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State of Thai Studies in Japan: Economy

Trends of Studies on Thai Economy in Japan

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Political Economy, Economic History, and Agricultural & Rural Economy

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Trends of Studies on Thai Economy in Japan

Yukio Ikemoto

I. Introduction

In this study we survey the studies on Thai economies conducted in Japan by Japanese according to the phases of economic development of Thailand. There were some studies on Thai economy conducted in Japan before the 1960s but we will concentrate on those studies after the 1960s because it is the 1960s that the Thai economy started its modern industrialization and also because it is the 1960s that the number of Japanese who conducted research on Thai economy began to increase.

We will divide the period after 1960s into five phases in this survey. The phases are as follows: The import substitution period, the export promotion period, the restructuring period, the period of takeoff, and the age of globalization. These periods are roughly corresponding to the 1960s, 70s, the early half of the 1980s, and the latter half of the 1980s and the 1990s, respectively. There remains some controversy for the characteristics of some phases but we will use these phases to explain the Thai economic studies by Japanese. We do not use the framework to survey by researcher because the studies on Thai economies is affected by the situation of Thai economy at that time and some researchers changed their topics according to the actual economic problems which also changing from time to time. Another reason is that it reflects the interests of Japanese side. The Thai economic studies affected by the Thai-Japanese relationship. For example, the anti-Japanese movement in Thailand in the early 1970s forced Japanese scholars to analyze this problem. Thus this framework shows us the relationship between Thailand and Japan. One point which should be noticed here is a time-lag between the economic phenomena and research. Usually research results are published a
few years later than the economic phenomenon. Therefore the phases of economic development does not necessarily correspond to the published year. We will refer those studies which is published later period, if necessary.

II. The 1960s: The Period of Import Substitution

The modern economic development in Thailand started in the early 1960s. The industrialization of this period is the type of import substitution which aimed to replace the imports of manufactured goods by domestic production. The measures for this purpose were to raise the import tariff and protect its domestic market for the import-substituting industries. The Thai case has a different character from textbook of economic development in which the government has a more direct role in import substitution. In Thailand, the government has mainly an indirect role and the private sector as well as foreign capital had more important roles. The Thai government welcomed the foreign capital because the bottleneck of Thailand was capital. During this period Japanese firms responded to this policy and invested to Thailand. In order to invest in Thailand, Japanese companies needed overall information on Thai economy.

Corresponding to the demand for information on Thai economy, the studies on Thai economy by Japanese was started. These studies are focused on the general information on the Thai economy and investment promotion policies of Thai government and also the future prospects of the market which were needed to Japanese investors. Kitamura [Ec078] is very comprehensive and covers most sectors of the economy. There are some other studies which are not so overall as Kitamura [Ec078] but focused on a specific sector. Kamiya [Ec065] and Yamamura and Tanaka [Ec234] focused on Japanese direct investment and joint venture in Thailand. Funahashi [Ec014] deals with labor market, Katoh [Ec067] deals with financial sector, Hasegawa [Ec027, Ec028] and Tanaka [Ec186] deals with agricultural sector, and Tamura [Ec183] deals with public company.

In the mid-1960s the economic growth reached its peak according to the study of business cycle (Ikemoto, [Ec036,Ec037]). This is due not only to the industrial sector but also agricultural sector which introduced commercial crops. This was the early period of import substitution and an easy phase of industrialization because they had their own market. However, the market was
small and the late 1960s it already reached its saturation point for some industries, that is, all the domestic market was filled by the import-substituting industries. Then the economic policy was changed to that of export promotion looking for new markets. Matsunaga [Ec094] already pointed out the problem of import substitution.

An interesting point of the studies by Japanese scholars is that they are affected by the studies on Japanese economy. Or the problem of Japanese economy was brought into Thailand by Japanese companies through direct investment. One example is Kamiya [Ec065] which analyzed the market structure of Thai manufacturing sector and found out the excessive competition in some industry. The excessive competition in an industry was a phenomena or characteristics of Japanese industry and discussed in Japan. It is not unusual to rely on their own research in their home country when studying other countries. This method can be justified as a first step and if it really reflects the problem of the Thai economy. For the case of excessive competition, it was brought into Thailand by Japanese firms and this was the real problem even in Thailand.

III. The 1970s: From Import Substitution To Export Promotion

Towards the end of the 1960s the limit of import-substituting industrialization became apparent and in the early 1970s the emphasis of economic policy, especially the industrialization policy, began to shift to export promotion policy. As mentioned in the previous section, the limit of import substitution was caused by the small size of domestic market. When the import-substituting industries filled the domestic market, its growth rate inevitably became slow down, unless domestic economy as a whole grows faster to make their market bigger. Unfortunately this kind of mechanism did not work and the Thai government had to shift to export promotion. The necessity to shift from import substitution to export promotion was discussed in Shishido [Ec125], Murakami [Ec106]). Even though the emphasis of economic policy began to shift to export promotion, it is another matter whether this policy shift was effective in promoting export and export industry. In the 1970s, export was increased not due to export promotion policy but due to mere good luck (Warin and Ikemoto [Ec036]).

The policy shift from import substitution to export promotion occurred
(or at least recommended) not only for Thailand but also for many other developing countries. This shift corresponds to the shift in development economics from structuralism to Neo-classical economics. In this sense, the studies on Thai economy by Japanese scholars were in line with this shift in development economics.

Another problem of import-substitution was its adverse effect on income distribution. The import-substituting industrialization is achieved by government intervention and therefore mismatch of resource allocation occurred. That is, it tends to be more capital intensive than its resource endowments requires. For such a labor abundant country like Thailand, the capital intensive industrialization means that it cannot create enough job opportunities. And the results are unemployment or under-employment, poverty and increasing income inequality. In Japan, studies on the productivity gap between sectors and regions already started in the early 1970s (Inukai [Ec048], Ando [Ec004], Torii [Ec205], Yamada [Ec230]). As for the study on household income distribution and poverty, it is only at the mid-1980s that the studies on income distribution started in Japan though it already started in the early 1970s in Thailand.

The situation of the studies on Thai economy in Japan was basically the same as the previous period, that is, its aim was to provide basic information on Thai economy. Many of the authors became prominent economists in Japan later (Shishido [Ec125], Yoshioka [Ec242]). At the same time, analytical papers began to appear. Kajita [Ec061,Ec062] analyzed the inter-industry relationship in a macro-framework. Kuroyanagi [Ec091] overview the industrialization of Thailand by statistical analysis. The effect on industrialization on employment and export analyzed in the early 1980s. Yasuba [Ec237] argued that the export expansion of Thai manufacturing sector was caused by the improvement of labor productivity while Tsujii [Ec209] discussed the poor performance of manufacturing sector in terms of labor absorption. The former was optimistic while the latter was pessimistic. Taking into consideration the rapid economic growth since the latter half of the 1980s, Prof. Yasuba's "prediction" that Thai economy would develop is very impressive, because other economists were very pessimistic even in the mid-1980s.

