်တိုက်ကို ထောက်ပံ့ ဝန်ထုပ်ထွက် ဈာန်ကား  
စီရင် ဖြန့်ဝေမင်း အုပ်ချုပ်ပုံအဖွဲ့၂၁ ဝေ မျက်နှာ ၁၁၀၀။

<sup>44/</sup>သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၉၀ ရာစုမတိုင်မှီ ဘုရား ဒါယကမင်း စာရေး လက်ထပ်ဆွတ်  
လှမ်း ကျမ်း ထောက်ပံ့အမှုမဟာ သေခံပတ်ဝန်ကြီးစနစ်  
ရွေးချယ်သည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ဖြစ်တိုက် နှစ် ယေဒိယဘုရင် ဝန်ကြီးစနစ်။ အာ  
ယကမင်းမတိုင်မှီ နှစ်ပတ်တိုက်လှား ကျမ်း ထောက်ပံ့ ယေဒိယဘုရင် ဝန်ကြီး  
စနစ်ရွေးချယ်သည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၉ ခုတွင် နှစ် ယေဒိယဘုရင် မြီရီ ဘေယ ကျော်  
ထင်တိုက်လှား ကျမ်း ထောက်ပံ့ နှစ်ပတ်တိုက် ဝန်ကြီးစနစ်ရွေးချယ်သည်။ လှား  
ကျမ်း ထောက်ပံ့ မြီရီ ဘေယ ကျော်ထင် နှစ်ပတ်တိုက် ယေဒိယဘုရင် ရသည်။

လောကဗျာဇာကျမ်း ၊ ဝေ မျက်နှာ ၂၁၀၀  
ဝန်ကြီး မှူးကြီး များ အကြောင်း ၊ ဝေ မျက်နှာ ၁၄၀။

This, however, became quite impossible because such officials being the personal retainers of the king usually got involved in family intrigues. On the other hand, there existed certain departmental-ization in the administrative system which tend toward specification of duties. In addition to those officials who occupied certain specialized roles or departments such as Lamaingwun, Kyiwan, etc. there were nine executive departments for the various administrative functions all under the Hluttaw.<sup>45/</sup> During the reign of Bagyidaw, a new department, that is Foreign Office, was added to the existing ones thus making a total of ten executive departments.<sup>46/</sup> However, toward the end of the Konbaung Dynasty, during Thibaw Min's reign, there was certain re-formation of these departments such that the number increased to fourteen.<sup>47/</sup> These departments gained not much importance in administering the country unless the departments were headed by prominent officials.

However, further refinement of duties and responsibilities existed in the field of judicial administration. The settlement of disputes were made on the basis of customary laws and traditions and handled by any of the elders or high government officials.<sup>48/</sup> The decisions were reached on the basis of arbitration. Although established customs and traditions greatly influenced the judicial aspect of administration, there developed toward the later part of the Burmese rule certain specialized roles such as

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<sup>45/</sup> ဘုန်း: တာဝန်ခက်ရတာဝန် တေၤတို: ဆွဲၤဝါ ဝေပုတ်ဒါ

<sup>46/</sup> ဘုန်း: ဆွဲၤဝါ

<sup>47/</sup> ဘုန်း: ဆွဲၤဝါ ဝေပုတ်ဒါ

တေၤတိုနီနီ၊ ဘွတ် တေၤတိုတေၤ: - ဝေပုတ်ဒါ ၅။

<sup>48/</sup> ဗွဲၤဝေပုတ်ဒါ: နုတ်ဆွဲပုံ၊ ဆွဲ-၃-ဝေပုတ်ဒါ-၅၇-၅၀။

judges and magistrates. Certain rules and regulations also developed in connection with the performance of these specialized functions. <sup>49/</sup> In this aspect the administrative system of traditional Burma tend toward a bureaucratic type of organisation.

Also, in connection with the actual performance of the administrative functions we found that there were systematic and definite procedure of work. In other words, there were established channels through which the office work had to pass. For instance, various orders had to go from the respective officials through the Hluttaw to the king. There also existed different types of appointment orders, written in different forms, and there was systematic compilation of records. <sup>50/</sup> All these clerical work were carried out by the staff of the Hluttaw, who occupied the clerical or lower level and who were specially trained for the job although such training was acquired through inservice. Thus, in this respect also the administrative system tend toward a bureaucratic type.

The next important consideration in analysing the traditional Burmese administration is the system of payment to members of the administrative staff. The rights to a sizable portion of the king's revenue, that is in the form of myosaship, was given to high administrative officials. Such rights were also attainable by the members of the royal family as well as other

<sup>49/</sup> ညွှန်ကြားရေးမှူးချုပ်၏ အမိန့်များကို ၂၀-၃၀

ဥပဒေရေးရာမှူးချုပ်၏ အမိန့်များကို ၂၃၀၊ ၂၂၅၊ ၂၂၆

<sup>50/</sup> ဗြိတိသျှတို့၏ အမိန့်များကို ၃၀-၃၅၊ ၃၆-၃၇၊ ၃၈-၃၉၊

၄၀-၄၁၊ ၄၂-၄၃၊ ၄၄-၄၅၊ ၄၆-၄၇၊ ၄၈-၄၉၊ ၅၀-၅၁၊ ၅၂-၅၃



personal servants of the king who were his favourites. These rights were given on the basis of his choice and these lasted for a life time or as long as the king wished. Thus, these rights were given in the form of tax farming rights which went back to the king when their service terminated, that is they were not made hereditary.<sup>51/</sup> Therefore, the systems of appointment, promotion, and remuneration were not on free contractual basis but rather on the arbitrary will of the king who was the absolute monarch.

The Burmese king was found to exercise much of his arbitrary powers not only in selecting and promoting the officials or remunerating them, but also in many other matters such as dismissal of officials, in demoting them and also in their transfers.<sup>52/</sup> Because of the use of arbitrary powers many undesirable consequences seemed to develop.<sup>53/</sup> The only check upon the use of arbitrary powers that existed was the established customs and traditions. But this, however, depended upon the willingness of the king to follow such traditions. Mindon Min, for instance, was one of the Burmese kings who paid much respect to such traditions.<sup>54/</sup> The

51/ မြန်မာမင်း ဆုတ်ချစ်ပုံဆွဲ - ၃ - စာမျက်နှာ ၅၃

၄င်း ဆွဲ - ၄ - စာမျက်နှာ ၁၂၀ - ၁၂၃

ရွှေခန်းစုံ ဝေါဟာရအဘိဓာန်၊ ဦး ရေနံပါတ် ၄၀၃

လောကဗျာတကျမ်း ၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၁၈၆

ဓမ္မဒီပဥဆောင်းကျမ်း ၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၅၈ - ၆၀ - ၆၅

52/ ဒေါက်တာကျော်သက်ပြည်ဆောင်ရွက်သော မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသမိုင်း ၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၃၃၀  
ဝန်ကြီး မူး ကြီး များ ဆန္ဒတောင်း စာမျက်နှာ ၁၅၁ - ၁၅၄ - ၁၅၅

53/ ပြည်ဆောင်ရွက်သော မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသမိုင်း ၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၃၃၀ - ၃၃၄

54/ ဝံ့ညိုညိုနှိုင်းချက်၊ ကင်း ၊ ပု၊ ၂၂၅။

Burmese king, therefore, was the absolute monarch whose authority and powers were bounded only by customs and traditions.

In analysing the power apparatus of the Burmese kings certain consideration should be given to other features which existed in the administrative system. The sawbwas or myosas who enjoyed a high status, and who also lived a distinct class from other racial groups, played an important role in the study of Burmese administration. In other words, whether these sawbwas could be taken as a group of privileged class which had appropriated certain governing powers with the king on the basis of contractual obligations or not is a very important consideration in analysing the type of administration that existed in traditional Burma. In the feudal system that existed in Western Europe in the middle ages the relationship between the lord and his vassals was based on contractual obligations. The vassals exercised their own powers and authority and administered with their own staff. In Burma, the sawbwas held hereditary rights and administered their own tribal groups in their own established customs and traditions.<sup>55/</sup> But the relationship between the Burmese king and the sawbwas was not based on contractual obligations; they had to submit to the authority of the king. Although these sawbwas held hereditary rights they attained their positions only through the king.<sup>56/</sup> Thus, they were only tribal chieftains who had to pay

55/ လေ ဘကဗျာ ဘကျမ်း ၊ စ ဘမျက် န ဘ ၊ ၆ ဘ။

56/ မြန်မာ ဘမင်း အုပ်ချုပ်ပုံ ၊ အထွဲ - ၄ ၊ စ ဘမျက် န ဘ ဘ ၂၀ - ၁၂၃

လေ ဘကဗျာ ဘကျမ်း ၊ စ ဘမျက် န ဘ ၊ ၂၁၃။

tribute to the king either in the form of taxes imposed by the royal government or in the form of yearly gifts in recognition of his superior authority.<sup>57/</sup> Thus, the Burmese administration was an absolute monarchy with no privileged class sharing the king's absolute powers and authority.

The Burmese monarchy was, however, supported by other features that existed in the social structure of which the status-system was of considerable significance. The ranks and status of the subjects were defined by traditions which was further strengthened by the king by categorising the people into the ahaudans, that is those who were in the king's service, and the athi, that is the ordinary people, and further by defining the status of each level of officials in the administrative apparatus.<sup>58/</sup> Due to this system there was no incentive for the people to trade or work since they could not enjoy the fruits of their labour. The only opening through which they can enjoy social status was the government service. In this way the growth of private property was curtailed and at the same time the government service gained status

၁၇/ ဝှမ်း ဖြစ်နယ်ထွင် ဝှိသည့် ဝေဝိသွာ: ဝေဝိခံအဘက်ဘက်တို့မှ ဝလည်း အခွန် ဝေဝိ  
ဝေဝေ မှား အပြင်ကန် ဝေဝလက် ဆောင် ဝေဝိချရ ဝသိဝန်း ၊ ဝသင် ဝေဝေ: ဝ  
ဝေဝိ ၊ ဝေဝေ ၊ ဝေဝေဝင်း ၊ ဝင်ဝှယ် ၊ ဝလေး ၊ အခွန် ဝေဝိဝေဝိသွာ: ထိုဘက်  
ဝဝဝြံ ဝြစ်သည့်။

ဝေဝေဝိဝေဝေ ဝေဝင်း ၊ ဝေဝေ ၊ ဝေဝေဝိဝေဝေ ၊ ဝေဝေ-ဝေဝေ  
ဝေဝင် ဝေဝေဝေ ဝေဝေဝင် ဝှိသည့် ဝေဝေဝေ ၊ ဝေဝေဝေ: ဝေဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ  
ဝေဝေ: မှား မှတဆင် ဝေဝင် ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ: ဝေဝင် ဝေဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ  
(ဝေဝင် ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ) ဝေဝေဝေ: )

၁၈/ ဖြစ်နယ်ဝင်း ၊ ဝေဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ ၊ အမှူး-၂-ဝေဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ  
ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ: ထုံး ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ ၊ ဝေဝေ: ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ ဝေဝေ

in the social structure under Burmese rule. Thus, those persons with higher calibre sought employment in the government service as a result that the government servants could be said to have existed as a separate class under Burmese kings.<sup>59/</sup>

Thus, the administrative system under Burmese kings was neither a purely traditional type nor a bureaucracy as defined by Weber, but one which was largely based on sacred traditions and established customs with certain characteristics which were bureaucratic.

59/

အုပ်ချုပ်ရေး အဖွဲ့ကြီးလေးများ ရှိကြောင်း ၊ နန်း တော်တွင် အမှုထမ်း နိုင်  
 သော အရည်အချင်း များ လိုအပ်ခြင်း ရှိကြောင်း ၊ အမှုထမ်း အရောင်း  
 ဝန်ကြီး မှူးကြီး များ ခံသား သမီး များ မှ အထက်တန်း ရာထူး များ ထို  
 ဗြိတိန်လက်အောက်တွင် ရှိကြောင်း ရွေးချယ်သည်။  
 တုန်းက ဘောင်တော်တွင် အမှုထမ်း သည့် ဝန်ကြီး ဝန်ထောက်များ ခံအထူးပွဲကို  
 ရနိုင်သမျှ လူလောကတွင် ဝန်ကြီး ဝန်ထမ်း တို့၏ နှစ်ကို ဘောင်တော်ပါးတို့  
 ရွေးချယ်သည်။ ဝန်ကြီး ၊ ဝန်ထောက်တို့ ပြီးမှ ဝန်ထမ်း မှတ်နုတ်မှတ် သက်  
 လာသူဖြစ်၍ ၎င်း မှ အစွဲရေးကြီး ၊ မြင်းစီးကြီး စသည့် အမှုထမ်း များ မှ  
 ဆင်း သက်လာကြပြီး ၊ တုန်ခါပြီး မှ ဝန်ထမ်း ရာထူးကြီး အထူးကြီး ထိုမှ ဆင်း သက်  
 လာသူများ ဖြစ်ကြောင်း ရွေးချယ်သည်။  
 ဒဂုန်နတ်ရွာ ၊ စံပြုစံသို့ ပုဂ္ဂိုလ် ကျော်များ ၊ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ဝင်သူ။  
 ဝန်ကြီး မှူးကြီး များ အကြောင်း ။  
 မှတ်တမ်းအရ သိန်း ၊ ပညာသို့ကြီး များ အကြောင်း ။

Summary and conclusion :

In order to understand better certain peculiar patterns present in the modern administrative system and certain behavioral aspects of the Burmese bureaucrats, we have summarized the significant aspects of the traditional Burmese administration which would be used as a guide in our further analysis of the developments in modern administrative practices.

The administrative system was the super structure imposed upon the socio-economic basis of the country, and any development or change in the social and economic systems would have a resulting effect upon the super structure. In the case of the traditional Burmese administration we found that the existing social and economic conditions helped develop a highly centralized type of administrative machinery. On the other hand, certain measures were taken by the administrative authority which helped maintain the social and economic systems as well as support the existing administrative system.

The economic basis : The economy of the country was based on agriculture, that is irrigated cultivation. The development of the irrigation system and cultivation on a large scale led to the organisation of administrative functions under the control of the king.

All cultivable lands were owned by the State. Peasants who were given subsistant allowances in return for their services were engaged on such lands. Besides those who worked for the king, there were private individuals who lived in villeges and worked on their own holdings or who were engaged in other occupations mainly for their subsistence. Thus, the nature of the economy based on

the self-sufficing village system was simple, and was easily controlled by the State. The self-sustaining village economy was maintained and further progress or developments were checked by the State. For instance, trade was controlled and any wholesale trade or external trade if carried on under Burmese rule was largely State trading. The system of taxation imposed by the royal government also served as a check upon the economic development of the country.

The social structure : The existing social structure under Burmese rule also supported the development of a highly centralized type of administrative machinery. The rank and status of the subjects being defined by customs and traditions was further refined by the king by categorizing the subjects into those who were in his service and those who were not, that is into government servants and common people, and further still by defining the status of each level of officials in the administrative apparatus. Although government servants who occupied higher positions could enjoy a high social status they were made entirely dependent upon the king both economically and socially, and therefore the development of any independent centers of powers could be easily checked by the king. Thus, no upper middle class existed between the ruler and the ruled in traditional Burma.

Thus, the traditional Burmese administration founded on the above socio-economic basis was a highly centralized one and its significant features could be enumerated as follows.

Organisation structure : The king was the head of the State. The Hluttaw, composed of civil, judicial, and military functionaries, was the supreme court of the country under the direct control and supervision of the king. The local administration, largely coloured by the established customs and traditions, was in the hands of the hereditary local chiefs such as myothugyis and ywathugyis who were made responsible through the Hluttaw to the king. Thus, the highly centralized administrative machinery covered the whole country in a territorial organisation.

Personnel of the administrative apparatus : The administrative machinery was manned by the king's personal servants or retainers. Thus, all those who were in the government service from the highest down to the lowest level of administration were tied to the king by means of personal loyalty.

Appointment and promotion of the administrative staff : Recruitment of personnel into the administrative machinery was made on a patrimonial basis. Every appointment down to the lowest level was considered to be the gift from the king and the length of service also depended upon the king's pleasure. Most of the high posts were reached on the basis of promotion although no definite procedure for promotion nor systematic ranking of offices existed under Burmese rule. Thus, appointment, promotion, demotion or dismissal of the administrative staff all depended solely upon the arbitrary will of the king.

**Duties and responsibilities :** There existed no specified sphere of competence as in a bureaucratic type of organisation. The administrative staff under Burmese rule carried out duties which were bounded by precedents handed down from the past. They performed their duties in joint responsibility. However, there was certain departmentalization in the administrative machinery.

**Systems of payment :** Those who were in the king's service received their support in kind or in benefices. However, the right to a sizable portion of the king's revenue, that is non-hereditary tax-farming right was enjoyed only by those who were in the high administrative level or those who were his favourites.

**Authority and power structure :** The king was the absolute monarch who exercised much of his arbitrary powers. Both his authority and powers were legitimized on the basis of sacred traditions. The authority structure of the administrative staff was also legitimized on the basis of the established customs and traditions. Their authority was not commensurate with their responsibility and nothing could be done without the consent of the king who held absolute authority.

Thus, the traditional Burmese administration was a highly centralized machinery headed by the king and since all power and authority centered with the king the strength of the administrative system depended entirely upon the personality of the kings.



### Chapter III

#### Burma Under British rule

The development of the Burmese public administration took a new course with the end of the Burmese monarchy. When the country was annexed to the British-Indian Empire, the traditional Burmese administration was abolished. As the same administrative system first introduced by the British was later used with some modifications as an instrument for carrying out the development programs, a careful study of its evolution became essential for our purpose. In this chapter we shall study the administrative system that developed in the period of the British regime with relationship to some essential aspects: namely, growth of the administrative system, type and nature of organisation, its impact upon the social structure of the country and also aspects of continuity or discontinuity of the traditional forces into the system introduced by the British.

Before we study the administrative system it is necessary to make a few comments on the coming of the British and the nature of policy adopted by them. The British annexed Burma in the course of three wars over sixty years from 1825 to 1885. The need for political security along the frontier and the drive to find in Burma and through Burma, in China, new markets for the mass produced products of the industrial revolution resulted in the piece-meal absorption of Burma into the Indian Empire.

At the time the British entered Burma the Industrial Revolution had greatly increased the output of the British industries and the British economists advocated a policy of free trade between countries. This was advantageous for the British because British industries could find new markets in which they could buy their raw materials and sell their finished industrial goods. In this way the earliest British administrators adopted a policy of free trade also called a laissez-faire economic policy.<sup>1/</sup> Thus, the main objective of the British policy was the development of material resources through trade and introduction of western economic enterprise. This meant that foreign trade as well as domestic trade should be as free as possible, taxes should be collected to cover the costs of administration, the movement of people inside the country and between countries should be free, and the State should administer law based on the personal liberty with regard to private property and contractual business relationships.

The British policy in this aspect was basically very different from the policy of the Burmese kings. In Burmese days, trade was regulated by a number of customs and traditions and there was greater emphasis on the cohesion of social unit than on the free exercise of individual rights.<sup>2/</sup> Since the promotion

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1/ J.S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, New York University Press, 1956), pp. 27-29.

2/ John F., Cady, A History of Modern Burma, (New York, 1958), p. 147.

of trade (that is the exchange of British goods, especially cotton piece-goods, for the produce, especially the rice, of Burman cultivators) needed to be regulated by western law, it was not sufficient to carry on along the existing system of traditional administration. In establishing a new administrative system in Burma the British also wanted to set up the simplest and cheapest method opened to them.<sup>3/</sup>

The easiest and cheapest way of ruling a conquered people is through their own chieftains and it was this system of indirect rule that the British adopted as regards the remote and scantily populated frontier hills. But, since the system of indirect rule was not enough to maintain order in the plains where transactions have to be regulated by western law, they introduced a centralized form of administration, a Commissionership directly responsible to the Government of India.

When the Burmese Provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed to the British Crown after the First Anglo-Burmese War of 1824, they became Commissionerships attached to the Bengal Presidency. The Province of Pegu, annexed after the Second War of 1852, became another Commissionership. In 1862, these three Commissionerships were amalgated to form a new

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<sup>3/</sup> Sir C. Crosthwaite, The Pacification of Burma, (London : 1912), pp. 11.

Province of the Indian Empire with the status of a Chief Commissionership under the Governor-General of India. The Burma Secretariat came into existence to the same year and was the office of the Chief Commissioner who had a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary. When the Third War added Upper Burma to the new Province, it still remained a Chief Commissionership but by then the superior officers of the Secretariat were the Secretary, the Junior Secretary and the Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

In respect of local administration we found that since the administrative activities in its early days being confined, so far as possible, to the maintenance of law and order and to the collection of sufficient revenue to meet administration charges, the country was divided into territorial regions such as divisions, districts, sub-divisions, and townships. Under each township was a *myo* or *talk* which was composed of a cluster of villages served as a unit of administration in Lower Burma until the introduction of the Village Act in 1889 when the village became the administrative unit. In this way it covered the whole country in a territorial organisation. At every divisional head quarter there was a Commissioner in charge of the division, a Deputy Commissioner in charge of a district, a Sub-divisional Officer in charge of a sub-division, and a Township Officer in charge of a township. The Township Officer supervised the land and village system which was placed under the headman thayya.

These officials being representatives of the Central Government carried out all functions of government within their respective authority and responsibility.

On the other hand, the traditional Burmese administration may also be considered as a centralized form of administration: the Hluttaw being the Supreme Judicial and Administrative Council of the country exercised a direct control over the whole country through provincial governors or myowuns who acted as representatives of the Central Government. Under these myowuns were the hereditary local chiefs such as myothugyis and ywathugyis.

All these officials carried out the general functions of administration such as the collection of revenue and the settlement of disputes according to local customs. However, the king exercised only indirect control over the hereditary local chiefs. The British administration, therefore, was a much more centralized system compared to the traditional administration. For the successful attainment of its objectives it was founded on the western principles of law. The fact that every official was subjected to the duly established law in all his activities served as a further stage in the process of formalization of administration.

The British system was not only a centralized administration but also conformed to, in all essential aspects, the characteristics of a bureaucracy. Here we need to make a few comments about how the bureaucracy came into existence in India. Before 1833, the administration of the three British settlements in India : Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, were in the form of

Presidencies under the control of the East India Company.<sup>4/</sup> But with the renewal of the Company's Charter Act in 1833, the government was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The control of the supreme government over the subordinate presidencies became substantially improved and well defined, and British India beginning from then was governed by a bureaucracy, that is a well organised civil service. At the top of the hierarchy was the Indian Civil Service popularly referred to as the 'steel frame' of Indian administration which performed both the policy framing and the executive functions. The members of the Indian Civil Service being composed of both Europeans and Indians were recruited by competition in England under suitable conditions and standard.<sup>5/</sup> In Burma, the officials who formed the main cadre of this service was divided into three categories: the Indian Civil Service composed of those who were recruited to fill most of the high offices, the Provincial Civil Service holding the remaining important posts but recruited locally and the Subordinate Service holding minor posts.<sup>6/</sup>

The introduction of the civil-service in India called for a new system of education: In order to supply men to staff the complex machinery of a modern government and also developing

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<sup>4/</sup> Sir J. Strachey, India - Its Administration and Progress, (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1903), p. 43.

<sup>5/</sup> A. Ireland, The Province of Burma, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1907), Vol. I, p. 132.

<sup>6/</sup> Ibid, pp. 128, 145, 146.

commerce and industries education in India was based on the English language and western culture and not on vernacular languages and indigenous cultures. <sup>7/</sup> The same educational policy for India was applied to Burma. Since the direct rule based on law, modelled after the Indian pattern, created a demand for Burmans capable of applying western law on western methods of administration, the new schools in Burma also specialised in meeting this demand.

On the other hand, the natural resources of Burma developed due to the basic policy of free trade and enterprise adopted by the British. Though under this policy agriculture was transferred from domestic agriculture to commercial agriculture, natural resources of the country such as forests, mines and oil-fields developed, and also foreign trade expanded at a great rate, the Burmese had not much opportunity to share the economic advantages because they lacked experience in foreign trade as well as in industry. <sup>8/</sup> The larger enterprises were owned and operated by the Europeans and the smaller ones by the Indians and the Chinese. The Indian immigrants also supplied technicians as well as cheap labour. So the Burmese lads educated in the new schools could seek employment only in the civil-service. Since among the Burmese, the government service had always been a

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<sup>7/</sup> Sir A. Campbell, "Education in Burma", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, 7 June 1946, p. 439.

<sup>8/</sup> J.S. Furnivall, op.cit., pp. 45-46.

preferred occupation over other traders, they were quite contented with this alternative. At the same time, the British wanted to rule the country cheaply and the employment of Europeans was far more costly than the employment of Burmans, the civil-service starting from the subordinate cadre became slowly Burmanised though the higher services were still pre-dominantly staffed by British officials. Table 1, shows the Burmanization of the civil service for a period covering from 1900 to 1940. We found that the Superior Civil Service was exclusively staffed by Non-Burman or European officials until about the year 1930 when some Burmese officials began to attain higher posts in the administrative machinery. Thus, starting from the year 1930 about 18% of the members of the Superior Civil-Service were Burmese and the number increased to about 38% in the year 1940. As regards the Provincial and Subordinate Civil Service the majority of the staffs were Burmese officials. As the total number of employment in the civil service increased the percentage composition of Burmese Officials also increased. In the year 1900 about 82% of the service was staffed by Burmese officials and increased, to about 85% in 1910, 90% in 1920, 96% in 1930 and it was about 93% in 1940. The slight decrease in the percentage composition of Burmese officials in the Provincial and Subordinate Civil Service could be due to the fall in the number of employment in the civil service which dropped from 734 officials in 1930 to 645 officials in 1940. This, however, might be due to the economic depression of 1929-30.



Table 1Burmanization of the Civil-Service ( in percent)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
<u>Superior Civil-Service</u>					
Non-Burmans	100	100	100	82	62
Burmans	-	-	-	18	38
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Actual number	(131)	(172)	(148)	(170)	(162)
<u>Provincial and Subordinate</u>					
<u>Civil-Service</u>					
Non-Burmans	18	15	10	4	7
Burmans	82	85	90	96	93
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Actual number	(420)	(531)	(579)	(564)	(483)

Source : Burma Civil List

Besides the expansion in the civil service employment which was necessary for the performance of the general administrative functions, there was also expansion in the number of departments in the Secretariat. This was because expert knowledge in every aspect of administration was necessary for the efficient functioning of the administrative machinery without regard to changes in the personnel.. As a result various specialised departments were created under the supervision of the respective Department Heads

who in turn were responsible to the Secretaries of the Government. Table II shows the growth of such Department Heads over a period covering from the year 1900 to 1940.

We found that the number of such specialist departments increased from 15 in 1900 to 20 in 1920 and it became 36 in 1940. Thus, the growth of government functions along departmental lines would increase the number of Burmans employed in the government service.

Table II

Growth of Department Heads

	1900	1920	1940
Commissioner of Settlement and Land Record	1	1	1
Director, Veterinary Services	1	1	1
Chief Conservator, Forest	1	1	1
Collector of Customs	1	1	1
Accountant-General	1	1	1
Inspector-General, Civil Hospitals	1	1	1
Inspector-General, Police	1	1	1
Director, Public Instruction	1	1	1
Chief Engineer, Roads and Buildings	1	1	1
Chief Engineer, Irrigation	1	1	1
Post Officer	1	1	1
Bishop of Rangoon	1	1	1
Superintendent, Archaeology	1	1	1
Superintendent, Survey	1	1	1
Post-Master General	1	1	1
Collector, Railway Accounts		1	1

	1900	1920	1940
Excise Commissioner		1	1
Director, Agriculture		1	1
Registrar, Co-operatives		1	1
Director, Public Health		1	1
Inspector-General, Prisons			1
Commissioner of Police, Rangoon			1
Commissioner, Income-Tax			1
Examiner, Local Funds			1
Director, Public Information			1
Superintendent, Geological Survey			1
Chief Inspector, Factories			1
Labour Commissioner			1
Superintendent, Cottage Industries			1
Director-General, Post and Telegraph			1
Chief Railway Commissioner			1
Controller, Postal Accounts			1
Controller, Military Accounts			1
Government Inspector of Railways			1
Inspector-General, Frontier Force			1
Director, Civil Aviation			1
Director, Meteorological Department			1
	15	20	36

Source : Quarterly Civil List

As regards the employment in the specialist departments the education machinery of Burma although sufficient to supply judges, magistrates, police and revenue officials for the general administration of the country could not train men for staffing these specialist departments. Thus, it seems that only those Burmans who had acquired professional or technical training in western countries could attain offices in such specialized departments. Table III shows the Burmanization of officials in the professional occupations. We found that most of the specialist departments such as Medicine, Post and Telegraph, Engineering, Forestry, and Audit were predominantly staffed by Non-Burman officials largely Europeans or Indian specialists. In other professional or service departments such as Education, Agriculture and Veterinary the majority of the staffs were found to be Burmans. In the year 1920, the percentage composition of the Burmese officials in such departments as Education and Agriculture were about 60% and 70% respectively which in the year 1940 became 76% and 75% respectively. In the Veterinary Service the percentage composition of Burmese officials was found to be 90% of the staff. This was because Burma being an agricultural country such departments as Agricultural and Veterinary could be efficiently handled by Burmese officials. In the case of the Education Department, we found that although education was based on western culture and principles effective results could be attained only through the services of the Burmese officials.

Table IIIBurmanization of Occupations Professional Services (in percent)

	Med. Tels.	Post & Tels.	Eng.	Forestry	Audit	Edn..	Agri.	Veternary
<u>1920</u>								
Non-Burmans	95	92	92	90	-	40	30	-
Burmans	5	8	8	10	-	60	70	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Actual No.	(106)	(63)	(151)	(136)		(131)	(20)	
<u>1940</u>								
Non-Burmans	70	84	60	60	80	24	25	10
Burmans	30	16	40	40	20	76	75	90
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Actual No.	(177)	(62)	(153)	(155)	(48)	(203)	(120)	(63)

Source : Quarterly Civil List

After analysing the nature of employment in the government service under British rule, the next important consideration is the class and grade structure of the administrative machinery. There existed a complicated grade structure under British rule.

For instance, we found that among those who occupied the same position, say Assistant Commissioner, there were different grades carrying different scales of pay. Table IV shows the various grades of Assistant Commissioner.

We found that there were four grades in the appointment of Assistant Commissioners. The highest grade, that is Assistant Commissioner Grade 1, carried a basic pay of Rs. 1000, the next highest grade, Assistant Commissioner Grade 2, received Rs. 700, Assistant Commissioner Grade 3 received Rs. 600, and Supplementary Assistant Commissioner received a basic pay of Rs. 500. These gradations were made not strictly on the charge of responsibilities but rather on the basis of qualifications or the type of service they belonged. For instance, the I.C.S. officials, the most selected group of the hierarchy, would draw more salary than other officials who came up the ranks though they may occupy the same position.

An essential adjunct to any grade structure scheme is the system of recruitment into the administrative machinery. Under British rule, the system of recruitment unlike that of traditional administration was one with selected points of direct entry on the basis of competitive examinations. Recruitment to specialist departments was also necessary to be made on the basis of technical qualifications so as to ensure the attainment of the right persons in the right posts.