One of the important contributions of Japanese scholars and institutions to Thailand is the statistical data. For the economic analysis,
statistical data is indispensable. The I-O table is an example (Kitayama and Yamashita [Ec079] and Institute of Developing Economies[Ec047]).

In this period, the economic relationship between Thailand and Japan was not good as can be seen from the boycott to the Japanese products in the early 1970s and the protests against Prime Minister Tanaka to visit Thailand. This was an important topic for Japanese scholars. Yamada [Ec229] argues the necessity to localize the Japanese firms in Thailand. Numaguchi [Ec116] analyzed the background of the anti-Japanese movement in Thailand. On the other hand, Yoshihara [Ec240] argues that the most of the criticism against Japanese firms are groundless and the cause was more complicated than generally believed.

The conflict between Thai and Japanese is partly related to the Japanese management. In this period the Japanese management was not considered as a source of Japanese competitiveness and something that should be reformed, and the Thai management was still considered as pre-modern merchant-type capitalist (Ito [Ec055], Katano [Ec066], Miyazaki [Ec100]).

IV. The Early Half of the 1980s: The Period of Restructuring The Economy

The Thai economy went into a severe recession affected by the second oil shock and the world-wide recession. The twin deficits of the government budget and international trade and the accumulating foreign debt became more and more serious. To solve these problems the Thai government began to reform its budget and economic policies and promote exports and foreign direct investment into Thailand. Even though these problems needs the approach from macro-economics and financial economics, there are few research by this approach maybe because there are few macro-economists involved in this kind of research. Most of the Thai specialists in this period approached from micro and industrial aspects.

One of the important topics of micro level approach in this period is the technology transfer. People thought that the technology transfer would break the limit of import-substituting industrialization and promote industrialization further. In fact, this is just an extension of the old idea of import substitution to the production technology. Technology transfer is achieved by raising the local contents by regulation. In order to raise the local contents, the parts (or
supporting) industries were established in Thailand because the subcontracting is dominant in Japan. Technology transfer brought the Japanese industrial structure into Thailand. Thus technology transfer became an interesting and important topic for Japanese scholars. There are many studies on technology transfer and subcontracting system in Thailand (Yahata and Mizuno[Ec227], Yahata[Ec225]).

At a company level, modernization of Thai management system was discussed in Ito [Ec056,Ec057,Ec058]. Suehiro analyzed Thai business groups thoroughly and this section is not enough for surveying his works. We will discuss about his works in another section. The transfer of Japanese management style is another topic which were discussed in this period relating to the technology transfer. This is because the competitiveness of Japanese industries was attributable to the Japanese management system. And it seemed that whether the Japanese management system can be transferred to Thailand is the key for the development of manufacturing sector in Thailand (Yoshihara and Lily[Ec241]). At an industrial level there are some studies by industrial organization approach (Ikemoto [Ec036,Ec037], Takenaka [Ec181,Ec182], Taniguchi [Ec188,Ec189]).

V. The Latter Half of the 1980s: The Period of Takeoff

We would like to define the latter half of the 1980s as the period of takeoff. Thailand has already embarked itself into industrialization in the early 1960s and has a history of industrialization for more than two decades. However, exactly speaking, this period is a ground run before takeoff (takeoff run) and the period after the mid-1980s is the leaving the ground. We use the word "takeoff" in this sense.

During the period of takeoff run, Thailand accumulated the skill, technology, knowledge, experience, human resources, capital, etc. and reform its institutions from agricultural society to industrial society. The import-substituting industrialization was a burden to the Thai economy because of its inefficiency. The non-manufacturing sector had to buy manufactured goods at more expensive prices than international price because of the protection. For example, one-ton pickup truck which is used as a producer's goods in agricultural sector was more expensive because of protection. This retarded agricultural development. This is the burden for the agricultural sector. This,
however, was the necessary step to industrialization because the process to accumulate know-how is inefficient and less competitive and needs protection. This is the idea of path-dependence. Even though the economic policy may be the same before and after the import substitution, this does not mean that the period of import substitution was unnecessary and meaningless. The importance should be given to it in the historical setting. The import substitution had meaning only in a specific period of history.

The rapid economic growth after the mid-1980s attracted the attention of Japanese economists and many books on Thai economy appeared. Many of them were written for the purpose of introducing the rapidly changing Thai economy to Japanese people and includes many journalistic publications. In this survey we will focus on those studies which have academic importance. Suehiro and Yasuda [Ec141] set out “NAIC,” which stands for “Newly Agro-based Industrializing Country” and means a development pattern different from Asian NIES. When this book was written, Thai economy was still dominated by agricultural sector and the way for Thailand to industrialize seemed to depend on agriculture. If there were no appreciation of Yen and economic boom afterwards, NAIC would have become the development strategy of Thailand. Even at present, the agricultural sector still has a large share in terms of employment and therefore has an important role from the viewpoint of income distribution. Yasuda [Ec238], Harada [Ec025] and Inoue[Ec046] describes the Thai economy which just began to change.

In this period, new phenomena were observed. Ikemoto [Ec039] shows the coexistence of import substitution and export promotion in a industry. Technology transfer occurred in a different motivation. In the previous period, it was the motivation of the Thai government but now it comes from Japanese side because they need technology transfer in order to invest in Thailand (Tsuneishi [Ec216], Minato [Ec095,Ec096]).

In this period, studies on income distribution began. This kind of studies usually has time-lag for about five years because the compilation of data takes time. Usually the data is the Socio-Economic Survey conducted by the National Statistical Office every five years until 1986 and then every two years after that. In this sense, the data availability is improving, which make it possible to analyze the income distribution timely. Ikemoto [Ec038] covers the period from 1962 to 1986 and analyzed the changes in income distribution and
VI. The 1990s: The Period of Globalization

When Chatchai's government set forth the slogan "from battle field to market" which intends to make the Indochina a market place of Thailand in 1988, Thailand embarked its own regionalism. This idea roughly corresponds to the "Baht Economic Zone" where baht can be used and the influence of Thai economy exists (Hasegawa [Ec026], Itoga [Ec060]). This idea evolves to the greater Mekong economic zone which is promoted by ADB (Asian Development Bank). The regionalism in which Thailand was involved was AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area). Thailand is making efforts to make these smaller regionalism advantageous to its own industrialization within the framework of globalization. The competition among ASEAN countries becomes keen for introducing foreign direct investment. ASEAN countries offer better condition for foreign investors. This international economic conditions make the research on only Thailand difficult. It have to take the international economic relations into account.

The globalization makes the income distribution more unequal. In the studies of income distribution, Kuznetz' Hypothesis is often referred, which means that the income inequality is usually increasing at the early stage of economic development but at a later stage it becomes more equal. When an economy is relatively isolated or before globalization, this phenomenon was observed in developed countries and NIES which already passed through this curve. Thailand was also expected to follow this pattern. However, the income inequality is still increasing even though the labor market becomes tight which was considered to be the turning point. Ikemoto[Ec042] shows income inequality is increasing very rapidly in the 1980s and the early 1990s. Yazawa [Ec243] analyzed the regional income disparity in Thailand.