Table IVPay Table for Assistant Commissioner

Supplementary Assistant Commissioner 500			
<u>500</u> 100	Assistant Commissioner Grade 3 600		
<u>500</u> 200 <u>700</u>	<u>600</u> 100 <u>700</u>	Asst. Comm. Grade 2 700	
£ <u>500</u> 333. 5.4 <u>833. 5.4</u>	<u>600</u> 266. 10.8 <u>866. 10.8</u>	<u>700</u> 200 <u>900</u>	Asst. Comm. Grade 1 1000
<u>500</u> 666 10.8 <u>1166. 10.8</u>	<u>600</u> 600 <u>1200</u>	<u>700</u> 533. 5.4 <u>1233. 5.4</u>	<u>1000</u> 333. 5.4 <u>1333. 5.4</u>
	<u>600</u> 800 <u>1400</u>	<u>700</u> 733. 5.4 <u>1433. 5.4</u>	<u>1000</u> 1533. 5.4 <u>1533. 5.4</u>
	<u>600</u> 1100 <u>1700</u>	<u>700</u> 1033. 5.4 <u>1733. 5.4</u>	<u>1000</u> 833. 5.4 <u>1833. 5.4</u>

Source : Pay Table 1920

However, in order to further ensure the attainment of the best persons in the right positions another important matter which should be considered in connection with the recruitment procedure is the system of promotion. Under the British government promotion was not strictly on the basis of seniority in order to secure the best men for vacant posts in the higher level promotion was made on the basis of achievement. For instance, promotion to the post of Deputy Commissioner was made by merit largely based upon the judgment of superior officials. Thus, the system of promotion contrary to the bureaucratic principle was made on the basis of subjective judgments of superior officials. However, the officials carried out impersonal obligations which were confined within the existing rules and regulations. Thus, every single official activity was bounded by specific and definite rules. For instance, there existed fundamental rules and procedures, services regulations, etc. such that official activities often lacked flexibility and capacity for adjustment within the manifold rules of the government. Such official rules and regulations existed not only for the general administrative institutions but also for the specialist departments. Operating on their own officials codes and manuals such departments became indispensable parts of the vast administrative machine. So, for the efficient functioning of the overall administrative apparatus co-ordination and co-operation among the various government institutions became essential.



The British administration in this aspect of rational legal authority differs from the traditional Burmese administration. The authority of the Burmese officials was legitimized on the basis of the established customs and traditions. Their official obligations, bounded by personal loyalty to the king, was unlimited. Also, in performing their official functions they could exercise much arbitrary power under their charges either according to local customs or at times according to their whims, when they were strong enough to tide over local resistance. This was because the king exercised only indirect control over the hereditary chieftains such as myothugyis and ywathugyis in whose hands local administration was vested. As regards the official procedure under Burmese rule there was no definite or specific rules regarding the recruitment or promotion of officials and besides tenure of office as well as payment for their services depended upon the will of the king. Thus, a highly centralized and westernized system of administration was imposed upon the traditional Burmese society.

But, in the early years of British administration certain features contrary to the strict bureaucratic ethos were present in the administrative system. For instance, the official in the British bureaucracy especially those in the local administration such as the Deputy Commissioner exercised patriarchal justice. The theory that the penalty should be made to fit the offence was adopted by the early British administrators.<sup>9/</sup> This

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<sup>9/</sup> H.T. White, A Civil Servant in Burma (London 1913), p. 124.

means the district officers administered their charges with paternal authority. This was because the Deputy Commissioner had to play many roles in the administration of his district. For instance, he was the collector and magistrate, and police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation and the imperial revenue of the district were his daily concern. Thus, personal influence was considered by the higher authority to be one of the basic requirements for local administration and in this way the Deputy Commissioner became the representative of the supreme power taking care of the people under his tutelage.

But, the exercise of personal influence became limited by a system of frequent transfers. Table V shows the average duration of tenure of office in the superior civil service. We found that the longest average length of service was over a year 19.8 months which was quite a short period within which any official could get well acquainted with the people under his charge. Also the length of service became shorter toward the later period.

Table V

Average Duration of Tenure of Office (in months)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
<u>Superior Civil Service</u>					
Commissioners	6.6	10.0	13.3	12.9	11.5
Substantive Deputy Commissioners	18.0	12.3	19.8	11.8	9.8
All Deputy Commissioners	14.3	12.3	15.3	9.7	9.8

Source : Quarterly Civil List

However, the British administration in its early years being much more of a patriarchal type of a bureaucracy where personal influence was of considerable importance in the performance of the general administrative functions. Thus, the British designed their administrative machinery in such a way so that they may acquire greatest benefit out of the country. However, they encountered certain difficulties in the actual performance of their governmental functions. One of the fundamental reasons for it was the difference between the western idea of law and the understanding of the people. Under Burmese rule authority was legitimized on the basis of customs and traditions and social welfare was protected against individual acquisitiveness. The British administrators, being interested only in the economic development of the country, emphasized on the rational legal authority such that the law became the instrument of economic progress which favoured the assertion of individual rights without regard to their effect upon the welfare of the general public. Besides, officials made little attempt to understand the people being con-<sup>10/</sup>tended to apply western methods for western ends. This made the Government more and more unpopular with the people.

On the other hand, the British administrators in order to acquire the acceptance of the rational legal authority used certain measures. For instance, the use of certain Burmese terms

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<sup>10/</sup> John F. Cady, op.cit., p. 149.

such as ဆိုင်း ဂမင်း ၊ ကျန် ကေ နိုင်း which referred to the ruler and the ruled respectively were continued in the official language in referring to various government authorities such as Township Officer, ဗြဲဆု ဝမင်း Sub-division Officer, ဝန် ကေ ဘက်မင်း etc.. Thus, a highly westernized instrument was imposed on the society which is still very traditional. Besides, as a result of the economic progress there came into existence various classes of people : traders, money lenders, land owners, government servants, cultivators, farmers etc.. There was also a sharp cleavage between the Burma element rural and agricultural and the foreign element urban and industrial or commercial. So, the type of society that development created was a plural society consisting of several groups living separately.

In connection with the changes which occurred in the social structure of the country the one which had an important bearing upon the later administrative developments was the emergence of a Burmese bureaucratic class. The government service had traditionally been looked upon by the Burmese people as a preferred occupation over other traders, so the official group that emerged under British rule attained a high status in the social structure. The basic requirement of the bureaucratic official was western education and training which only the wealthier and most advanced group had the opportunity to acquire.

Since the administration of the country was later carried on essentially along the methods established by the British, the bureaucratic officials became the group in whose hands the later administrative machinery was vested. The western education and training they had had, the experience they gained

under British rule would help them in handling the new administrative machinery and also would influence their administrative behaviour.

#### Summary and Conclusion :

For the fully comprehension of the British administration which was developed in the early years of their rule and which also had great influence over the later developments, we have summarized certain essential aspects of the administrative system and its impact upon the social structure of the country.

The administrative system that was introduced by the British on their coming into Burma was found to be basically very different from the traditional Burmese administration. The sole objective of their policy was the promotion of economic progress of the country in order to fulfil the requirements of their developing commerce and industry.

Therefore, a highly centralized type of administrative machinery or a bureaucracy was set up for the purpose.

The administrative machinery introduced by the British composed of various bureaucratic elements. There was a strict chain of command from the top of the hierarchy down to the lowest level. The officials carried out impersonal official obligations and all official activities were bound by strict rules and regulations. It was government by law since the promotion of trade and economic progress need<sup>ed</sup> to be regulated by western law.

The British administration in this aspect of rational legal authority differs from the traditional Burmese administration

which was legitimized on the basis of established customs and traditions. Thus, it was a highly westernized machinery imposed upon the society which was still very traditional.

Thus, the establishment of a highly westernized administrative machinery by the British in Burma naturally had certain impacts upon the social structure of the country. One of these which is of importance in the later development of the administrative system was the emergence of a class of Burmese officials. This group of officials with all its traditions, methods of work and attitudes acquired under the British would influence the development as well as the functioning of the later administrative machinery.

## Chapter IV

### Post-Independence Administrative Machinery of Burma

Since Burma became an independent nation, a great many changes have been made in the administrative machinery which was established by the British. In the previous chapter, we have studied the British bureaucracy that had developed on the basis of its own goals and traditions. The early British administrators, however, adopted the policy of laissez-faire as a sufficient guarantee of economic progress and administrative activities were confined for the most part, to the maintenance of law and order and the collection of sufficient revenue to <sup>meet</sup> ~~need~~ administrative charges, leaving non-officials, merchants and cultivators to develop the country in their own ways. Burma, as we all know, was an agricultural country and since the Burmese lacked in commercial and industrial knowledge on western principles, they did not share much in the general progress under British rule. So the national and social development of the country was left to founder in the hands of foreigners.. Consequently, the new national leaders who had emerged in Burma during the War, accepted the socialist pattern of economy as the ideal for the purpose and as such, when Burma attained her independence in January 1948, the constitution drafted was inevitably framed on a socialist pattern. So from the point of view of our study, it became essential to analyse the changes in the administrative machinery and the influence of the permanent civil-service in the subsequent developments

when the explicit formal goals of the State was changed from a laissez-faire police regulation of society to that of a social welfare state. With this idea, the present chapter studies the post-independence administrative machinery as to the form of organisation, its principal objectives, its role in the social and economic development of the country, as well as the change in the role of civil servants as conditioned by the New Government and also the impact of the traditions and concepts of the old bureaucracy upon the present administrative machinery.

However, before we study the present government machinery it appears necessary to mention the change that has come over in Burma during the Second World War when the country was occupied by the Japanese. The Japanese invaded the country early in February 1942 and by May, the Japanese army was able to assume control over the civil administration in Burma. Later Dr. Ba Maw took charge of the civil government under the military command. This arrangement took effect from 1 August 1943. By it, the democratic facade which had decorated the later years of British rule was wiped out and, besides, there were Japanese <sup>advisors</sup> ~~advisors~~ present at every important <sup>civilian office</sup> ~~civilian office~~ who had to be consulted regarding all important decisions. Apart from this the structural organisation of the Burmese administration of 1943 was basically the same as in British times, although there were several differences.

The first difference was that, most of the officials who restored the civil administration took the place of the European officials who had formerly held all the high posts. This gave the Burmese a new experience in handling the administrative machinery.



Another difference was the revival of traditional Burmese terminology in the administrative system due to the evacuation of European officials. For instance, Bo means colonel and the head commander became Bogyoke. The district commissioners were <sup>called</sup> ~~cal~~ led Kayaingwuns and district superintendents of Police were called Yewuns. Thus, with the change in the official language together with the fact that the administrative machinery was manned by the nationals, the Burmese gained much confidence in administering the modern government apparatus in their own ways and means.

More important however than changes in the form and machinery of government were the changes <sup>in</sup> the environment by which it was conditioned. There was a change in the economic policy of the country. The British, however, favoured the policy of free trade which had encouraged the agricultural production and hindered industrial production. The new national leaders found that Burma's dependence mainly on agriculture is wrong in principle and unsound in economics. There need to be correction of the unbalanced state between agriculture and industry. Thus, the new Government advocated a policy of national economy as essential for the creation of New Burma. This period of Japanese Occupation also gave the Burmese the chance and they managed to handle the remnants of the economic apparatus that had escaped destruction with more or less success.

However, the chief contribution of the Japanese to the political economy of Burma was the reaction against it that brought the peoples of Burma together in a common national repudiation of all foreign rule. During the Japanese rule, the

Burmese had a chance to build an army which they could use against all foreign rulers. This army was headed by Bogyoke Aung San, one of the national leaders of the period. Later, on discovering that the Japanese were not for the social and economic development of the economy, the leaders accepted British help to drive the Japanese out of the country.

~~After~~ <sup>After</sup> the Japanese retreat, the country was placed under the Military Government which ruled the country as representative of the civil government in Simla. Although somewhat amateurish, the military administration initiated certain lines of policy which became permanent features of post-war British administration. For instance, a Supplies and Industries Department (later Department of Civil Supplies) was set up in March 1945, which in view of the paralysis of private enterprise was required to distribute food and a limited supply of consumer goods through<sup>out</sup> the country<sup>1/</sup>. It included a projects section, whose task was to restore the main economic activities of Burma by organising the big commercial firms into quasi-public corporations.

When the Military Government resumed responsibility for the civil administration in October 1945, the British in Burma were found ready to implement the projects which were planned during the war at Simla. The projects for the speedy recovery of the

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<sup>1/</sup> Vice Admiral The Earl of Mountbatten of Burma, Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia, 1943-1945, (London: His Majesty and Stationery Office, 1951), p. 197.

economy included the restoration of foreign firms to their pre-war status. These projects related to rice marketing, timber extraction and riverine transport. Government was to finance and control those projects while the old firms were to act in the capacity of executive agents. This economic policy consolidated and further inflamed the national sentiment, since what the Burmese desired was a policy of national economy. On the other hand, there was also much advancement in the political sphere of the country. The APPFL, which was the leading political party headed by Bogyoke Aung San, having its agents in all government departments and public services almost formed a parallel authority to the Government.<sup>2/</sup> Later, Burma fought for freedom <sup>and</sup> eventually regained her independence on 4, January 1948.

When Burma attained Independence, the constitution which was drafted on 24, September 1947 at the Constituent Assembly of Burma came into force. Although the Constitution does not include any reference to Burma as a 'Socialist' state, several provisions along a socialist pattern were present. For instance, provision is made for rational economic planning, state ownership of public utilities, national transport and communications, state or co-operative exploitation of natural resources; and state ~~aid~~ <sup>3/</sup> aid to economic organisation 'not working for private property'. In accordance with the provisions laid down the pattern of the economy began to change after Independence. In the year of Independence

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<sup>2/</sup> Hugh Tinker, The Union of Burma, Second Edition, (London : Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 20.

<sup>3/</sup> Frank N. Trager, Building a Welfare State in Burma, 1948-1956, (New York : American Book-Stratford Press, 1958), p. 4.

itself, the Land Nationalisation Bill was passed, and the project boards were replaced by the State Agricultural Marketing Board, the State Timber Board and the Inland Water Transport Board. Shortly after Independence, the Government introduced the Two-Year Plan,<sup>4/</sup> which aimed at the restoration of pre-war levels of output and industrialization of the country to reduce the preponderant dependence upon agriculture.

Also for the ultimate objective of setting up a national and social welfare state, the Government would enter the field of economic enterprises in order to construct the national economy. At the same time, the war had increased the need for welfare expenditure. The public health and education services deteriorated, disease spread and the children lost the habit of school attendance. Also in setting up a socialist state, the Government would follow the doctrines of democracy which ensures local autonomy necessary for the effective accomplishment of all governmental functions. This means, a Representative Government would be the order of the day.

After enumerating the principal objectives underlying the Burmese Government, let us now analyse the administrative machinery that was set up. It was a Parliamentary form of organisation. The administration of the country therefore devolved upon a cabinet collectively and the work of various branches of government was distributed among the Ministers.<sup>5/</sup> The number of

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<sup>4/</sup> Government of the Union of Burma, The Two Year Plan, (Rangoon: Government Printing Press, 1948).

<sup>5/</sup> Government of the Union of Burma, Appointment of the Committee for the Reorganisation of the administration, 1948, (Rangoon - Government Printing Press), p. 93.

Ministers were limited to ten by section 5 (1) of the Government of Burma Act. Also under the Rules of Executive Business included in this Act, ten departments were formed to perform the business of the Government. These included the Home Department, Judicial Department, Finance Department, Revenue Department, Commerce Department, Forest Department, Education Department, Health and Public Works Department, Labour Department, and Agriculture Department; each under the charge of a Minister. When Burma regained her independence in 1948, the Departments were <sup>come</sup> ~~to~~ to be known as Ministries and the first Union Government <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ constituted with eighteen Ministries. At the close of 1948, there were twenty-three Ministries, and the growth of Ministries for a period of eight years after Independence is shown in the following table. <sup>6/</sup>

Table VI

Growth of Ministries

Year	Number of Ministries
1948	23
1949	24
1950	27
1951	26
1952	26
1953	28
1954	29
1955	30

This rapid growth in the number of Ministries was due to the policy of the Government to concentrate and give more attention to social welfare activities.

The organisational set up and the work of these Ministers however are vital for <sup>our</sup> ~~an~~ purpose. Ordinarily each Minister has a Secretary and the activities of the Ministries were extended over Governmental Departments as well as over Boards and Corporations. In the Secretariat the work of each Ministry was grouped in one or more large Departments, and the work of each Department was organised in the Secretariat in Branches and in the district in Services. The Secretaries and most of the administrative staff were recruited from the civil-service. However, the rapid growth in the formation of Ministries had resulted in the strain on the scarce superior executive and administrative personnel. Before the war most of the top administrators were Europeans and very few Burmans were trained for the task. After Independence, Burma was left with only a skeleton of administrators. After 1948, with the increase in the number of Ministries, rapid growth of promotion had to be made, as a result administrators with less experience and those of the junior grades had to be brought in to fill the posts. This could be seen in the following Table 2.

Table VII

Distribution of Secretaries between Class I, Class II, and Rankers

Year	Class I	Class II	Rankers	Total
1948	18	13	12	43
1949	17	16	12	45
1950	Not	Available		
1951	15	19	14	48
1952	15	42	11	68
1953	13	45	15	73
1954	10	49	16	75
1955	12	47	16	75

Source : Civil-list prepared by Ministry of Home Affairs

As regards the local administration of the country ~~the~~ country the old civil-service was used. At every divisional head-quarter there was a Commissioner and the district was placed under the charge of a Deputy Commissioner and under him were the subordinate officials, sub divisional officers and the Township Officers. The new administration was still found to be largely manned by personnel of the old civil service. For instance, according to the Quarterly civil-list for Burma, corrected up to 1 October 1947, we found that<sup>cut</sup> ~~out~~ of a total of 138 officials in the Superior Branch, 75 were ICS, 46 were BCS and the remaining 17 officials belonged to IA or ATM or other pre-war service. In the Provincial and Subordinate Branch also, out of a total of 406 officials, three hundred and twenty-nine belonged to the pre-war civil service.<sup>2/</sup>

Besides the civil-service, the local government was largely coloured by self-governing local bodies. These were instituted in most of the large towns, municipalities which were formed on the basis of democratic principles. These served as the agent of the Central Government responsible for the provision of certain welfare services. In 1953, the Ministry of Democratization was created to take over the general function of supervision over local bodies for the successful accomplishment of welfare services.<sup>2/</sup>

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7/ Maung Hla Tint, Cases in Administration, (a Diploma Thesis) March, 1960.

8/ Secretary to the Government of Burma, Home Department, The Quarterly Civil List for Burma, Nov: IV, (Rangoon: Government Printing Press, 1948).

9/ The Local Government Democratization Program of the Government of the Union of Burma.

The local bodies were manned by elected non-officials. In this way the Government shared the task of promoting social welfare with the public, and the democratization of local administration.

With the undertaking of all developmental activities, both economic as well as social, by the New Government, there was expansion in the scope of governmental activities and a change in the role played by the Government. Under British rule, the State was limited to certain supervisory functions mainly in the field of military and foreign affairs, police and justice and had no business to enter the field of industry. However, with a new policy of national economy adopted by the Burmese Government, this became a legitimate and also an indispensable function. Accordingly State enterprises, in the form of various boards and corporations were created to fulfill the basic requirements of the economy. Although these bodies were first designed to operate as independent public enterprises with its corporate existence, only a few out of these operated under clearly defined relationship with the old line department of government, except that a number of new bodies were headed as a rule by the leading political personalities..

The creation of administrator's role means in essence the development of civil-service and bureaucratic structure. In the public corporations in Burma, it will be noticed that although these were headed by politicians, there were very few non-officials. This however was due to the difficulty of attaining the services of outsiders with a sufficient degree of ability, knowledge and experience where almost all the prewar firms of considerable size were under European management. Therefore, the civil-servants without <sup>experience</sup> ~~experience~~ in commerce and industry took the role of industrial managers.



With <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Government policy economic development of the country, the scope of governmental activities expanded to a point where only those persons who deal with them from day to day over a long period of time can be familiar with the manifold ramifications. Due to this Government became increasingly dependent upon the civil service, while the major issue of policy and decision-making rested on the Cabinet. Under these circumstances the essential requisite for the development of a socialist state was that the social and economic values of the governing politicians and those of <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ bureaucracy did not seriously conflict.

Under the new Burmese government the administrative machinery came to be composed of these Ministries, Departments and Services, commissions, Boards and Corporation etc.. However, due to the increase in governmental activities there was growth both in the number and in the size of such institutions. Since the general policy was decided by the cabinet whose members headed the Ministries as well as important Boards and Corporations the system of administration still continued to be a highly centralized one. However, one of the dysfunctional consequences of this centralized system of administration is that it breeds more control which resulted in more bureaucratic behaviour of its personnel.

Also, the use of the old civil service with its traditions, attitudes and values for the new development programs resulted in difficulties. This was because the background and norms of the old civil servants were in conflict with the ideals of the new Government and thus became not easily adjustable to the changing role.

The adjustment to the changing role of the government servant was also difficult because the same bureaucratic procedures and practices continue in the government departments. For instance the organisation of the department with the same codes and manuals, rules and regulations, and <sup>filed</sup> filing system, etc. The economic enterprises set up for the development of the country demands initiative, co-operation and co-ordination of several departments and ministries. But the bureaucracy which was *in* use emphasized on procedures, and punctitious adherence to rules and regulations.

Also, the civil servants who had to perform important governmental functions lacked <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ experience and technical knowledge about the job. Thus, their only outlet became escapism in rules and regulations. Therefore, adherence to rules and regulations constructed for the efficient performance of the organisation may under the changing situation cause many dysfunctions.

### Summary and conclusion:

In this chapter we studied the changing structure of the Burmese public administration. Changes in the organisational set up, changes in its role as stated by its needs and objectives as well as changes in the role of its personnel are very essential for the fully understanding of its problems, its difficulties, and also to explain <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ behaviour pattern of its personnel.

After the attainment of Independence the explicit formal goals of the Government is changed from that of a laissez-faire policy regulation to that of a social welfare state. Thus, it became the sole initiator and promoter of economic as well as social change.

With the change in <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ role of the Government the role of its personnel also changed. They were not only required to maintain law and order but also required to act as industrial managers and social engineers.

However, due to the continuation of the use of old bureaucratic machinery and its personnel many difficulties resulted in the actual performance of its new governmental functions. The possible explanation for these difficulties was the conflict between the bureaucratic norms and values internalized by the civil servants and the ideals of the new government.

This analysis of the development and characteristics of the historical pattern of administration which <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ based on the combination of traditional and cultural forces with foreign political domination, will help explain certain behavioral pattern of the Burmese executives.

## Chapter V

### The Social Background of the Burmese Executives

In the foregoing chapters we have analysed the changes in political leadership in Burma: the abolition of the Burmese monarchy, the departure of the British, and the considerable reform effort since 1948 when Burma regained her Independence. In other words, we have studied the development of government bureaucracy, its characteristics, its role in administering the country as well as the role of government servants. The success of the new government depends upon how far its objectives could be attained and this in turn rests upon the personnel who manned the administrative apparatus. Therefore, our major concern in this study is to analyse certain behavioral aspects of the Burmese executives, particularly their bureaucratic orientation and acceptance of change, and to relate these with the social background that help explain them. With this idea in view this chapter studies certain social background characteristics of the Burmese executives in the government machinery which will be used as independent variables in the analysis of bureaucratic behavior.

For our purpose we are fortunate to have the opportunity to use the data obtained from the questionnaire survey carried out by the Department of Commerce, Institute of Economics. Details as regards the questionnaire survey such as selection of respondents, sampling frame and plan, interviewing the respondents, the questionnaires, will be described in Appendix A, B, C, and D respectively. This chapter therefore confines to only one aspect of

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1/ The questionnaire survey is done under the special guidance of Dr. Khin Maung Kyi, senior Lecturer of the Commerce Department, and carried out by the staff of the Department in June, July and August of 1963.

the questionnaire survey, that is the social background characteristics of the Burmese executives who were interviewed. <sup>1/2</sup> ~~Main-~~ <sup>1/2</sup> ~~ing~~ this data before us will also help us to compare our study with similar studies made in other bureaucracies. For instance, Morroe Berger in his "Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt" <sup>2/</sup> has studied the Egyptian higher civil servants and Gregorio A. Francisco Jr. has studied higher civil servants in the Philippines. <sup>3/</sup> In analysing the social background of the Burmese executives we shall, so far as possible, compare them with the above studies made in other countries so as to bring out characteristics pronounced among Burmese bureaucrats.

However, the social characteristics of the Burmese executives in our sample could be grouped into three major categories. First, those characteristics which more or less vary together such as age, grade and years of service. Second, those characteristics which are likely to vary with the extent of exposure to western influence such as geographical origin, father's occupation such as government servant or not, and educational level of the respondent. In urban areas, that is in Rangoon and in district towns being headquarters of the administrative divisions since under British rule, much western influence prevail there. Whether the occupation of the respondent's father was a government servant or not accounts very much in the attainment as well as in the performance of his role in the present government machinery, since a government servant's son would probably have experienced different kind of training at childhood and be opened to more opportunities in his career. The type of education the respondent had, that is whether he had

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<sup>2/</sup> Morroe Berger, Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1957).

<sup>3/</sup> G.A. Francisco Jr., Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines, University of Minnesota, November 1959, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.

studied arts, professional, technical, or other sciences, is likely to have impact on his patterns of behavior and values. Third, other social factors such as religion of the respondent, method of recruitment to the post, and change of organisation which will help explain partially at least the behavioral aspects of the Burmese executives.

The characteristics of the executives who responded to the questionnaires are analysed as follows.

Age :

Table I

Age of Respondent

Age	Number	Percentage
Below 29 years	14	7
29 - 34	46	22
35 - 39	52	16
40 - 44	40	20
45 - 49	29	14
50 years and above	42	21
	-----	-----
	203	100
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The respondents, as Table I shows, ranged in age from below 30 years to above 50 years and at the age of 55 years retirement is mandatory. We have only 14 respondents or 7% of our sampled executives below 29 years of age and the rest being distributed among the higher age groups. This is because our sample being taken from higher and middle executive levels are of course

older than the average. However, respondents can be divided into two age groups; those who are below 40 years and those who are above 40 years, because the group with age below 40 years are made up of those people recruited into service after the war and is expected to have experienced different social life compared to those in the older group. The younger group includes 82 officials or 45% of the respondents and the older group includes 111 officials or 55% of the respondents. Thus, we have a larger proportion of our respondents in the older age group. As regards this aspect, the Egyptian higher civil servants studied by Morroe Berger, are as a group older than the Burmese executives. They ranged from 31 to 60 years of age, at which retirement is mandatory, and 45 years is used in that study as the dividing line between the older and the younger officials. There were 125 officials or 50.2% of the respondents between 31 and 45 years, and 124 officials or 49.8% of the respondents between 45 and 60 years.<sup>4/</sup> Thus, the Egyptian higher civil servants being more evenly distributed between the older and the younger age groups contained more executives in the younger group compared to our sample.

Grade :

Table II

Grade of Respondent

Grade	Number	Percentage
Selection Grade	55	27
Senior Branch	148	73
	-----	-----
	203	100
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<sup>4/</sup> Morroe Berger, op.cit., pp. 40-44.

Our sample of 203 officials being confined to those in the higher and middle executive levels in the government machinery composed of two grades: the selection grade and the senior branch. The respondents in our sample were distributed between these two grades in the proportion as shown in Table II. About 27% of the respondents fall within the selecting grade and the remaining 73% of the respondents are in the senior branch. Our sample is composed of a larger proportion of those in the lower grade and that is because the respondents are to represent roughly the same proportions of higher and middle grade executives as in the universe. The respondents in our sample however are selected from among the three types of organisations: Administrative organisations, Professional or Service organisations, and Economic organisations or Government Boards and Corporations, and the percentage composition of the executives in our sample from each of the three types of organisations could be seen in Table III.

Table III

Civil Servants who responded to the Questionnaire

Type of organisation	Total number of officials	Sample	Percentage
1. Administrative organisation.			
(1) Selection Grade	177	18	9
(2) Senior Branch	417	42	21
2. Professional or Service organisation			
(1) Selection Grade	145	15	7
(2) Senior Branch	486	48	23
3. Economic organisation			
(1) Selection Grade	443	22	11
(2) Senior Branch	1086	58	29
	<u>2756</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>



The Egyptian study was also confined to those civil servants who were in the higher grades, that is grades 2, 3, and 4 which were the three grades just below the highest grade; grade 1, and they were selected from four ministries: Agriculture, Education, Finance and Economy, and Municipal and Rural Affairs.<sup>5/</sup> Their aim was to interview about 15% of the civil servants in each grade in each ministry. But since their selection was made on the basis of those who agreed to be interviewed, a somewhat larger percentage was obtained, that is 16%. The size of the sample was 249 officials out of a total of 1556 officials in the three grades in the four ministries mentioned above. The respondents in their study were distributed in such a way that about a quarter (24.5%) of the respondents were in grade 2, the highest of the three grades sampled, while a third (33.7%) were in grade 3, and two-fifths (41.8%) in grade 4, the lowest one sampled.<sup>6/</sup> Thus, similar to our study a larger proportion of the respondents appeared in the lower grades.

In Gregorio A. Francisco Jr.'s study of the higher civil servants in the Philippines, they were found to be selected from five categories of officials; namely, secretaries of Executive Departments, under secretaries of Executive Departments, heads of Bureaus, Offices, Commissions, Institutes, Government Corporations, etc., officers second in rank to the above group, and heads of Administrative Offices, Departments, or Divisions

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<sup>5/</sup> Morroe Berger, op.cit., pp. 37-38.

<sup>6/</sup> Morroe Berger, op.cit., p. 41.

in Executive Departments, Bureaus, Commissions, Boards, Services, Corporations, etc..<sup>7/</sup> Although grade is difficult to compare from one civil service system to another, we could possibility assume that the above categories were the five corresponding grades in the higher and middle executive levels in the Philippines. The size of the sample was 124 officials selected out of a total of 317 officials included in the above categories. The distribution of respondents among the five grades was found to be as follows: about 4% in the first grade, 7% in the second, 31% in the third and about 29% each in the fourth and fifth grades.<sup>8/</sup> Here also we found that the sample was composed of a larger proportion of those officials in the lower grades.

#### Service :

As regards years of service of the Burmese executives in our study, we found that they were distributed over a range of 1 to 5 years of service to 26 and more years as shown in Table IV.

The respondents were more or less evenly distributed over the years of service. The respondents with 1 to 15 years of experience numbered 109 officials or 54% of the sample and those with 16 to 26 and more years of service were 94 officials or 46% of the respondents. Thus, our sample includes a very slightly larger number of officials with shorter years of service than those with longer years of service.

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<sup>7/</sup> G.A. Francisco Jr., op.cit, p.150.

<sup>8/</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

Table IVService of Respondent

Years	Number	Percentage
1 - 5 years	29	14
6 - 10	44	22
15 - 15	36	18
16 - 20	33	16
21 - 25	23	11
26 and more years	<u>203</u>	<u>19</u>
	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>

## Geographical origin:

As regards the geographical origin of the respondents in our sample, we obtained the data from the question which asked the place where the respondent lived most of the time before going to college. The places were grouped into four categories: Rangoon, district town, small town, and village, of which the first two represent the urban area. The distribution of the respondents among these places appeared in Table V.

The distribution of the respondents between the urban and rural dwellers was found to be as follows. About 77% of the respondents were urban people and 33% were rural dwellers. Since a very much larger proportion of the executives in the higher

Table V

Place where the Respondent lived most of the time before going  
to college

Place	Number	Percentage
Rangoon	66	33
District town	89	44
Small town	25	12
Village	15	7
No response	8	4
	----	----
	203	100
	====	====

and middle grade civil service were those who came from urban areas, we therefore conclude that attainment of office in the government service seems to favour those who had lived in urban areas.

In the Egyptian study however the geographical origin of the civil servants was based on two sources : place of birth and place in which the respondent lived until the age of 20 years. In both cases the weight of urban influence was found to be great. There were about 74.5% of the respondents who were born in urban areas and about 97.2% of them who had lived in urban areas.<sup>9/</sup> Thus, from the above studies we conclude that the government servants were recruited largely out of urban population.

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<sup>9/</sup> Morroe Berger, op.cit., p. 42.