In relation to the income distribution, Ikemoto [Ec040] discusses the "middle class" which are considered to take an important role in the democratic movement in 1992.

In this period the foreign direct investment from Japan and its impact on Thai manufacturing industry was a topic discussed often (Adachi [Ec003], Yahata [Ec226]). Continuing inflow of Japanese investment is making Thailand an production base for Japanese manufacturing industry so that it can utilize external economy. This external economy attract foreign, especially Japanese,
investment. Now it seems that Thai economy is on a autonomous growth path.

The impacts of the rapid economic growth on Thai society and the resultant policy issue are discussed in Ogawa[Ec116] and Takanashi [Ec178].

Lastly, I would like to mention long-term economic analysis. In Warin and Ikemoto [Ec036], Ikemoto analyzed the long-term economic growth and business cycle after 1950. Shintani [Ec124] make this analysis more complete and found out an phenomenon of capital shallowing in the 1960s which is contradictory to the general belief. An short-term business cycle model and its application for forecast was constructed by Institute of Developing Economies.
Political Economy, Economic History, and Agricultural & Rural Economy

Toshiyuki Miyata

I Political Economy

1 Introduction

This part is of this survey of the literature reviews studies of the Thai economy from the political economy perspective. While there is no exclusive school of the political economy, there are important trends in the study of the Thai economy from the standpoint of history, the authority structure, and social systems, which do not rely on the conventional methods and theories of modern economics, such as the basic principles of macro economics or the methods of econometrics. Here, I will use the term "political economy" to refer to this perspectives and trends.

These political economy perspectives and trends may be divided into "seven types as follows 2 ;
A) analysis of the situations of economic development mentioning the natural environment, history, political affairs, and agriculture.
B) analysis of the historical formation and present state of industrial structures.
C) analysis of the historical evolution of the capitalist, engineer and laborer who play crucial roles in the industrialization process.
D) analysis of the distinctive features of Thai industrialization, as a NAIC (Newly Agro-Industrializing Country) or NIES (Newly Industrializing Economies) and or provincial economies and the associated environmental problems from rapid economic growth and globalization.
E) analysis of developmental policies and the developmental thinking and strategies of political leaders under a Thai developmental regime.
F) analysis of the character of Thai industrialization, economic development and policy compared with that of other Asian countries.
G) critiques of neo-classical economic thought from the viewpoint of area

1 I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Akira Suehiro, Prof. James F. Warren, Mr. Gen Endo, and Mr. Fumio Nagai for helpful comments and criticisms, although I am solely responsible for any errors. This is a revised edition.
2 In order to classify these trends in political economy perspective, it is useful to consult Suehiro's suggestion. He describes that three approaches at least are needed to understand process of industrialization in Asian or developing countries; 1) analysis on economic performance, 2) institutional and historical analysis on the relationship between political social structure and economic system, 3) analysis on roles of capitalist, engineer and labor in the process of industrialization [Suehiro Ec153:2]. See also his viewpoint of Thai economy in Suehiro[Ec163] and Suehiro[Ec167].
studies about Thai economy.

The main trend of these studies in the 1960s and 70s were type A, although there were also some studies completed concerned with types B and C. In the 1980s, there was a proliferation of different types of studies undertaken especially types B, C, and D by Prof. Akira Suehiro and others. While the early 1990s study type C, D, E, and F have become more important than were before.

This paper is composed of 3 sections; (1)trends in the political economy studies of the 1960s and 70s, (2)trends in the studies of political economy in the 1980s, and finally (3)trends in the studies in political economy in the first half of the 1990s with particular sequence in sections 2 and 3 to the achievements of Suehiro.

2 Trends in Studies in Thai Political Economy in the 1960 and 70s

In the 1960s, the main topics of research in Thai economic studies were economic performance, especially the situation of economic development under the General Sarit regime, and the economic penetration of Japanese capital. A typical example of this type A was conducted by Kitamura[Ec079], who examined general problems and issues of economic development, including analysis of the natural environment, history, political affairs, and agriculture by specialists in each field. Kitamura work was a model of the type A research. His book pointed out that Thai government did not adopt positive economic and industrial policies.

There were also researches on various aspects of economic affairs. Hunahasi[Ec014] showed the historical formation of wage labor and explained the labor law. Kato[Ec067] introduced Thai monetary and fiscal situations and policies. Tamura[Ec183] pointed out the serious problems of public companies unless the new policy of foreign capital inducement, most of which had been established during Phibun regime. Nonaka[Ec115] analyzed in detail the features of these preferred industries. An intensive analysis of the investment patterns of Japanese companies during this period by Kamiya[Ec065] also touched on the history of economic interaction between Thailand and Japan. During this decade, although these valuable general surveys were produced, what was still lacking was an in depth examination of the relatively high rate of economic growth during the 1960s and 70s, and various influences of the Vietnam war on Thai economy.

It is recognized that the Thai economy reached a turning point in
the 1970s. The two factors responsible were first, the end of the special procurement demands of the Vietnam War, and, secondly the shift of industrialization from import substitution to export promotion. Most economic studies were concerned not only with these new economic developments, but also with investment conditions, and/or the economic relationship with Japan, in the aftermath of the anti-Japanese movement in 1972, the Student Revolution in 1973, and agricultural economic change following the Green Revolution.

Shishido[Ec125], who produced an important work of type A), discussed some problems associated with turning points in the Thai economy, namely the difficulty in shifting to export promotion, the income inequality between the industrial sector and agricultural sector, and the situation of the Green Revolution, as well as other related problems of Japanese business inroads and Japanese economic aid. Yoshioka[Ec242], published after the anti-Japanese Movement and Student Revolution, is also a typical type A study. This work included not only comprehensive surveys of the economy, industrialization, natural environment, labor problems, society, and foreign aid, but also analysis of the background of the anti-Japanese movements and ways to facilitate the normal economic relationships between Thai and Japan.

Several other interesting research areas were also investigated at this time. Examining the textile industry, which was one of the main industries involved in import substitution, Katano[Ec066] pointed out the importance of export competitiveness and Ogawa[Ec116] discussed problems regarding the transfer of production management. While Suehiro[Ec126] argued that the main feature of Thai industrialization as import substituted industrialization depended on the "import" of capital and intermediate goods, analyzing the historical development of seven major textile groups and the pattern of Japanese investment on the textile industry. This was to be the pioneering work in his institutional and historical analysis of the Thai economy and his theory of the "economic agents of industrialization", which he would develop in the 1980s. On the other hand, Torii [Ec205] examined the labor market by dividing it into three sectors; the agricultural sector, modern sector and, his "urban indigenous " sector, in order to raise a basic criticism of the dualistic models of the Lewis-Ranis type, by studying the case of Thonburi area.

3 Trends of Studies in Thai Political Economy in the 1980s

A special feature of the studies of the Thai economy in the 1980s was the increase in not only type A studies but also type B, C, D, and G as
mentioned above. These new kinds of studies were based on an in depth analysis of various materials, including historical documents, masters theses and other books materials in Thai language by Japanese scholars and/or students who had conducted intensive researches in Thailand. A series of achievements by Suehiro are important in this context. This section will mainly provide an overview of his works.