Social origin :

Table VIPrincipal and last occupation of the Respondent's Father

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Cultivator, farmer	8	4
Landowner	7	3
Shopkeeper, broker, small businessmen	3	1
Merchant, contractor	52	26
Miller, big businessmen	2	1
Government servant :		
Clerical and lower	34	17
Middle grade	17	8
Higher grade	12	6
Rank unknown	2	1
Headmen	4	2
Religious orders	4	2
Medical, engineer, other professionals	32	16
School teacher and headmaster	14	7
Army	1	0.5
Employment in business: Managerial	4	2
Clerical	5	2.5
No response	2	1
	-----	-----
	203	100
	=====	=====

The principal and last occupation of the respondent's father appeared in Table VI above. We found that the types of occupation cover a wide range from cultivator, farmer to landowner, and big businessmen, from the lowest level to the highest level government servant, and also includes all kinds of professionals. However, only about 5% of the respondents were the descendants of the lower status group such as cultivator, farmer, shopkeeper, broker, and small businessmen. The remaining 95% of the respondents were the descendants of landowner, merchant and contractor, miller and big businessmen, government servants of all grades, and professionals which formed the upper middle upper group. The Burmese executives came predominantly from the upper class.

In the Egyptian study there were about a quarter, that is 24.8% of the respondents who were sons of peasants or merchants, while none had fathers who were urban labourers. The remaining 75.2% of the respondents were sons of civil servants (white-collar), landlord, independent professionals, army officer and white collar (non-civil service).<sup>10/</sup> Thus, compared to the 5% in our study a larger percentage of higher grade civil servants in Egypt came from the lower class group such as farmers and cultivators. In the Philippines, about 34% of the respondents were sons of unskilled or semiskilled labourers, small farmer-fishermen, proprietor (small business) and about 66% were sons of

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<sup>10/</sup> Morree Berger, op.cit., pp. 44-45.

Landowners, professionals and skilled labourers, whitecollar (civil service) and white collar (non-civil service)<sup>11/</sup> In this study also, we found that compared to our study the study of higher civil servants in the Philippines also include a larger proportion of those who came from lower status group. Therefore, in terms of occupational mobility the Burmese executive group appeared to be more rigid than in Egypt and in the Philippines.

In analysing our respondents in terms of occupational mobility it is felt necessary to segregate the respondents into those who were sons of government servants and those who were sons of non-government servants, since certain behavior or character could be explained by this social factor. For instance, it is expected that the respondents who were sons of government servants and being government servants themselves will differ on certain behavioral aspect from those respondents who were descended from non-government servant families.

According to Table VII, we found that about 40% of the respondents were sons of government servants, and about 53% were sons of non-government servants. In the Egyptian study we found that about 38.8% of the respondents were sons of government servants<sup>12/</sup> and among the higher civil servants in the Philippines

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<sup>11/</sup> Francisco Jr., op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>12/</sup> Morroe Berger, op.cit., p. 45.

only about 8.8% of the respondents were sons of civil servants.<sup>13/</sup> Thus, a larger percentage of the Burmese executives in the higher and middle grades included in our study were sons of civil servants compared to those similar studies made in other countries such as in Egypt and in the Philippines.

However, the significance of this social factor in one's success in bureaucratic career is illustrated in Table VIII.

Table VIII

Relation between Grade of Respondent and Social origin

Social origin	Grade of Respondent	
	Selection grade	Senior branch
Sons of government servants	54.4	43.8
Sons of non-government servants	45.6	56.2
	----- 100 -----	----- 100 -----
Cases	(55)	(148)

A larger percentage, that is 54.4% of those who were in the selection grade as against 43.8% of those in the senior branch was found to be sons of government servants. The correlation between these two factors is .11 and  $x^2$  equals 2.46. Our conclusion that sons of government servants are likely to fill most of the higher posts in the government machinery is significant at .10 level.

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<sup>13/</sup> G.A. Francisco Jr. op.cit., p. 167.



### Education:

As regards the educational level of the respondents, the data appeared in Table IX.

Table IX

Educational level of Respondent

Extent of schooling	Number	Percentage
College graduates	135	67
Some college	24	12
Matriculate	22	11
High School Final Pass	17	8
Less than High School	5	2
	----- 203 -----	----- 100 -----

As might be expected in a group of higher and middle executives, the majority of the respondents have a college degree. From Table IX, we found that about 67% of the respondents were college graduates, among those who were non graduates about 12%, attended some college, 11% of the respondents matriculated and the remaining 10% had at most a High School Final Pass. However, a larger percentage of those in The Egyptian study, that is 88% of the respondents, were college graduates. Only .4% of the remaining respondents had less than secondary education and the rest had secondary education.<sup>14/</sup> In the Philippines study also the vast majority, that is 95.2% of the respondents, were made up of those who had a bachelor's degree or equivalent, or higher degree, or those who were graduates (work or degree).<sup>15/</sup> Thus, on the whole

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<sup>14/</sup> Morroe Berger, op.cit., p. 43.

<sup>15/</sup> G.A Francisco Jr., op.cit., p. 155.

the higher executives in the government service in Egypt as well as in the Philippines had a higher level of education than our sample of Burmese executives.

As regards the major fields of study of the respondents, we classified into types of professional and technical education such as engineering, forestry, medical, veterinary, agriculture, accounting, education, social sciences, and arts as could be seen in Table X.

Table X

Type of Professional and Technical Education other than Law

Major field of study	Number	Percentage
Engineering and related subjects	47	23
Forestry	1	0.5
Medical	4	2
Veterinary	2	1
Agriculture	8	4
Accounting	10	5
Education	4	2
Social Sciences	5	2.5
Arts	95	47
No such training at all	26	13
	-----	-----
	202	100
	-----	-----

There were about 40% of the respondents who had such types of professional or technical training, about 47% had studied arts and only about 13% were neither graduates nor studied any of

such professional or technical subjects. The respondents who had studied technical or professional or arts and also studied Law appeared in Table XI below.

Table Xi  
Respondents who had studied Law

	Number	Percentage
Law degree	31	15
No Law degree	171	85
	----- 202	----- 100
	-----	-----

However, in the similar study made in the Philippines, we found that there were about 43% of the respondents who had studied in the same or similar professional and technical education. The remaining 57% of the respondents had studied Law and others.<sup>16/</sup> Thus, the educational level of the Burmese executives seemed to be lower than the respondent to the comparative study made in the Philippines.

In further analysing the education of our respondents, we found that among those who were college graduates there were about 12% who had foreign degree as shown in Table XII below.

Table XII                      Home or Foreign Degree

	Number	Percentage
Home degree	111	55
Foreign degree	24	12
No degree	68	33
	----- 203	----- 100
	-----	-----

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<sup>16/</sup> Francisco Jr., op.cit., p. 157.

Apart from such formal education, there were other professional or technical, or general administrative and departmental training courses and study tours which were conducted both at Home and Abroad.

Table XIII

Further Education and Training classes and study tour

	Home		Foreign	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professional or technical training classes and study tours	8	4	47	23
General administrative and departmental training classes and study tours	17	9	14	7
	---	---	---	---
	25	13	61	30
	---	---	---	---
Total cases	(203)			

As shown in Table XIII, there were altogether 43% of the respondents who had attended such training classes and study tours and those who went Abroad for such studies totaled 30% of the cases. Thus, the educational level of the respondents was enhanced by such studies and on the other hand western influence would become greater upon the respondent's behavior as such studies were made in U.K. or in the U.S.

However, the above three characteristics : geographical origin, social origin, and educational level of the respondent, taken together would measure the social mobility of the respondents. In the Egyptian study, social mobility of the respondents was measured in terms of whether the respondent in the civil service

was in a post that has more prestige or status than the occupation his father followed. There were found to be 24.8% of the respondents who were upwardly mobile, that is whose fathers were in occupations lower in prestige or status than the civil service and about 75.2% of the respondents who were low on this mobility scale.<sup>17</sup> In our study social mobility is made up of three geographical mobility, horizontal mobility, and educational mobility. The details as to the construction of the social mobility index would be described in Appendix F, we found that about 14 of the respondent are more mobile while the remaining 86% of them are less mobile.

Religion : The government machinery under the British was almost exclusively manned <sup>by</sup> Europeans and Indians. But later on due to the increasing Burmanization of the civil service, it became almost exclusively manned by Burmese officials under the present government machinery. Therefore, as could be expected from the reasons mentioned above, the vast majority of the executives in the government service would be Burmese Buddhists.

Table XV  
Religion of Respondent

	Number	Percentage
Buddhist	173	85
Christians	20	10
Hindu	1	0.5
Muslims	5	2.5
No religion	1	0.5
No response	3	1.5
	----- 203 -----	----- 100 -----

<sup>17/</sup> Maurice Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 60, 61.

As shown in Table XV, there were 85% of the respondents who were Buddhists, 10% were Christians, 2.5% were Muslims, others being negligible. This social factor is important to our study because religion plays a very important role in the social life of the people since under the Burmese kings. In the Egyptian study no separate question was asked as regards the religion of the respondents. But analysis made from the respondent's name showed that about 88% of the respondents were Muslims, and the remaining 12% were Coptic Christians.<sup>18/</sup>

#### Method of recruitment:

As regards method of recruitment to the government service in Burma, we could categorize the types of recruits roughly into three groups. The first group composed of those who were directly recruited to the post, that is after being graduated they enter the service straight away. The second group composed of those who were recruited to the post after having had a number of years' experience in other organisations or jobs. The third and the last group composed of those who had worked through the junior posts to attain the higher offices, that is these officials had passed through various ranks to attain the posts, usually <sup>connected</sup> as rankers. The analysis of the executives in our sample in accordance with the above types of recruitment the data appeared as in Table XVI. According to Table XVI, there were 68% of the respondents directly recruited to the posts as fresh government officials, 4% of the respondents were also direct recruits but they had former experience in other jobs, and 28% of the respondents were those who had

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<sup>18/</sup> Berger, op.cit., p. 63.

Table XVI

## Method of recruitment

Direct recruits:	Number	Percentage
(1) Fresh recruits	137	68
(2) Recruits with more than 4 years' experience in other jobs or organisations	9	4
Rankers	56	28
	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>

come up the ranks. Thus, the middle and higher executive posts held by rankers amounted to only a quarter of the respondents in our sample and the vast majority were direct recruits to such high posts.

## Change of organisation:

Change of organisation is also an important social factor since it partially measures the job mobility of the respondent. The executives in our sample being composed of those officials from three different types of organisation; administrative, professional or service and economic organisations, change of jobs could be one or more times within the same type of organisation or between different types of organisations. The data obtained as regards this social factor appeared in Table XVII.

Table XVIIChange of organisation

	Number	Percentage
No change of organisation	130	65
One change: (1) into same type	29	14
(2) into different types	16	8
More than one change:		
(1) within same type	9	4
(2) into different types	18	9
	-----	-----
	202	100
	-----	-----

As shown in Table XVII, there were 65% of the respondents who remained stable in one organisation. Those respondents who changed only once into the same type of organisation or into different types amounted to 22% of the sample, and those who changed more than once within the same type or into different types of organisations formed 13% of the sample. Thus, the Burmese executives are very likely to stay in one organisation, that means they are rather stable and if change is to be made only one is very likely. From the above two social factors; method of recruitment and change of organisation, job or <sup>spacial</sup> special mobility could be obtained and the findings showed that the Burmese executives are not so mobile as regards this job mobility.



### Summary and conclusions:

In this chapter we have defined very broadly the social background characteristics of the higher and middle grades civil servants in the present government machinery. These characteristics would be summarized as follows:

**Age :** On respondents ranged in age from below 28 years to above 50 years and by using 40 years as the cutting point between older and younger officials we found that about 45% of our respondents fall the younger group while the remaining respondents fall within the older group.

**Grade:** Our sample include those officials in the following two grades: selection grade, that is higher grade, and senior Branch, that is middle grade. About 27% of the respondents are in the selection grade and the remaining 73% are Senior Branch Officers.

**Services :** As regards the years of service we <sup>found</sup> find that the respondents ranged from less than 5 years of service to more than 26 years of service. The officials are grouped into those who have less than 15 years of service and those who have more than 15 years of service about 54% of the respondents fall within the first group while the remaining 46% fall within the second group.

**Geographical origin :** Here the respondents are divided among themselves as to the place in which they had lived. About 77% of this came from urban areas and the remaining 23% came from rural areas.

**Social Origin :** <sup>Here</sup> ~~Has~~ the respondents are grouped on the basis of their fathers occupations, that is government servant or not.

About 46% of the respondents are found to be sons of government servants while 53% of them are sons of non-Government servants.

Educational level of respondents as regards the level of educational attainment we found that about 67% of them are college graduates and 33% of them are non-graduates. As regards the major field of study of the respondents we found that about 40% of them have professional or technical training, 47% of them <sup>them</sup> studied arts subjects.

Social mobility : This social factor is based on geographical origin, social origin and education of the respondent. About 14% of the respondents appeared to be more mobile and about 83% of them are less mobile.

Religion : About 85% of the respondents are Buddhists and the rest being composed of other religion among whom 10% of the respondents are found to be Christians.

Method of recruitments on the basis of the method of recruitment we found that about 72% of them are direct recruits while 28% are rankers.

Change of organisation : In relation to this social factor we could divide our respondents into those who remained stable in <sup>one</sup> our organisation and those who changed organisations <sup>one or</sup> ~~are on~~ more times. The former group is found to be composed of 35% of the respondents while the latter group composed of about 65% of the respondents.

Thus, having defined the broad characteristics of the executives in our sample, we shall in the next chapter set out to analyse the behavioral aspects of these executives which afterwards will be related to the above social background data to make certain useful generalizations about organisational behavior of the executives in the present government machinery.

## Chapter VI

### Bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese executives

In the previous chapter we have reviewed the broad characteristics of our sample of higher and middle grade civil servants in order to see who they are as a group and we have also compared them in age, education, etc. with roughly similar senior officials in Egypt and in the Philippines. In this chapter we turn to another type of description and comparison; this one as regards the bureaucratic behaviour of the Burmese executives. In other words, we shall find out the factors, in the experience of the respondents, which make for high or low bureaucratic tendencies and where ever possible comparison will be made with similar studies in other countries.

For our purpose we need first of all to construct certain measuring device which will satisfy our investigation. This requires that our measuring instruments or scales should have certain theoretical foundations. Modern society however, is to a large degree a bureaucratic society in the sense that all its functional requirements are being fulfilled by large and complex systems of organisation. The bureaucracy in Burma has been developed through several centuries of political development and economic change. Such changes and the <sup>concomitant</sup> ~~economitant~~ emergence of the model of public bureaucracy have been analysed by many western social scientists until its general features became well known. ✓

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✓ See the comprehensive collection of discussions edited by Robert K. Merton & others, Reader in Bureaucracy, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952).

Bureaucracy has been analysed from two related standpoints: structural and behavioral. Studies of bureaucratic structures have examined the centralization of power and authority, the establishment of a hierarchy of offices with special requirements and prerogatives, and the existence of rules governing the exercise of function and authority. On the other hand, studies of bureaucratic behaviour have examined the institutional and behavioural concomitants of these structures such as caution in interpreting the rules, self interest among the corps of officials, conduct toward the public and also informal relationships not envisaged in the prescribed system.

The above studies have been developed on the basis of Max Weber's theoretical formulation of the ideal-type bureaucracy. Weber focusses on bureaucracy primarily as a planned and rational form of administration. The organisation is therefore conceived as a machine, that is a rational means to the realization of expressively announced group goals.<sup>2/</sup> On the other hand, Auguste Comte, the follower of Saint Simon, views the organisation as a <sup>natural</sup> neutral system, that is the organisational structures are conceived as being spontaneously and homeostatically maintained. In other words, changes in organisational patterns are considered the result of cumulative, unplanned, adaptive responses importantly shaped by shared values of the members to threats to the equilibrium of the

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<sup>2/</sup> Weber, M., The Theory of Social and Economic Organisations, translated from the German by A.R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (London: William Hodge & Co. Ltd., 1947) pp. 302-312.

system as a whole.<sup>3/</sup> Thus, these two models: namely, the rational model and the natural system model are the ideal types each with its own characteristic strengths and weaknesses.