3-A Suehiro's studies of Thai economy [Overview]

Suehiro's main concern as a post graduate student at the University of Tokyo was "studies about the Modern Japanese Economy" and "studies concerning Japanese Capitalism." He then became interested in Asia, especially, the Thai Economy. Since that time he has applied this kind of theoretical framework about the Japanese economy to the study of Thai economy and society. At the same time, his researches have been based on exhaustive surveys of key industrial structures, using materials and documents both in Thai and English. A figure in [APPENDIX A] also give you an overview of his studies from the 1980s to the first half of 1990s.

3-B Suehiro's studies on the Thai economy in the 1980s comprised the following:

Trends of his studies in this period can be divided into two groups. Trend (1) is the investigation of historical formation and management reforms of business groups based on surveys of industrial structures. Trend (2) is the discussion of NAIC and NIES types of industrialization.

(1)The investigation of historical formations and current management reforms of business groups based on surveys of industrial structures.

The studies of the main industrial structures include an analysis of the historical formation and contemporary situation of business groups, and the management reforms of Thai business groups based on, foreign direct investment.

Suehiro[Ec126] made intensive surveys of the textile industry, which had been the principal import substitution industry of the 1960s, focusing on the development of the big seven business groups. In addition, Suehiro[Ec127] examined the vertical control of the Japanese companies over this industry, the uneven trade balance between Japan and Thailand, and, the background of the anti-Japan movement in the early 1970s. A comparative analysis of the Thai textile industry with other southeast countries was also made by Suehiro[Ec128][Ec133]. Suehiro
further pointed out the difficulty of changing the Thai electronics industry into an export industry.

In this context, Suehiro also investigated the impact of Japanese business's strategies of foreign investment on the electronics industry in Asian countries.

Suehiro is one of his most important works about the evolution of Thai capital formation because of his emphasis on the independent response of Thai capitalists rather than Chinese management. In this study he investigated Thai 24 business groups.

He carried out intensive examinations of agri-business. Suehiro conducted on historical analysis of the rice business from the Bowring Treaty in 1855 to the Second World War. He pointed out patterns of competition and the cost involved in the rice business, including domestic distribution, rice milling, export, shipping, and insurance between European merchants and Chinese merchants. Focusing on the CP group which fostered a vertical integration of food, poultry farming, and export. Suehiro investigated the rapid growth of an agro-industry since the 1960s. Also focused on Metro group which expanded the agri-business of cassava and tapioca during the same period. A survey of the changing foreign demand structure and export strategy of natural rubber was also made by Suehiro.

Suehiro examined the historical development and management reforms associated with the success of the Bangkok Bank which is the biggest bank in southeast Asia.

The fruits of years of historical investigations were compiled by Suehiro as an occasional paper, and, as a monograph published by the Center for East Asian Cultural Studies. By using the tripod structure of capitalist as an analytical framework, a close study was made of the historical formation and structure of capitalism in Thailand and the changing situation of various industries and businesses. This study about capital accumulation is an integral part of a three pronged approach to "Thai capitalism" composed of capital accumulation, the historical formation of skills and technology, and the historical formation of wage labor. This kind of approach and work was further developed to study the "promoters of industrialization." Here, Suehiro introduced the trends of the "Chatthip School" and the Thai school of political economy which had greatly stimulated his research concerns.

(2) The study of NAIC and NIES types of industrialization

Based on these pioneering studies, Suehiro and Yasuda
pointed out characteristics of Thai industrialization. Thai industrialization from the 1960s to the middle 1980s was regarded as an NAIC type. This kind of industrialization was thought to be a unique strategy for Thailand. Since the flood of foreign investment in 1987, the Thai economy has changed to an NIES type. Here, Suehiro[Ec145] undertook an in depth study of new aspects of industrialization and investigated various types of Japanese investments. Regarding problems in the NIES type of economy, Suehiro[Ec146] argued how technology and skills could become firmly established in Thailand and pointed out the necessity of the "industrial economist". Also, Suehiro[Ec150] examined the overconcentration of the population in relation to the economy, and the serious traffic problems in Bangkok.

3-C Other trends in studies of the Thai economy in the 1980s

Trends in other studies during the 1980s are introduced here. They may be divided into three categories.

First3, studies on the situation of economic development. There are several key works. For example, Yasuba[Ec237] discussed the dynamism of the private sector since the 1970s and pointed out the promising possibility of a labor intensive type of export oriented industrialization. Tujii[Ec209] presented a pessimistic view about absorbing labor surplus by the 1970s type of industrialization.

Secondly4, the works of Taniguchi and Shigetomi were very important for the analysis of Thai NAIC type of industrialization. Taniguchi[Ec187] examined agricultural distribution and provincial development. Shigetomi[Ec117] analyzed quality improvement of the natural rubber industry and its structural change. Shigetomi[Ec118] also researched the present of agricultural export situation and NAIC type of industrialization under the difficult circumstance of trade friction between Thailand, the U.S.A., Japan, and various European countries.

The works by Watanabe and Tasaka are valuable for their analysis of provincial economic disparities and environmental problems under the rapid economic growth and globalization. Watanabe[Ec222] analyzed the growing provincial disparities and internal mass migration to Bangkok area and [Ec223] emphasized the necessity of rising levels of employment in the modern sector through an analysis of the growing urban informal sector. Tasaka[Ec191][Ec192] pointed out various aspects

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3 This category corresponds to type A as mentioned in Introduction.
4 This category corresponds to type D as mentioned in introduction.
of unbalanced economic growth, for example, low wage labor and forest destruction, and the crisis and burden of external debt.

Finally, as a critical of neo-classical economic thought from the viewpoint of area studies on the Thai economy, a series of works by Hara received much attention. Hara criticized neo-classical developmental thought by analyzing the Thai political and developmental regime. Hara criticized neo-classical liberal policies through an analysis of the internal labor market and short-term contract employment in Thailand. Hara emphasized cultural characteristics of the Thai economy influenced by the ideas of Clifford Geertz. A detail discussion on the dilemma of economic growth up to the middle 1980s was made from the critical framework of an attack against neo-classical developmental thought.

4 Trends in the Study of Political Economy in Thailand in the 1980s

Studies about the Thai economy in the first half of the 1990s focused on the rapid economic growth and changes since the late 1980s. More attention has been paid to the provincial economy, environmental problems, and the character of the Thai economy in the wider Asian perspective.

4-A Studies on the Thai economy of Suehiro in the first half of the 1990s

Trends of his studies in this period can be divided into two types. Trend (1) is the investigation of historical formations and present management reforms of business groups, especially after 1987. Trend (2) is the emphasis on theoretical studies, such as the research on "promoters of industrialization" or "family business", the study of NIES type of industrialization, the study of the Thai developmental regime, and the study of the Thai economy in a wider Asian perspective. In this period, trend (2) have been given more considerable weigh in his study than trend (1).