However, in our effort to study the bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese executives the adoptions of one model to the complete exclusion of the other would not give us the true picture. Bureaucracies which were viewed as rational legal systems had to strive to survive in the social system. So, on the basis of the above theoretical foundations we have constructed our two scales: namely, Procedure / Initiative scale and Authority / Initiative scale. Procedure means emphasis was placed upon the reliability and calculability of behaviour so much so that the official is liable to follow the long-time established methods of performing official functions. In other words, emphasis was placed upon the means of attaining the results. Authority rests upon technical knowledge, that is expertise, and also upon official position or status and is usually interpreted as obedience due to superiors. The use of initiative, on the other hand, emphasizes the attainment of desired objectives and the means are to be selected on the basis of how quickly, how economically the ends could be achieved. The construction of these scales was also easily done because these were constructed out of the questionnaire items which counterposed either emphasis upon procedure or acceptance of superior authority

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<sup>3/</sup> Gouldner, A.R., "Organisational Analysis", in *Sociology Today*, edited by R.K. Merton and others, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York, 1959, pp. 400-403, 405-406.

against use of initiative measures. The responses to these questionnaire items are constructed into two Guttman scales:

Procedure / Initiative scale and authority / Initiative scale\*.

Therefore, the Procedure / Initiative scale and the Authority / Initiative Scale could be considered theoretically as the attitude dimensions existing in the continuum, that is the greater the emphasis was upon procedure the lesser will be the use of initiative measures, and the greater the reliance upon superior authority the lesser will be the use of initiative. Thus, we believed that our findings will indicate the true bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese executives.

In connection with our study we found that Jerome S Berger has studied how closely the behaviour of the Egyptian higher civil servants approaches western bureaucratic behaviour. In his study, western bureaucratic behaviour was measured on the basis of three elements: namely, rationality and Universalism, Hierarchy and Discretion.<sup>4/</sup> For the purpose he has also constructed a Guttman scale out of 3 questionnaire items as the Bureaucratic scale. Therefore we shall be able to compare our findings with those of the Egyptian study as regards the bureaucratic tendencies. Berger has<sup>also</sup> studied the range of bureaucratic behaviour between initiative and subservience on the basis of the items indicating a conflict between the civil servant's loyalty to his superiors

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\*The details as regard the construction of these scales are described in Appendix F.

<sup>4/</sup> Berger, M., Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1957, p. 49.

in the bureaucracy and his conception of his duty to that section of the public whose interests he is supposed to serve.<sup>5/</sup> Here also we shall be able to compare the attitude of the Egyptian higher civil servants toward superior authority with our findings on the authority / Initiative scale because our scale was constructed out of the same questionnaire items used in the Egyptian study.

Roy G. Francis and Robert C. Stone have studied the procedural orientation of the employees of the Louisiana Division of Employment Security.<sup>6/</sup> In their study procedural orientation was analysed by means of three different methods: namely, (1) questionnaire method on official policy, (2) content analysis of official literature, and (3) investigation of use of records in the organisation.<sup>7/</sup> In his study only the questionnaire method on official policy correspond to our study of procedural emphasis. In their study official policy was categorized on the basis of four major points: (1) the maintenance of files is of critical importance, (2) stress is placed on technical efficiency, (3) there is a rigid structure of authority with the implication that there are clear cut channels of communications, (4) behaviour is governed by a maximum number of rules leaving the individual a minimum number of decisions to make on his own. A procedural orientation arises when employees view these structural elements in a particular way, that is when they regard files, technical skills, channels of communication, and number of rules as ends in themselves.<sup>8/</sup>

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<sup>5/</sup> Berger, M., op.cit. pp. 151-175.

<sup>6/</sup> Francis and Stone, Service and Procedure in Bureaucracy, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1956.

<sup>7/</sup> Ibid., pp. 51-91.

<sup>8/</sup> Ibid., pp. 63-64.

However, no scale was constructed in their study, the findings were observed in terms of absolute values. Therefore due to the differences in the method of study we cannot compare our findings with those of the American study. But in order to acquire certain ideas as regards the procedural orientation of the American workers we shall include some of their findings wherever possible.

In our study we have constructed two Guttman scales: Procedure / Initiative scale and Authority / Initiative scale in order to assess the Bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese Executives. We shall now consider the findings as regards each of these two scales. The Procedure / Initiative scale was constructed out of three items : question 6, question 9 (1) and question 9 (2) in the questionnaires which yielded four positions : three procedure answers, two procedure answers, one procedure answer, and no procedure answer. The 96 respondents or 47.2% of our sample executives who gave two or three procedure answers are considered to be high on this scale and the remaining 107 respondents or 52.8% of them who gave only one or no procedure answer are considered to be low on this scale. The Procedure / Initiative scale being constructed out of the questionnaire items which were framed in such a way that each one counterposed the two elements: procedure and initiative. Therefore, those respondent who are high on the procedure scale means they are low on the initiative side and those who are low on the procedure scale means they are high on the initiative scale. The Authority / Initiative scale was also constructed out of three items : question 7 (a) 7 (b),



and 7 (e) in the questionnaires which yielded four positions: three authority answers, two authority answers, one authority answer, and no authority answer. The 105 respondents, that is 51.8% of our sample executives who gave two or three authority answers are considered to be high on this scale and the remaining 98 respondents or 48.2% of them who gave only one or no authority answer are considered to be low on this scale. Here also, the authority/Initiative scale being constructed out of the questionnaire items framed on the same basis, we could say that those respondents who are high on the authority scale are low on the initiative side and vice versa. However, we need to see whether these two scales measure the bureaucratic behaviour in the same trend, that is how much they are correlated to one another. Table I shows the relationship between these two scales. We found that about 60.4% in the majority of the respondents who are high on the procedure scale are also high on the authority scale and 55.9%, that is the majority of those respondents who are low on the procedure scale are also low on the authority scale. The chi square equals 5.3 which with 1 degree of freedom is significant at .02 level of confidence. This shows that these two scales are related to one another and therefore measure the bureaucratic tendencies in the same trend.

After we have described the tendencies of our 203 Burmese executives on each of the two scales we shall find the relationship between the social background characteristics of those respondents who are high and those who are low on each of the two scales to see the differences, if any, between the responses given on the two measures.

Table I

Relationship between Procedure / Initiative scale and  
authority / Initiative scale

		Procedure / Initiative scale	
		High	Low
Authority / Initiative scale			
High	(105)	60.4	44.1
Low	( 98)	39.6	55.9
		-----	-----
		100	100
		=====	=====
$\chi^2$ significant at .02 level	(96)		(107)

Table 2 shows the relationship between length of service of the respondent and the Procedure / Initiative scale. We found that among these respondents who have less than 15 years of service 56.9% of them are low on the Procedure / Initiative scale and among those who have more than 15 years of service 47.9% of them are high on this scale. This shows that those respondents with longer years of service are likely to follow organisational procedures while those officials with shorter years of service are likely to use initiative. The chi square equals 1.64 and so the relationship, although it conforms to the pattern we expected, is not statistically significant. This same variable when it was tested on the Authority / Initiative scale we obtained no proper pattern of responses. Among these respondents who have less than 15 years of a larger percentage, that is 53.2% of them appeared to be high on authority while those respondents with more than 15 years of service were equally distributed between the high and the low groups. Therefore, although there turned out to be certain relationship

between length of service and the bureaucratic behaviour of the respondent we could not expect a very close relationship between these two variables.

Table II

Relationship between Length of service of the Respondent and  
Procedure / Initiative scale

Procedure / Initiative scale	Length of service of the respondent	
	Less than 15 years	More than 15 years
High ( 9)	43.1	52.1
Low (107)	56.9	47.9
	100	100
	=====	=====

$\chi^2$  not statistically significant .03

$$Q = .18$$

Table 3 shows the relationship between age of respondent and the Procedure / Initiative scale. We found that among those respondents who are below 40 years of age a large percentage, that is 61.6% of them are low on the Procedure / Initiative scale whereas among those respondents who are above 40 years of age 45.1% of them appeared to be low on this scale. This shows that the younger officials are likely to use initiative measure while the elder officials are likely to follow the organisational procedure. The chi square equals 5.9 which with 1 degree of freedom is significant at .02 level. Thus, we found that age of respondent and the tendency to follow procedures are closely related to one another. Table 3A shows the relationship between age of respondent and the Authority /

Initiative scale. We found the same pattern of responses as in the case of Procedure / Initiative scale. Among those officials who are below 40 years of age a larger percentage, that is 54.4% of them are low on the Authority / Initiative scale whereas among those who are older than 40 years of age, 43.2% of them appeared to be low on this scale. This shows that older officials are likely to follow the instructions of superiors while the younger officials have a tendency toward use of initiative measures. The chi square in this case being equal to 2.46 is significant at .10 level only. Therefore, although the pattern of responses appeared to be the same as in the case of emphasis upon procedure the relationship between age of respondent and acceptance of superior authority is not <sup>statistically</sup> ~~satisfactorily~~ significant.

Table III

Relationship between age of Respondent and Procedure / Initiative scale

Procedure / Initiative scale	Age of Respondent	
	Below 40 years	Above 40 years
High (96)	38.4	54.9
Low (107)	61.6	45.1
	-----	-----
	100	100
	=====	=====

$X^2$  significant level .02 level

$Q = .33$

Table III A

Relationship between age of Respondent and Authority/Initiative  
scale

	Below 40 years	Above 40 years
Authority / Initiativescale		
High (105)	45.6	56.8
Low ( 98)	54.4	43.2
	-----	-----
	100	100
	=====	=====

$X^2$  significant at .10 level.  $Q = .22$

However, from our above findings we can generally conclude that there exist a relationship between age of respondent and the Bureaucratic tendencies. We have also expected this because the respondents who are older are likely to have longer years of service and hence become more exposed to the socialization processes in the bureaucratic organisation.

Grade of Respondent :

Table 4 shows the relationship between grade of respondent and the Procedure / Initiative scale. We found that among those respondents who belonged to the selection grade 63.6% of them are high on the Procedure / Initiative scale and among those respondents who are in the senior branch 44.6% of them are high on this scale. This shows that these officials in the higher grade are likely to follow organizational procedure while those in the lower grade are likely to use initiative measure. The chi square in this case equals 2.46, so the relationship is not statistically significant. Table 4 A. shows the relationship between

grade of respondent and the Authority / Initiative scale. We found the same pattern of responses as on the Procedure / Initiative scale. Among those respondents who are in the selection grade a larger percentage, that is 60% of them are high on Authority while among the senior branch officers 48.6% of them are high on this scale. It therefore follows that officials in the higher grade are likely to accept more readily to superior authority while the lower grade officers seems to prefer use of initiative to superior authority. The chi square in this case equals 2.03 which is also not significant.

Table IV

Relationship between Grade of Respondent and Procedure/Initiative scale

Procedure/Initiative scale	Grade of Respondent	
	Selection Grade	Senior Branch
High (96)	63.6	44.6
Low (107)	36.4	55.4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
$X^2$ significant at .10 level	(55)	(148)

Q . . 43

Table IV A

Relationship between Grade of respondent and Authority /  
Initiative scale

Authority / Initiative scale	Grade of Respondent	
	Selection Grade	Senior Branch
High (105)	60	48.6
Low ( 98)	40	51.4
	-----	-----
	100	100
	=====	=====
	(55)	(148)

$\chi^2$  significant at .10 level

$\lambda = .22$

Our findings as regard the relationship between grade of respondent and the bureaucratic tendencies, although they are not statistically significant shows that there exist a certain relationship between the two variables. Those respondents who are in the higher Grade are likely to accept more readily to superior authority than those officials in the lower grade. Therefore our assumption that those officials in the higher grade being more successful on the job have internalized certain bureaucratic norms and values more than those officials in the lower grade turned out to be consistent with our findings.

Method of Recruitment :

Table 5 shows the relationship between method of recruitment and the authority / Initiative scale. We found that among those who directly joined the civil-service usually after graduation

a larger percentage, that is 54.4% of them appeared to be high on the Authority / Initiative scale whereas among those who attained higher offices through ranks only 44.6% appeared to be high on this scale. This shows that those officials who entered the civil-service after graduation and attained high offices are likely to have accepted the conception of superior authority than those who attained offices by coming up the <sup>ranks</sup> ranks. But, the chi square equals 1.64 shows that the relationship is not statistically significant. However, we obtained no proper pattern of responses when this variable is tested on the Procedure / Initiative scale. In this case a larger percentage of those who were directly recruited as well as those who are rankers appeared to be low on the Procedure / Initiative scale. Therefore, from the above findings we conclude that there is certain pattern of responses we could not expect a close relationship between method of recruitment and bureaucratic tendencies of the executives.

Table V

Relationship between Method of Recruitment of Respondent and  
Authority / Initiative scale

Authority / Initiative scale	Method of Recruitment of Respondent	
	Direct Recruit	Ranker
High (105)	54.4	44.6
Low ( 98)	45.6	55.4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

$X^2$  not statistically significant. (147)

( 56)



However, our findings as regard the relationship between method of recruitment and emphasis upon organisational procedures are just the reverse of what we have expected. Those officials who attained higher positions in the bureaucracy by coming up the ranks being more exposed to the socialization process in the organisation are expected to have more bureaucratic tendencies, but our findings although not statistically significant shows that these officials who are directly recruited tend to have more bureaucratic tendencies than those who are rankers. This could be because those respondents who were directly recruited to such higher positions <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ likely to have acquired higher education than those who attained such official by serving through ranks and since higher education means that officials are more exposed to western methods and norms than those officials whose educational level of attainment is low.

In connection with the above findings we observed the same or rather similar relationships in the study of the Egyptian higher civil servants. In the Egyptian study the relationship between length of service and the bureaucratic orientation of the civil servant is <sup>not</sup> given. But as regards the relationship between age of respondent and bureaucratic orientation, we found that among those respondents aged 46 to 60, 53% are high on the bureaucratic scale while among those 31 to 45 the proportion is only 24%. This relationship was found to be significant at .001 level.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>/ Merree Berger, op.cit., p. 224.

Thus, there appeared to be a very close relationship between age of respondent and bureaucratic orientation in the Egyptian study. Also, as regards grade of respondents, we found that civil servants in grade 2, the highest, are much more likely to display western bureaucratic predispositions than those in grades 3 and 4, and those in grade 2 are also found to be older than those in the lower grades.<sup>10/</sup> However, we found that no analysis was made as regard the relationship between method of recruitment and the bureaucratic orientation of the respondent.

However, although it is not comparable to our study we should also like to present certain findings as regards the procedural orientation of the employees of the Louisiana Division of Employment Security carried out by R.G. Francis and R.C. Stone. Their study was made on four major points: relating to files, channels of communication, technical skills, and decision making,<sup>11/</sup> in measuring the procedural emphasis of the employees. These four elements were separately analysed. However, on taking the average of the responses on these four categories they found that out of 384 responses 82.5% were answers which indicate that agency policy tend toward rigidity with an emphasis upon procedure. Their conclusion on the above findings was that procedural emphasis is the dominant mode. Each of these categories were related to certain social background factors such as length of service, ranked status, number of merit promotions and relationship to clients. When

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<sup>10/</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>11/</sup> Francis and Stone, op.cit., pp. 65-66.

each of these elements were related to the length of service of the employee they found that except in relation to technical skills, which is only one element of emphasis upon procedure, the other relationships were not statistically significant.<sup>12/</sup> Thus, in their case also they found that the older members of the agency, that is those who have longer years of service are those who have had time to absorb the bureaucratic emphasis upon procedure is not proved. The relationship between ranked status, that is grade of respondent, and the procedural emphasis in their study was also found to be statistically insignificant.<sup>13/</sup> ~~We therefore observe that although our study is not comparable to the American study our conclusion that we could not expect a close relationship between length of service and bureaucratic tendencies somewhat turned out to be consistent with their findings.~~ But in relation to our conclusion that there exist, certain relationship between grade of respondent and bureaucratic tendencies, no such relationship was found to exist in their study.

We shall now consider the attitude of the respondents towards superior authority, that is as regard our findings in relation to the authority / Initiative scale. As we have already stated Morroe Berger has studied the range of bureaucratic behaviour between initiative and subservience on the basis of some questionnaire items. The same questionnaire items formed the authority / Initiative scale in our study. Therefore, his findings

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<sup>12/</sup> Ibid, pp, 68'69.

<sup>13/</sup> Francis and Stone, op.cit., 70'71.

although analysed separately his overall conclusion over this bureaucratic behaviour could be compared to our findings as regard the authority/Initiative measure. In the Egyptian study the questionnaire items posed two questions : one as to whether the superior can expect the civil servant to carry out the program despite of his belief that the program would not serve the villagers or not, and the other as to whether the civil servant think he ought to carry out the program. As regard the first item about 75% of the respondents answered favourably toward superior authority and as regard the second about 61% of the respondents answered that the civil servant ought to carry out the program.<sup>14/</sup> Therefore on the whole the Egyptian civil servants seemed to accept readily to superior authority or that the use of personal initiative is not quite customary in Egypt since the questionnaire items are constructed in such a way that these two elements are counterposed. Therefore our findings that 51.7% of the Burmese executives are high on the authority scale is also the case in the Egyptian Study.

After possible comparisons have been made with similar studies carried out in other countries such as in Egypt and in America, we shall further analyse our findings as regard each of our bureaucratic elements in relation to other social factors such as social origin, geographical origin, and social mobility which are considered to have certain influence over the bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese executives.

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<sup>14/</sup> Morroe Berger, op. cit., pp. 163, 164.

## Social origin of Respondent:

Table 6 shows the relationship between the social origin of the respondent and the Procedure / Initiative scale. We found that a larger percentage, that is 50.5% of those who are sons of government servants are high on the procedure scale whereas 44.5% of those who are sons of non-government servants appeared to be high on this scale. Thus, from the above pattern of <sup>responses</sup> ~~resources~~ we we conclude that there exist certain relationship between the social social origin of the respondent and the procedural emphasis. But the relationship is not statistically significant.

Table 6

Procedure / Initiative scale	Social Origin of Respondent	
	Sons of govt. servants	Sons of non-govt. servants
	High ( 96)	50.5
Low (107)	49.5	55.5
	----- 100 -----	----- 100 -----

$\chi^2$  not statistically significant.  $Q = .12$

On the other hand this social factor when it was tested on Authority / Initiative measure we obtained no proper pattern of responses. A large percentage of those who are government servants as well as those who are sons of non-government servants appeared to be low on the Authority / Initiative scale. Therefore, from

the above findings which, although they are not statistically significant, showed that the social origin of the respondent, that is the type of family in which he was socialized has influence over the individual's bureaucratic behaviour.

#### Geographical Origin of Respondent:

Table 7 shows the relationship between the geographical origin of the respondent and the Procedure/Initiative scale. We found that a larger percentage, that is 50.3% of those who had lived in urban areas are high on the Procedure / Initiative scale whereas only 37.5% of those who came from rural areas are high on this scale. This shows that those officials who had lived in urban areas more readily accept the organisational procedures than those officials who had lived in rural areas. The chi square in this case equals 2.46 is not statistically significant. Table 7A shows the relationship between the geographical origin of the respondent and the Authority / Initiative scale. We found the same pattern of relationship as in the case of procedural emphasis. Among those respondents who had lived in urban areas a larger percentage, that is 55.4% of them are high on Authority / Initiative scale and among those respondents who came from rural areas only 39.6% of them are high on this scale. The chi square in this case equals 3.98 is significant at .05 level of confidence. Therefore, the above findings conformed to our expectation that the geographical origin has certain influence over the bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese executives.

Table VII

Relationship between Geographical Origin of Respondent and  
Procedure / Initiative scale

Procedure / Initiative scale	Geographical Origin of Respondent	
	Urban	Rural
High ( 96)	50.3	37.5
Low ( 107)	49.7	62.5
	----- 100 -----	----- 100 -----
	(155)	( 48)

$\chi^2$  significant at .10 level.  $Q = .36$

Table VII A

Relationship between Geographical Origin of Respondent and  
Authority / Initiative scale

Authority / Initiative scale	Geographical Origin of Respondent	
	Urban	Rural
High (105)	55.4	39.6
Low ( 98)	44.6	60.4
	----- 100 ----- (155)	----- 100 ----- ( 48)

$\chi^2$  significant at .05 level  $Q = .31$

## Social Mobility of Respondent:

Table 8 shows the relationship between social mobility and the procedural emphasis of the respondent. We found that among the respondents who are more mobile about 75% of them appeared to be low in the Procedure / Initiative scale while among those who are less mobile about 49.1% of them are low on this scale. This shows that those officials who are low on the social mobility index have a tendency to follow the established organisational procedures while those officials who are more mobile are likely to use initiative measures. The chi square equals 6.58 which shows that the above relationship is significant at .01 level. However, when this social factor was tested on the Authority / Initiative we obtained no proper pattern of responses. A larger percentage of those who are more mobile as well as those who are less mobile appeared to be low on this scale.

Table VIII

Relationship between Social Mobility of Respondent and Procedure / Initiative scale

Procedure / Initiative scale	Social Mobility of Respondent	
	More Mobile	Less Mobile
High (96)	25	50.9
Low (107)	75	49.1
	----- 100 -----	----- 100 -----
	( 28)	(175)

$\chi^2$  significant at .01 level

$\phi = .51$



Thus, our findings as regard the relationship between social mobility and the procedural emphasis confirmed our expectation that those officials who are less mobile being those who are more exposed to western bureaucratic norms are likely to have more bureaucratic tendencies than those officials who are more mobile.

We therefore conclude from our above findings that those officials who are sons of government servants, who had lived in urban areas, and who are less mobile are likely to adapt more readily to the bureaucratic norms of the organisation.

In addition to the above social factors which we have hypothesized we shall find out whether there exist any relationship between the bureaucratic behaviour and other social factors such as change of organisation of the respondent and religion.

Change of Organisation of Respondent:

Table 9 shows that among those officials who had not changed organisations about 51.6% of them appeared to be low on the Authority / Initiative scale while among those officials who have changed once or more times about 42.4% of them are low on this scale. This shows that those officials who changed organisations are likely to accept more readily to superior authority while among those officials who remained stable in one organisation prefer to use initiative measures. However, the chi square equals only 1.3 is found to be statistically insignificant. Besides, no proper pattern of responses was obtained when this social factor was tested on the Procedure/Initiative scale since a larger percentage of those who remained stable in one organisation as well

as those who changed organisations appeared to be low on procedural emphasis.

Table IX

Relationship between Change of Organisation of Respondent and Authority / Initiative scale

		Change of Organisation of Respondent	
		No change	One or more changes
Authority / Initiative scale			
High	(105)	48.4	47.6
Low	( 98)	51.6	42.4
		----- 100	----- 100

$\chi^2$  not statistically significant

$$Q = .19$$

Therefore, as regards the relationship between change of organisation and bureaucratic tendencies our findings indicate that those who changed organisations once or more are likely to accept the bureaucratic norms more readily than those who remained stable in one organisation although we could expect the reverse relationship because those officials who remained stable in one organisation are likely to become more exposed to the socialization processes in the organisation.

Religion of Respondent.

Table 10 shows the relationship between the religion of the respondent and his acceptance of superior authority. We found that among those respondents who are Buddhists a larger percentage,

that is 53.1% of them appeared to be high on the Authority / Initiative scale while among those respondents who worshipped other religions about 43.3% of them are high on this scale. Thus, from the above pattern of responses we found that religion seemed to influence the official's attitude toward superior authority, that is those officials who are Buddhists are likely to have favourable attitude towards superiors in the bureaucracy than those officials who are non-Buddhists. But, the relationship is found to be statistically insignificant. Also, no proper pattern of responses was obtained between the religion of respondent and the Procedure / Initiative scale. A larger percentage of both groups of respondents appeared to be low on the procedural emphasis.

Table I

Relationship between Religion of Respondent and Authority/ Initiative scale		Religion of Respondent	
		Buddhists	Others
Authority / Initiative scale			
High	(105)	58.1	43.3
Low	( 98)	46.9	56.7
		----- 100 -----	----- 100 -----
		(173)	( 30)

$\chi^2$  Statistically insignificant.

$Q = .19$

Thus, religion which seems to have certain influence over the behaviour of the respondent showed that there does not exist a close relationship between the two variables.

**Summary and conclusions :**

In this chapter we tried to analyse the relationship that exists between certain social background factors of the Burmese civil servants and each of the two attitude dimensions : <sup>p</sup>procedure / Initiative and <sup>p</sup>authority / Initiative scale.

Therefore, our findings from the questionnaire survey could be summarized as follows:

The fact that our two Guttman scales are related to one another is borne out by our findings that they are related to the social background factors in the same direction.

Our findings as regard the relationships between length of service, age and grade of respondent and the two scale indicate that these social factors are positively related to the bureaucratic tendencies of the Burmese executives.

However, our findings in relation to the method of recruitment of the respondent showed the reverse of what we have expected, that is officials who attained high official positions by serving through ranks were expected to have more bureaucratic tendencies appeared to be low on the two bureaucratic scales.

Our findings as regard the relationships between social origin of respondent, geographical origin and social mobility and the two scales are found to be consistent with an expectations. This means that those officials who are sons of government servants

who came from urban areas and who are less mobile have more bureaucratic tendencies than others who are not.

However, we also tried to find out if there exist any relationship between such factors as change of organisation, religion of respondent, and each of the two scales. Our findings as regard the first factor indicate that those officials who readily change organisations have high bureaucratic tendencies than those who remained stable in one organisation. However, in connection with the second social factor our findings indicate that religion has certain influence over the bureaucratic behaviour of the Burmese executives.

## Chapter VII

### Conclusion

In public administration Burma has a long history of a highly centralized administrative system. The administrative system under the Burmese kings hundreds of years ago was a highly centralized type, that is a patrimonial traditional system according to Weberian scheme. When Burma became a part of the British colony, the machinery used in administering the country was a highly centralised and westernised type of administration, that is a bureaucracy. Hence, a highly westernised model was imposed upon the society which was still very traditional. Disparity between the two however caused many difficulties in the actual administration of the country, the repercussions of which were felt in the later periods under the new government.

While the bureaucracy emphasizes uniformity and universality of rules and regulations, the development of the economy requires initiative and imaginative decisions. Difficulties are compounded when the personnel of the civil service resorted or resorted to the old practices of British administration. The continued use of the centralized type of administrative machinery to achieve the new objectives resulted in serious malpractices because centralization breeds more control and therefore more bureaucratic behaviour. Also, due to the lack of training and experience of the civil servants as industrial managers and social engineers, and the length of exposure to the

socialization practices in the British bureaucracy in the subordinate roles resulted in the punctilious adherence to rules and regulations.

Thus, rules and regulations originally conceived of as a means for the desired ends become transformed into an end-in-itself. Here, Merton's hypothesis that the very emphasis upon rules and regulations developed into rigidities and an inability to adjust readily provides a basis for our study.

Our research has been designed to study the bureaucratic tendencies in the Burmese public administration on the basis of two related categories; emphasis upon procedure and obedience to superior authority. The extent of bureaucratic behaviour displayed by the government servants and the relationships of such behaviour to their social background characteristics are derived in the experience of 203 higher and middle grades civil-servants in order to see which of these factors influence them most.

Our findings indicate that the bureaucratic behaviour of the individual was largely influenced by socialization in the organisational control practices and also to some extent by socialization processes outside the organisation.

The relationships between the bureaucratic behaviour and the following social factors indicate that socialization processes in the organisation are likely to influence the bureaucratic behaviour of the individual although the extent of these relationships vary with each social factor.

**Length of service:** Those officials with longer years of service being more exposed to the control practices in the organisation tend to be high on the bureaucratic scale than those officials with shorter years of service.

**Age:** Those officials who are older are likely to have more years of service and therefore became more exposed to the socialization practices in the organisation tend to have more bureaucratic tendencies than those officials who are younger.

**Grade:** Those officials in the higher grade are considered to have acquired certain bureaucratic values or norms such as obedience to superiors, discipline, etc. tend to be high on the bureaucratic scale than those officials who held lower positions. The above relationships, Although their levels of significance are different (Length of service .20 level, Age .02 level, grade .10 level), turned out to be consistent with our expectations.

On the other hand, the relationships between the bureaucratic behaviour and the following social factors indicate that bureaucratic tendencies are also affected by socialization practices outside the organisation.

**Social origin:** Those officials who are sons of government servants appeared to be high on the bureaucratic scale than those officials who are sons of non-government servants. We attribute this to the fact that sons of government servants might have been exposed to a different type of family and school training.

**Geographical origin:** Those officials who had lived in urban areas being more exposed to modern influences and values tend to be high in their bureaucratic behaviour than those officials who had lived in rural areas.



**Social mobility:** This index being composed of three social factors such as social origin, geographical origin, and education of the official, these officials who are sons of government servants, who had lived in urban areas, and also have had higher education being considered to be less mobile than those officials who are sons of non-government servants, who had lived in rural areas, and who have lower level of education, are found to have high bureaucratic tendencies.

In the above relationships the one with social mobility reached .01 level of significance, geographical origin attained .05 level while social origin appeared to be statistically insignificant. Although their significance level differ we obtained the expected pattern of responses as regards each of these social factors.

A final implication of our findings is that bureaucratic tendencies resulted not only from the control practices inherent in the organisation as Merton contends, but also from socialization practices outside the organisation, that is bureaucratic behaviour could also be influenced by the environmental condition.

Since the higher and middle grades civil servants occupied important roles in the actual administration of the country this study of their bureaucratic tendencies and the social factors which influence such behaviour will be of value in anticipating the success of the future development programs likely to be undertaken by the new Burmese Government.

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Appendix A.Selection of Respondents:

In Burma, a country which is in the cause of further development, the government machinery constitutes the only form of a large and complex system of organisation. So our study of the bureaucratic behaviour of the Burmese Executives is limited to include only the government machinery.

In the Burmese government machinery there are four grades of officials and each grade enjoys the same status and scales of pay. Their particulars are as follows:

Name of grade	Scale of pay
Administrative	K 1600, 1400, 1300 (fixed rates)
Selection grade	1000-50-1400, 800-50-1200
Senior Branch	600-40-800, 600-25-700 500-50-1000, 500-25-800 450-25-800, 350-25-700
Junior Branch	330-15-450, 250-10-350 240-10-300, 200-10-300

Notes : Figures with two dashes denote the yearly increments. Besides these four grades there are clerical or equivalent grades and menial staff. The administrative grade consists of highest civil officials who are heads of major departments and directors or secretaries of ministries. For our purpose we have excluded the highest grade : Administrative grade and the lowest

<sup>to</sup>  
grade : Junior Branch officers ~~from~~ our sample. Thus, our sample may be considered to include the middle and higher executive groups except the heads of departments. In the government machinery, since these officials carry out the bulk of the administrative work including both routine and developmental activities it is felt that the success of the government programme depends largely upon them. They also occupy the executive hierarchy positions which both <sup>receive</sup> ~~receive~~ and originate or give authoritative communications. Thus, their orientations toward rules of the organisation are vital to the study.

Our study further limited its population of study to officers in Rangoon. Since the government servants were regularly rotated from districts to headquarters and vice versa, it is reasonable to assume that our sample for headquarter would be largely representative of districts as well. So our study concentrates on the middle and higher executives of Rangoon and in spite of the limitations we have, it was felt that conclusions from the study of this major group of executives would be generally useful for the whole government machinery as well.

Appendix B.Sampling frame and plan:

In drawing our sample we limited our study to certain types of organization in the government machinery. We included in our study three types of organization:

- (1) ~~Administrative~~ organization such as Income <sup>Tax</sup> Department., Police Department., Foreign Office, etc.
- (2) Professional and Service organization, such as Land Records and Settlements, Education Department., Health Department, Social Welfare Department., etc., and
- (3) Economic organization, that is Boards and Corporations which include Union of Burma Agricultural Marketing Board, Union of Burma Applied Research Institute, Agricultural and Rural Development Corporation, etc. These government organizations which we excluded being composed of the Judicial Branch and the Army.

Since, our sample includes only the middle and higher executives that is these government servants in the selection grade and Senior Branch, we use the civil list which was ~~con-~~ <sup>connected</sup> up to March 1962 for selecting these officials in the administrative and Professional and Service organization. As regards the selection of these officials in the government Boards and Corporation we use the list of officials in the state statutory Boards and Corporations which was published



separately and since that latest of such list available was that of we collected possible information from such organisations to make our list up to date.