(1) The investigation of historical formations and present management reforms of business groups, especially since 1987, based on surveys of

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5 This category corresponds to type G as mentioned in introduction.
6 This trend corresponds to type F and G as mentioned in introduction.
7 See figure in [APPENDIX A]. Overlap [1], Portion [2] and Overlap A designate this trend.
8 See figure in [APPENDIX A]. Portion [2], Portion [3], Portion [4], Overlap A, Overlap B, Overlap C and three rectangles [5] designate this trend (2). In this period, trend (2) have been given more considerable weigh in his study than trend (1).
industrial structures.

Suehiro examined the structural changes of the heavy chemical industry, banking, telecommunications industry, and management reforms in the new NIES type of economy at the end of the 1980s.

In the early 1990s, Suehiro and Nanbara conducted the intensive surveys on historical formations and management reforms of the main combines and big business groups in terms of political, economic and social change and explained characteristics of "family business." This was a detailed comprehensive work covering the main industries including banking, commerce, agri-business and the heavy chemical industry. Suehiro also examined the capitalist development of commercial bankers, industrial elites and agri-business groups.

There were also positive surveys of several industries. Suehiro conducted detailed research on historical development and management reforms since the 1970s of the Siam Cement group which, based on the heavy chemical industry, was the biggest business group in Thailand. He pointed out that this group diversified business successfully, but at the same time, it had problems with exporting and R&D (research and development). Suehiro examined the historical formation and management reforms of the Bangkok Bank group and especially focused on the transition to "collective leadership" system.

An intensive study of the rapid growth telecommunication industry was made by Suehiro. A case study was made of the Shinawatra group, which has attracted a great deal of attention as a new promoter of industrialization. He examined the effects of its new business strategy, such as the adoption of the "concession way" and "strategic business cooperation", and promotion of technological specialists.

Suehiro not only made a comprehensive survey of ownership, management, sales and business strategies of multi-national enterprises, using the most up-to-date data, he also carried out a close analysis of economic control over on Thai economy by multi-national enterprises, and cooperation and rivalry with Thai capitalists.

(2) The study of "promoter of industrialization" or "family business", NIES type of industrialization, the Thai developmental regime and the study of capitalist development in Asian perspective.

Suehiro summarized five major issues in discussion the state and studies of the Thai economy in the early 1990s. These issues were 1) the change from "Pattana" to present industrial policy, 2) re-examination of NAIC industrialization, 3) new social economic phenomena
in NIES industrialization, 4) the power structure and Sakdina economy, and 5) development and environmental problems. He emphasized the necessity to study the present rapid changes to the Thai economy from the standpoint of these historical and institutional views. In this section, his studies with these concerns can still be divided into three trends.

First, the study of "promoters of industrialization" is his main analytical framework to study Thai or Asian industrialization. This has developed methodologically into the study of "family business" and the study of the "social ability of industrialization". Suehiro and Nanbara[Ec157], as mentioned above, is a fine example of the study of "promoter of industrialization" and "family business." Suehiro[Ec154][Ec155][Ec161][Ec164] applied his study of "promoter of industrialization" and "family business" to a discussion on Asian industrialization or late-starting industrialization, through his detailed surveys on Thai capitalists.

Suehiro[Ec171] is a work that describes clearly the study of the "social ability of industrialization." This ability or aptitude was classified into three main types, 1) the TG ability: technocrat, and governmental bureaucratic organization, 2) the EM ability: entrepreneurship, and business organization, 3) the LT ability: skill formation of labor and technical expertise, and production control system.

Skill formation was also an important topic of the study of "promoter of industrialization." Suehiro[Ec176] is a unique work about this topic which examined historical skill formation in the railway industry before the Second World War, by using personal funeral books of technical experts, articles in the weekly newspaper, Bangkok Times, and so forth. He not only made a detailed investigation of the history of railway development, personal histories of technical experts and the import of railway technology, but also discussed the background of difficulties in the technology transfer from the West to Thailand, from an socio-economic viewpoint.

Secondly, Suehiro[Ec151] explained the main characteristic of the NIES type of industrialization. The major point was that Thailand became an international base for export processing industry in this dramatic phase of economic change. On the other hand, Suehiro[Ec166] pointed out the negative aspects of industrialization, especially those caused by agri-business, such as the destruction of the environment, conflict among local residents, and elimination of farmers by "enclosure", as well as rural poverty. Suehiro[Ec163] pointed out the necessity of re-examining the meaning of "development" after the Sarit regime and the
need to examine the social and political causes of these negative aspects of Thai capitalist development.

Thirdly, Suehiro[Ec152] analyzed the history of the Thai "developmental" regime and Thai economic thought. Initially, he investigated the characteristics of the developmental regime and economic polices of "Rattaniyom" in the Phibun regime, "Pattana" in the Sarit regime, the period of turning point to economic oriented polices in the 1970s, and the industrialization of the 1980's. In this context, Praya Suriyanuwatra's economic thought was also analyzed.

Suehiro[Ec162] is one of his most popular research works. "Pattana"(development) and "Prachathipatai"(democracy) were two key concepts in this work. He explained political, economic, and social change during the past three decades by re-examining the variety of meanings attached to these two words in the Thai context. "Pattana" meant not only economic development, but also educational and rural change, and "Thai" democracy meant that the military would play a crucial role to achieve that end.

An intensive investigation on the earlier backgrounds to the of "Prusapa Tamin" in 1992 was made in Suehiro[Ec165]. It pointed out that the progress of institutional democracy and economic growth after the 1970s did not change the strong will to power of the military, and that Thai capitalists and technocrats did not yet want to become a political force against the military.

He also now showed a deep interest not only in the Thai economy, but also in the Southeast Asian regional economy(Suehiro[Ec159]). In the 1950s and 60s, Southeast Asia was a region developing new processes and patterns such as anti-colonialism and nonalignment. Now, however, Southeast Asia is primarily discussed solely in the economic context of industrialization and investment. He argued for a more rounded viewpoint, so that the autonomous response of Southeast Asian countries to changing international circumstances could more readily be emphasized and understood. Suehiro[Ec168] also took up the study of so-called "developmental dictatorships" in Asian countries. An extensive argument was made about various meanings of both "development" and "dictatorship" not only in the Thai context, but also in other Asian contexts. He emphasized the importance of intensive core studies about "developmental regime."

4-B Other trends in studies on the Thai economy in the first half of the 1990s
A characteristic of other studies in the first half of the 1990s is a diversification of the research on socio-economic change in NIES type of industrialization, such as an emphasis on the provincial economy, provincial disparity, and environmental problems. Especially, important researches were conducted on provincial businessmen and provincial economies.

Akagi and Kitahara produced one of the most valuable studies on socio-economic change in rural areas based on intensive field research in Southeast Thailand. A notable point of this research was a comprehensive overview of socio-economic transformation linking both new industrial zones and agricultural villages.

Other surveys of provincial economies also have been made during this period. Ueda contain the results of her researches on Nakhonrachasima. Endo analyzed causes of population growth in Chiangmai Province and the various roles of Chiangmai in Northern Thailand. After several years of field research in Chiangmai, Endo compiled the results of his study on historical formation of provincial businessmen and the present situation using interviews, documents and articles from Phujatkan and other sources. Endo provided a clear summary of the arguments of "Jao Pho" and re-examined them critically, analyzing the independent responses of provincial businessmen to recent rapid economic change. Watanabe showed differences in rural employment patterns between the rainy season and the dry season. She also examined the way stable employment worked in agricultural areas.

Tasaka has written several important studies on problems of rapid economic growth, including labor problems in Tasaka, forest destruction and environmental problems in Tasaka and . More recently, he has made an intensive survey of the financial sector after the financial reforms of the early 1990s in Tasaka, [Ec196], [Ec197],[Ec198],[Ec199], and [Ec200].

Asami made an analysis of the Thai liberal corporatism of Anek Laothamatas comparing it with a revisionist study on the bureaucratic polity by Chai-anan Samudavanija, discussing the relationship between the state and business sector in transition. Hara analyzed developmental polices and social responses to those policies in Southeast Asia, and criticized neo-classical economists by integrating area studies with the principles of developmental economics.

This category corresponds to type D as mentioned in introduction.
II Economic History

Studies about Thai economic history in Japan have been made not only by economists, but also historians, geographers, and others. I will introduce these studies in economic history which can be divided into four types.

(1) the studies by economists can be classified into three topic areas. The first group discusses capital accumulation and the historical formation of skills which are key ideas in the study of "promoter of industrialization" by Akira Suehiro, as well as the historical study of European merchants by Toshiyuki Miyata.

Suehiro[Ec136] [Ec148] are compilation works about the history of industry development and capital accumulation from the late 19th century to the 1980s, based on various documents including master thesis and funeral books (nangsu ngan sop) in the Thai language. Suehiro[Ec137] analyzed the rice business before the Second World War in detail. Suehiro[Ec156] also made an important study about "promoter of industrialization" by analyzing the data of companies which had been registered between 1901 and 1933.

Suehiro[Ec176] is an extremely valuable intensive historical survey of the railway industry and the history of skill and technical formation in Thailand based on archival documents collected in Germany and Thailand. He presented statistics of finance and construction costs and lists of Thai and foreign technical experts including their detailed personal histories. The study also contains a comprehensive chronological table from 1856 to 1941, covering the facts concerning the railway industry based on use of the Bangkok Times, and, some rare diaries.

Miyata[Ec097] analyzed comprehensively the advance of western capitalists into Siam from 1864 to 1910, using the Siam Directory of the Chronicles and Directories published in Hong Kong. It not only added the new dimension of the role of western capital in the history of capitalist formation by Suehiro, but also introduced basic historical data to examine the economic impact of the West on Siam during the period under consideration. From the analysis, he summarized the western companies business expansion, and provided a list of agents for European banks and insurance companies, in order to provide an overview of the expansion of western capital in Siam.

The second topic concerns the history of economic policy by Makoto Nanbara and Yukio Ikemoto. Nanbara[Ec113] analyzed Phra
Sarasasna's economic policy and thought in the 1930s, while Ikemoto discussed the King Rama IV's policy and thought in the rapidly changing economic environment of the middle of the 19th century.

The third topic concerns the industrial history by Yoko Ueda, Hiroshi Yamamoto, and Akira Sugawara. Ueda analyzed the rice milling industry in Bangkok in the late 19th century as a key factor in the initial phase of industrialization. Yamamoto discussed trade expansion before the opening of the country in the 19th century. The independent reactions of the ruling classes to the opening of Thailand to global commerce were discussed with regard to investment in the sugar industry. Sugawara examined the situation of the domestic textile market in the 19th century and stressed the transition of imports from Asia to Great Britain after the Bowring Treaty.

(2) historians and political scientists whose studies are based on examinations of Chinese and Thai books and documents. The works are classified into five areas.

The first area is the study of the "port polity" of Ayutthaya by Yoneo Ishii. Ishii was the first to analyze Ayutthaya not as an oriental despotic state, but as a trade based state ruled by a merchant king. During the 1990s, a series of his studies on the "port polity" of Ayutthaya have been published. Then, Ishii [Ec049] [Ec050] [Ec053] made a careful examination of the monopolistic trade controlled by the merchant king, particularly the monopolistic purchase of goods from the Bengal Bay and the South China Sea, and the monopolistic price structure. Ishii [Ec054], affected by Fernand Braudel's Mediterranean (The Mediterranean Sea), discussed this new type of history from a maritime viewpoint with regard to Southeast Asia, with particular reference to the characteristics of the "port-polity" of Ayutthaya.

The second topic or area is the trade history written by Misako Takasaki. Takasaki analyzed the history of the rice trade between Quing China and Siam in the 18th century, based on the historical Chinese documents, 『清实録』,『明清史料』. She showed that the Chinese merchants in Siam and the Royal Household had a close relationship in monopolistic and tributary trade. The Siamese Kings were portrayed as merchant kings. Her work is still considered one of the most valuable studies on trade history of the 18th century.

The third topic is the history of the regional economy by Junko Koizumi. Koizumi has made interesting studies on the political system and local economies in the 19th century, utilizing primary historical sources in the national library and the national archives of Thailand.
Koizumi analyzed the commercial activities of the Kula or Tongsoo at the end of the 19th century, who move around Burma and Northeastern Thailand. At that time, Northeastern Thailand had an open semi-autonomous trade network. Koizumi examined the relationship between the king and local powers by making a close historical survey of "Suai" in Northeastern Thailand in the middle of the 19th century. Koizumi examined the administration of Nakhon Ratchasima by investigating the impact of the imposition of "Suai" in the middle of the 19th century. She also pointed out the weakness of the central ruling power vis-a-vis the local powers in the control over "Phrai". Koizumi discussed the indirect authority of the King over local powers. She also researched the change in taxation and duties imposed on local principalities and people by the Chakri Reform of the late 19th century to the early 20th century.

The fourth area is the history of overseas Chinese by Takesi Hamashita. Hamashita provided a comprehensive historical overview of the trade, the business, and migration patterns of the overseas Chinese, especially the Chao-Zhou group from the 17th to the early 20th century. This analysis, which focused on Chinese remittance and their trade networks between Amoy, Hong Kong and Bangkok is an indispensable work to understand the Thai economy from the viewpoint of wider networks in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea.

The fifth topic is the historical study of finance of the royal household by Fumio Nagai. Nagai examined the independent response of Siam to the new emerging circumstances before and after the Bowring Treaty in the middle of the 19th century. He examined the prior background of this response especially the reforms of trade and tax systems in the period of Rama III.

(3) Studies of economic geography and the land system in historical perspective can be divided into 4 topics. There is the history of the development of the canal system by Shigeharu Tanabe; the history of the urban formation by Akira Suehiro; the history of the traffic network by Ichiro Kakizaki; and, the history of the land system by Atusi Kitahara.

Tanabe examined the historical development of the canal system from the Ayutthaya dynasty to the late 19th century, by using historical documents such as Phraticha Phongsawadan, and the Prachum Kotmai Pracham Sok.