As regards the method of selecting interviewers we use the random sampling method and the selection that was made could be seen from the following Table.

Table A - 3.

Selection of Respondents

	Population	Sample	%
I. Administrative organization			
(i) Selection grade	177	18	10%
(ii) Senior Branch	417	42	10%
II. Professional and Service organisation			
(i) Selection grade	145	15	10%
(ii) Senior Branch	486	48	10%
III. Economic organisation			
(i) Selection grade	583	22	5%
(ii) Senior Branch	<u>1086</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>5%</u>
	<u>2754</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>7.4%</u>

Thus, our population is being composed of 3 main strata that is (1) Administrative organisation (2) Professional and Service organisation (3) Economic organisation and each of these stratum has two sub strata that is (i) Selection grade and (ii) Senior Branch officials. On the whole the size of our samples

is 203 Executives which is made up of in the following proportion, that is 10% of the population in each substratum in the administrative, Professional and Service organisation and about 5% of the population in each substratum in the Economic organisation is chosen. In the case of Boards and Corporations, in order to obtain the Executives to be interviewed we have to use a two-stage sampling method. First, of all the Boards and Corporations were grouped into two categories, that is large organisation employing 50 and more personnel and small organisation employing less than 50 officers. Since there were 12 large organisation which concentrate in the range of 64 and 169 officials with a medium of 90 officials and 16 small organisations, each of which had 40 or less than 40 officers. We select on a random basis 25% of each category that is 3 of large and 4 of small organisations to be interviewed. Then, those officials to be interviewed for each sub-stratum in the organisation that were first sampled were selected also on a random basis.

As regards the original sample there were 16 Executives who became inaccessible because they were out of the country, or because they were being transferred to the districts. So substitution has to be made. In this case also the choice is made on a random basis among the two Executives who very nearly resemble the original sample in years of service, level of education, age, etc.:. Thus, our sample is being maintained at its original size that is 203 Executives.

Appendix CInterviewing the Respondents:

The instrument of the study is composed to two sets of attitude questionnaires and one social background questionnaire and in getting the responses of the sample executives we use the direct or personal interview method. In order to eliminate bias factor, the respondents were made to answer the attitude questionnaire in the office in front of the interviewer and no consultation was allowed. However, as regards the social background questionnaire, the respondents were allowed to answer them at their convenience, since it asked only objective questions and the reliability of responses would not be necessarily be lowered by letting them answer it in different environmental conditions.

Appendix D**The Questionnaires :**

The instrument of the study is composed of two sets of attitude questionnaires and one social background questionnaire.

The first set of attitude questionnaire is composed of statements relating to the general rules of the organisation and also relating to work procedures. These were given five responses categories: strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, strongly disagree.

The statements included in the above questionnaire are given below.

1. A successful manager acts in accordance with the circumstances rather than with the rules  
Strongly agree - agree - uncertain - disagree - strongly disagree -
2. It is preferable for a top executive to allow a large margin of discretion to his subordinates since there by they can get a much better performance from them.  
Strongly agree - agree - uncertain - disagree - strongly disagree -
3. Rules and regulations are fundamentally born of distrust, they smother free thought and free action among the staff of the organisation.  
Strongly agree - agree - uncertain - disagree - strongly disagree.

4. It is procedures rather than policies that help the executive to attain the objectives of the organisation.

Strongly agree - agree - uncertain - disagree - strongly disagree -

5. Without following rules and regulations a good job can never be done.

Strongly agree - agree - uncertain - disagree - strongly disagree -

However, analysis was not made on these statements since no proper pattern of responses was obtained, when the scale formed out of these statements was related to the social background characteristics of the respondents. For instance, in relating age of respondent to the above scale, a larger percentage of those who are in the older group as well as those who are in the younger group appeared to be high as regards the attitude toward rules and regulations of the organisation.

The other set of attitude questionnaire composed of 3 questions in the form of episodes or stories with one or more questions attached to each episode. These questions require only yes or no answers. These questions are framed in such a way so that they counterposed two variables, that is emphasis upon procedures against initiative, obedience to superior authority against initiative. By constructing our questions in such a way we believed that the true orientation of the respondent would be uncovered. Out of the questions attached to the above three episodes we have constructed on two attitude scales: Procedure/Initiative

scale and Authority/Initiative scale. These questions are as follows:

1. Maung Maung, an accountant, in a business organization, knows how to record transactions quickly, efficiently and effectively. But, his improved methods will not be in accordance with the code of procedures in the organization. Maung Maung knows that the circulation of work will be quicker and also the work more reliable if he uses his own methods.

What do you think Maung Maung should ?

---- (1) Work according to the organizational procedure.

---- (2) Use his own methods.

2. A civil servant is employed in a post in which it is his duty to help devise ways to improve sanitation and cooperation in rural villages. After much study in the field, he prepares a memorandum presenting a full program toward this end. His superiors reject it. Instead, they adopt a program which, in his opinion, would not be in the interest of the villagers whose conditions he has studied in detail. His superiors nevertheless, ask him to carry out this policy in the field.

(a) Assuming you are the civil servant in the case do you think it is right and reasonable for the superiors to expect you to execute then program faithfully.

----- Yes

----- No.

(b) Assuming you are the civil servant in this case, what do you ought to do, in view of your obligation to the superior and your obligation as a citizen who wants to improve the lot of the villagers.

Assume if you refuse to carry out the program, there will be no effect on your prospects or proposition.

Choose one :

----- (1) Refuse to carry out the program.

----- (2) Carry out the program.

3. A young executive engineer was on a night duty. The rules of the organization being that no worker must sleep, play or do other things besides those assigned to him. However, workers either play around or do other work during slack periods with the excuse that it kept them awake. The young engineer did not make any comment if he found their work satisfactory.

(1) Do you think the young engineer has acted properly in doing so ?

----- Yes.

----- No.

(2) Do you think management should tolerate this kind of practice ?

----- Yes.

----- No.

The social background questionnaire asked only objective questions. Those questions included in the social background questionnaire and which we used then in our analysis are given below.

1. Name of your organization -----
2. Age on next birthday -----
3. Your official designation -----
4. Your service history -----

Year	Position	Organization or Department
----	----	----

5. What is your religion ? -----  
 What is your father's religion ? -----  
 What is your mother's religion ?-----  
 What is your wife's or husband's religion? -----
6. Place where you lived most of the time before going to college.

District	Town	Village
-----	----	----

7. Principal and last occupation of the following. (Describe fully the position, rank, department and organization in the case of Government servant, and size and type of business in case of a private businessman or a professional.)

Your father.	-----
Your father's father	-----
Your mother's father	-+---
Your Wife's or Husband's father	-----

8. Extent of schooling :	Self	Wife	Father	Mother	Father's	Fathe
Some high school	---	---	---	---	---	---
High school final pass	---	---	---	---	---	---
Matriculate	---	---	---	---	---	---
Technical and Trade	---	---	---	---	---	---
Some College	---	---	---	---	---	---
College graduate	---	---	---	---	---	---
Professional graduate	---	---	---	---	---	---
Post graduate study	---	---	---	---	---	---
Monastic School	---	---	---	---	---	---



9. Type of school attended:

Government or State	----	---	---	---	---
Mission or European Code	----	---	---	---	---
National School and A.V. Aided	----	---	---	---	---
Monastic School	----	---	---	---	---

10. If you attended college, will you please fill in the following:

University or College attended		Year From To	Degrees or Diplomas awarded
-----------------------------------	--	-----------------	--------------------------------

-----                      ---    ---                      -----

11. (a) Besides your school or university education, have you attended any other formal training classes ?

Institution (Name and Place)	Type of Course	Duration	Certificate
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### Appendix E

The Social Mobility Index : This index was constructed in the following manner.

**Geographical mobility :** This item measures the social mobility of the respondent with respect to the place from where the respondent came. Those civil servants who came from urban areas are considered to be low on the geographical mobility and those who came from rural areas are considered to be high since greater opportunities being opened to those who lived in urban areas. There were about 77% of the respondents who came from urban areas and they are considered to be low on the geographical mobility scale. The remaining 33% of the respondents who were rural dwellers are therefore high on this geographical mobility.

**Horizontal mobility:** This item measures social mobility of the respondent in terms of the occupational status or prestige the respondent held over that of his father's. Since the executives in our sample occupied higher and middle grades civil services, those respondents whose fathers were engaged in such occupations as cultivator, farmer, shopkeeper, broker, small businessmen, and also lower grade civil servant are considered to be high on the horizontal mobility. Thus, 22% of the respondents whose fathers' occupations fall within the above lower status group are therefore high on this mobility scale, and the remaining 88% of the respondents who came from upper class families are low on this mobility.

**Educational mobility :** This item measures the social mobility of the respondent in terms of the extent of schooling the respondent had. Those respondents who were college graduates and also

these who had attended some college are considered to have higher education compared to others who were only matriculates or just high school final pass. Since there were 79% of the respondents who had such higher education they are considered to be low on this educational mobility scale and so only 21% of the respondents who had lower level of education are high on this mobility scale.

On combining the above three items together to form the social mobility scale. Table A-4 shows the distribution of respondents along this scale. We found that there were no respondents who are high on all three items, 28 respondents are high on two items, 59 respondents are high on one item, and 116 respondents are high on none of these items.

Table A.4

Seeres	Number of Respondents
3	-
2	28
1	59
0	116
	-----
	203
	-----

Thus, by grouping those respondents who answered none and only one item as those who are low on the mobility scale we have 86% of the respondents who are low on the social mobility scale and only 14% of the respondents who answered two items are high on the social mobility scale. This social mobility factor however would also help explain certain behavioral aspect of the Burmese bureaucrats.

Appendix F

## Construction of scales:

This study uses two Guttman scales : namely, Procedure/ Initiative scale and Authority/Initiative scale, in order to measure the respondents' degree of bureaucratic tendencies. These scales were constructed in the manner described below.

Procedure / Initiative scale : In order to approximate the respondents' degree of bureaucratic behaviour emphasis upon procedure was measured against use of initiative. This scale was constructed out of the three items: question 6, question 9 (1) and question 9 (2) included in the questionnaires.

Question 6 : Maung Maung, an accountant, in a business organisation, knows how to record transactions quickly, efficiently, and effectively. But his improved methods will not be in accordance with the code of procedures in the organisation. Maung Maung knows that the circulation of work will be quicker and also the work reliable if he uses his own methods.

What do you think Maung Maung should do ?

- (1) Work according to the organisational procedure.
- (2) Use his own methods.

The respondents after considering the above imaginary situation were asked to choose one of the alternatives given as answers to the question attached to the episode. The first was procedural in the sense that emphasis was upon the means or methods of performing official functions. However, in the second answer emphasis was upon the use of initiative measures or upon the realization of results rather than upon the means of attaining them.

Question 9: A young executive engineer was on a night duty. The rules of the organisation being that no worker must sleep, play or do other things besides those assigned to him. However, workers either play around or do other work during slack periods with the excuse that it kept them awake. The young engineer did not make any comment if he found the work satisfactory.

(1) Do you think the young engineer has acted properly in doing so?

Yes ----

No ---

(2) Do you think that management should tolerate this kind of practice ?

Yes ----

No---

Here also, the respondents were asked to give either Yes or No answers to each of the two questions that were attached to the episode. The first question was asked as regards the young executive engineer in the imaginary situation and the second one as regards the management of the organisation. Both of these questions were framed along the same trend, that is rules of the organisation against initiative, but, on two relative scales, that is when considered in terms of the young engineer alone and when considered on the side of management of the organisation. The affirmative answers to both of the questions mean that the respondent was likely to follow the established rules of the organisation, that is emphasis was upon the means rather than on the results. However, the negative answers emphasis was upon the results or use of initiative (or discretion) in order to attain the required objectives.

The above three items formed the Procedure / Initiative scale with a reproductibility of 92%. There were established four positions along this scale: namely, 3 procedure answers, 2 procedure answers, 1 procedure answer, and no procedure answer. The procedure answer was given scoring 2 and the initiative answer scoring 1. The frequency distribution of the respondents along the four positions of the scale is shown in the following Table.

Table A - 1.

Distribution of Respondents along Procedure / Initiative scale

	Scoring	No. of Respondents
High	{ 6	58
	{ 5	38
Low	{ 4	58
	{ 3	49
	Total	----- 203 -----

(c) Assuming you are the civil servant in this case, what do you ought to do, in view of your obligation to the superior and your obligation as a citizen who wants to improve the lot of the villagers.

Assume if you refuse to carry out the program, there will be no effect on your prospect or position.

----- (1) Refuse to carry out the program.

----- (2) Carry out the program.

The respondents were asked to consider the above episode and answer the questions, that is questions (a), (b), and (c), which were attached to it. In the above situation superior

authority was measured against the civil servant's use of his own initiation. Also, in order to enable us to approximate the respondents' degree of bureaucratic tendencies, the questions were so phrased such that question 7 (a) asks the respondents' attitude toward the superiors in the bureaucracy in the above situation, question 7(b) asks to value the civil servant's initiative measured against superior authority, and finally in question 7(c) the respondents, keeping their positions secured, are asked to answer their attitude toward superior authority when measured against public welfare.

The above three items formed the Authority / Initiative scale with a reproducibility of 85%. There were established four positions along this scale : namely, 3 authority answers, 2 authority answers, 1 authority answer and no authority answer. The authority answer was given scoring 2 and the other answer scoring 1. The frequency distribution of the respondents along the Authority / Initiative scale is shown in the following Table.

Table A - 2

Distribution of Respondents along Authority/Initiative scale

	Scoring	No. of Respondents
High	( 6	57
	( 5	48
Low	( 4	53
	( 3	45
	Total	<u>203</u>

Table 4-1 shows that 58 respondents answered all three procedure answers, 38 respondents answered two procedure answers and one initiative answer, 58 respondents answered one procedure answer and two initiative answers, and the remaining 49 respondents answered all three initiative answers. The 96 respondents who gave all three or two procedure answers are considered to be high on the Procedure / Initiative scale and the remaining 107 respondents who gave one or no procedure answer are considered to be low on the Procedure / Initiative scale. The scale being constructed out of questionnaire items which counterposed the two elements procedure and initiative those officials who are high on one means they are low on the other element. Since the research elements conform to the theoretical formulation that the bureaucracy exist in the continuation the behaviour of the respondent would vary from the bureaucratic to the initiative side. The value of this scale is that it enables us to compare those civil servants who are high on the scale with those who are low on the basis of the social background characteristics which we have gathered.

**Authority / Initiative scale :** This scale measures the respondents' degree of approximation of bureaucratic tendencies on the basis of their loyalty to superior authority. It was constructed out of the three items attached to question 7 included in our questionnaires.

**Question 7:** A civil servant is employed in a post in which it is his duty to help device ways to improve sanitation and cooperation in rural villages. After much study in the field, he prepares a memorandum presenting a full program toward this end. His



superiors reject it. Instead, they adopt a program which, in his opinion, would not be in the interest of the villagers whose conditions he has studied in detail. His superiors nevertheless, ask him to carry out this policy in the field.

(a) Assuming you are the civil servant in the case, do you think it is right and reasonable for the superiors to expect you to execute their program faithfully.

Yes -----

No ----

(b) Assuming you are the civil servant in the case, do you think you have a duty to execute the program faithfully.

Yes -----

No ----

Table A-2 shows that 57 respondents gave all authority answers, 48 respondents gave two authority answer, 53 respondents gave one authority answer, and 45 respondents gave no authority answer. Thus, the 105 respondents who gave all or two authority answers are considered to be high on this scale and the remaining 98 respondents who gave one or no authority answer are considered to be low on this scale. On this case also, since the construction of the Authority / Initiative scale follow the same the artical formulation we obtained that those who are high on authority means they are low on initiative. Therefore, are questionnaire items would be more effective than other types which include only one variable that is to be observed because in our case the respondent has to choose between two definite variables the responses will uncover the bureaucratic on otherwise of the behaviour of the respondent. This scale also enables us to compare the respondents who have high bureaucratic tendencies when measured in terms of

attitude toward superior authority with those who are low on the same on the basis of their social background characteristics.