Suehiro summarized the history of the urban formation of Bangkok in the 19th century, focusing on construction of canals and roads. Kakizaki pointed out that the principal transportation before
1932 had been the railway, and that roads had merely played a
supplementary role. Since 1912, road construction had been handled by
the Department of Roads, but construction of trunk roads from Bangkok to
local areas had not begun before 1932.

A series of important works on the land system by Kitahara were
made in the 1970s. His detailed works are still valuable. Kitahara[Ec071]
made detailed historical analyses of land tax reform in the context of
fiscal reform from the mid 19th century to early 20th century. Kitahara[Ec073] also made an historical analysis of the special committee
of the land court in the late 19th century. He[Ec072] then made further
analysis of land tenure in the Ayutthayan period by re-examining the text
of the Three Seals Law.

(4)Studies on the history of Thai-Japanese economic
relationships in the 1950s and 60s were made by Akira Suehiro.
Suehiro[Ec172] regarded the real turning point of Japanese economic
inroads into Southeast Asia to be 1965. He emphasized that the progress
of this Japanese penetration, however, was due mainly to the formation of
developmental regimes in Southeast Asia, emphasizing economic
development, national integration, and anti-communism.

Finally, further studies in the area of economic history are
needed from the stand point of the three approaches;
(1) more positive studies on economic history using first hand source
materials in the 18th century and 19th century
(2) more positive studies on economic history in the 1920s and 1930s
(3)a re-examination of Thai economic history from the viewpoint of
modern intra Asian trade, and Asian networks.
III Studies of the Agricultural and Rural Economy
1. Agricultural Economy

I would like to analyze changes in the agricultural economy from the 1960s to the 1990s and introduce important works of this period as follows.

A key to comprehend the agricultural economy in Thailand is to understand its natural environment as a whole and the development of the Chao Phraya Delta area. From this holistic point of view, Takaya[Ec180] is a good work to read. In the 1960s, traditional export goods such as rice, tin, rubber and teak accounted for 70% of total export market, and, rice alone was responsible for 30% of the total. Hasegawa[Ec027] pointed out the importance of the rice economy and examined holistically water supply, the technology of rice farming, distribution and export. This work with a wide range of contents is basic for the economic study of rice. Motooka[Ec104] also analyzed the situation of agriculture up to the early 1960s and pointed out the importance of gradual diversification.

In the 1970s, rice products increased and rice exports maintained 15% of the total export market. An analysis of the production function by Tsujii [Ec206] summarized the Green Revolution in Thailand, stating that it did not introduce new rice breeds, but rather developed the irrigation system and increased the use of fertilizers and tractors. Tsujii [Ec207] also made a detailed explanation of the Rice Premium System. Nakajima [Ec112] also examined the economic equilibrium by an analysis of the export tax, the quota system, and the system of low price delivery. Motooka[Ec105] studied the historical development of rice farming and pointed out the importance of expansion of foreign rice markets by exploring the history of rice export from the late 19th century. The Green Revolution was also investigated by Masuda[Ec092]. The export of new agricultural products such as corn, cassava, and sugar cane had increased to 30~40% of the total export. The agricultural diversification had developed against a background of a primary goods boom which was caused by the oil crisis. Planting these agricultural products had spread over North-eastern Thailand and Western Thailand where it had been regarded as inappropriate to raise rice. Yokokura[Ec239] examined this diversification process totally. Then, Taniguchi[Ec187] analyzed the regional distribution of these products in a further study. Tsuji[Ec208] also analyzed several aspects of the influence of the oil crisis in the 1970s. Hasegawa[Ec029] pointed out the important location of
Thailand in the world rice trade by creating a list of the world rice trade structure from the early 20th century up to the 1970s.

In the early 1980s when the agricultural export product boom was cooling off, the export of these new products declined, progressively. During this period, however, along with the rise of the agricultural technocrat and the promotion of agro-industry, the export of agro-industrial products such as broilers, tuna, shrimps increased rapidly from 3% of the total export in the 1970s to more than 10% by the 1980s. Agro-industry is well-described by Suehiro [Ec140], [Ec143], [Ec144], and Sigetomi [Ec117].

The turning point for agriculture in the 1980s was analyzed by Hara [Ec023]. He analyzed the relation between agricultural diversification and differentiation of rice farming. Tsuji focused on Thai rice exports in the world-wide over-production of rice by examining the competition with the U.S.A. In the process of these economic changes, Tomosugi felt the need to study local markets from an economic and cultural standpoint (Tomosugi: [Ec204]). Hasegawa [Ec030], [Ec031] described the agricultural history of rural life, the development of farming, and the destruction of forests.

The rapid industrialization of the late 1980s made export of agro-industry products increase steadily. In the early 1990s, exports of these products exceeded that of most traditional products. It had increased threefold since the middle 1980s. This was stressed by Suehiro [1993]. The reorganization of the agricultural sector as a whole was explained by Yamamoto [Ec231]. Tsuji [Ec212], on the other hand, examined the importance of the agricultural sector from the standpoint of social life, employment and food-security. Although Thailand had been a leading rice-producing and exporting country, the portion of rice exported to the total export was less than 5% by the early 1990s. This topic is examined further by Kamegai [Ec064]. Hasegawa [Ec032] also has made an intensive study about this matter. Tsuji [Ec213] analyzed the state of the Thai rice economy under the circumstances of opening up the rice market in Japan and the keen competition in the world rice market. After the urgent rice imports to Japan in 1994, Tsuji [Ec214] explained the present situation of the Thai rice economy while Higashi [Ec033] examined price fluctuations of Thai rice in this period.

The domestic rice economy was analyzed by Matsuda and Kanazawa [Ec093]. This work is important since it focused on the management of rice farming, tractor usage and cooperative societies. Usui
and Mishima\[Ec221\] made comprehensive empirical surveys on domestic
distribution, mill, and export of rice, and the situation of cooperative
societies in Thailand in comparison with Japan and Korea. Agricultural
financial institutions have also been examined by Hiratsuka\[Ec034\].

2. Rural Economy

In the 1960s 70s, Koichi Mizuno, Takashi Tomosugi and
Tadaharu Tanaka made independent intensive field researches of village
societies in Thailand. Recently, joint investigations by researchers who
are trained in various disciplines, such as ecology, agriculture, sociology,
and anthropology, have increased in number.

Integral contributions have been made by the Center for
Southeast Asian Studies(CSEAS), Kyoto University. Mizuno \[Ec102\]
published the results of years of field work, and subsequently published
by his colleagues dedicated to his memory. His work had been done in Don
Daeng village on rice producing, farming, land ownership, inheritance,
and income. Mizuno \[Ec101\] also investigated the influences of
industrialization and change on Om Noi village in Samut Saakon province.
In the 1980s, joint research of CSEAS has been done in Don Daeng village
by researchers of ecology, agriculture, sociology and anthropology. This
project aimed to compare the more recent situation with what Mizuno
described, and examine further responses of villagers to new economic
changes. Fukui\[Ec008\][Ec009\] made an agricultural and ecological survey
of this village, and Kuchiba(ed.) \[Ec090\] also carried out sociological and
anthropological investigation in this village.

After completing this research, Fukui and his colleagues
undertook research in other parts of the Northeast, especially Yasothon
province. Numbers of surveys have been made on various aspects of
village economy, such as, Kono and Nagata \[Ec086\] on village types by
occupational structure; Kono, Suman and Takeda \[Ec087\] on management
of the shared forest; Kono and Pradip Kumar Saha\[Ec088\] on the rice
economy and population; Nakada, Somkiat and Fukui \[Ec013\] on a
comparison of rice producing and work-migration in three villages;
Nakada\[Ec109\] on rice surpluses and work migration, and Fukui\[Ec010\]
on change in the agricultural structure and environment. In 1996, these
field research projects were compiled from the viewpoint of agricultural
change in North-Eastern Thailand by Fukui \[Ec012\]. Ikemoto \[Ec044\]
examined the expansion of the triangle pillow in the cottage industry.

Takashi Tomosugi, who is one of the pioneers in rural studies, has
been conducting researches from his unique sociological and
anthropological standpoints, mostly in Central and Northern Thailand. He has accomplished the following: Tomosugi surveyed the farm-household economy in Central Thailand. He researched an economic history of the Delta area in the context of three elements of "labor accumulation", (labor power, land, capital). Tomosugi also made a study of the change of wage work in the 1970s while Yamada, Hara, Kano, Tanaka, and Fukui summarized the economic changes of a rice farming village in Central Thailand in the early 1980's and provided empirical data to investigate economic aspects of rural society.

Osamu Akagi, Atsushi Kitahara, Toshio Tasaka and their colleagues have also made intensive comprehensive field researches in villages, and analyzed the differentiation of farmers, formation of wage labor, rent of farm land and inheritance, especially from the perspective of political economy and Marxian economics. The notable results of their joint works are found in Kitahara (ed.) and Akagi and Kitahara (eds.) for Northeastern Thailand and the industrializing Southeast. Kitahara analyzed the economic structure of rice agriculture in the context of land and labor distribution. He also made a sociological analysis of the formation of the "compound" and its change. Kitahara provides a detailed accomplishment of his works. Tasaka examined the differentiation of farmers from the Green revolution of the 1970s to the 1980s. In the late 1980s, a controversy over land ownership, inheritance, rent, and joint management between parents and children, or among brothers and sisters was debated among scholars; 1) Miyazaki emphasized joint management, 2) On the other hand, Tasaka doubted the explanation of Miyazaki, pointing out "hai tham kin" between parents and children, and "hai dulee" or tenancy arrangements among brothers and sisters, 3) Miyazaki presented extensive empirical data on joint management against Tasaka's case, 4) Kitahara also criticized the interpretation of Miyazaki, especially regarding joint management after inheritance. (See APPENDIX B)

Shigetomi who is a researcher of IDE(Institute of Developing Economies) has also carried out empirical analyses of rural economies. Recently his work provide acute discussions of participatory rural development. Shigetomi made an investigation agricultural censuses and gave an overview of the arguments on differentiation of farmers. Shigetomi [Ec119] [Ec121] [Ec122] also examined the conditions to create "the functional organization" for participatory rural development, based on empirical field researches.

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Figure  Research Framework of Prof. Akira Suehiro:
The Tripod Structure of His Thai Economic Study
and the Development of His Stuto Asian Economy from the 1980s to the mid 1990s

The first half of 1990s

The Study of Late Starting Industrialization

The Study of Developmental Regime (Asia)

The study of Promotor of Industrialization (Asia)

The 1980s

SET III
Political Regime & Social Structure

[4]
The Study of Thai Developmental Regime

*Pattana
*Thai Democracy
*The Military and Democracy Movement

[3]
NAIC & NIES Industrialization

*Economic Growth
*Regional Disparity
*Environmental Problems

[2]
The study of Promotor of Industrialization

*Capital Accumulation
Public company
Thai Capitalist
Multinational Company
*Skill Formation
*Formation of Wage Labor

[1]
The Analysis of Industrial Structures

A
Management Reform
Direct Investment

B
Developmental Policy
Economic Policy

C
Side Benefit Economy

SET II
Distinctive Features of Industrialization

SET I
Promotors of Industrialization

[By Toshiyuki Miyata]
Figure "the research framework of Akira Suehiro: The tripod structure of his Thai economic research and the development of his study of the Asian Economy from the 1980s to the first half of the 1990s," depicts the framework of his studies on the Thai economy from the 1980s to the first half of the 1990s. This framework in this figure is useful to explain the trends of his works. The three main trends indicated in this figure are as follows:

*Set I: the analysis of promoters of industrialization. This corresponds to type C) as mentioned in introduction

*Set II: the analysis of distinctive features of industrialization. This corresponds to type D) as mentioned in introduction.

*Set III: the analysis of the political regime, social structure, and industrialization. This corresponds to type E) as mentioned in introduction.

These three sets of factors overlap and are closely inter-related with each other.

*Overlap [1] of set I, set II and set III which means an integrated analysis of the main industrial structures is regarded as the most important basis of his studies.

*Set [2] means the study of "promoters of industrialization." This means, both the past and present study of the main promoters of industrialization, which is comprised of three parts; capital accumulation, formation of skills, and formation of wage labor and labor movements.

*Portion [3] focuses on the study of NAIC and NIES types of industrialization. Here, Suehiro discusses the characteristics of Thai industrialization, especially the turning point in the late 1980s, and the resulting provincial disparity and environmental problems caused by rapid economic growth during this period.

*Portion [4] signifies the study of the Thai developmental regime. Here he re-examined the meanings of "Pattana"(development) in the Thai context, and the characteristics of the "Thai" development regime and "Thai" democracy.

The three rectangles [5] indicate development of his interest in the study of Asian economies in the first half of the 1990s. Therefore there are these three main topics of research; the study of "the promoters of industrialization" in Asia from set I; the study of late-starting industrialization from set II; and, the study of Asian developmental regimes from set III. This corresponds to type F) as mentioned in introduction.
*Several other sets of relationships between A, B, and C can be shown besides the major series overlaps. For example,
*Overlap A of set[I] and set[II] provide an analysis of management reforms of Thai business groups and/or foreign direct investment in economic change after the late 1980s.
*Overlap B of set[II] and set[III] demonstrates the effects on "Thai" industrialization of developmental and economic policies.
*Overlap C of set[I] and set[III] shows the analysis of the formal and informal relationship between political elites and the business sector, involving concessions, and so on.
[APPENDIX B]

Kitahara [Ec076] explains "hai tham kin" and "hai dulee" as follows.

"Hai tham kin" is a custom in Thai village which means that parents rent some part of their land to their sons who already married and make the hardship of life, or make their sons cultivate their land.

"Hai dulee" is also a custom in Thai village which means that after children inherited lands from their parents, some children rent their land to other children and make them cultivate without any rent in many cases.
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(Toshiyuki Miyata)