

STATE OF THAI STUDIES IN JAPAN

សារណាយការរៀបចំនូវការជាអនុវត្តន៍កម្ពុជា

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The Thai Seminar of Japan

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PREFACE

This historical and bibliographic study guide has been published for the purpose of reviewing the state of Thai Studies in Japan by listing main works and commenting on the study trends in the disciplinary field concerned for the past 30-40 years.

Thai Studies in Japan has a pretty long history and has accumulated a store of academic fruits. But it is very difficult for the foreign researchers to approach or use them, because the greater part of papers and books on Thai Studies by Japanese researchers are written in Japanese(Nihongo) , a language most foreign researchers are not familiar with.

Considering its undesirable condition, "The Thai Seminar of Japan", a loose network between the researchers on Thai Studies in Japan and is changing into an academie association, planned and started the publication of this booklet by asking Prof.Onozawa,Masaki(Anthropology,Tsukuba University) and Prof.Suehiro,Akira(Economics, Tokyo University) for advice and by organizing the editting parties among its members. We hope earnestly that this book becomes an useful interface for the foreign specialists in this field to access the volumes of data on Thai Studies in Japan and have a good grasp of the individuality of its trends.

The book is divided roughly into nine parts according to the field of science with chapter I being the introductory or general comment to the rest of the book.

Finally, this book would never have come to be published if not for the financial support of The Sumitomo Foundation. We would like to thank them cordially.

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I .History of Thai Studies in Japan

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The following is a briefing of objective situations and indexes of Thai studies in Japan which has a history of a half century and has been developing into a new stage by participation of many young generation researchers.

1. Educational Institutions on Thai Studies

The Thai studies in Japan started on a full scale just after the World War , just in the same situation of all other Southeast Asian studies in Japan. The education of Thai language is a basis of area studies, and the opening of two Thai language courses at the national universities was the breakthrough of it.

In 1942 during the War, three students were sent by the Japanese government under the First Exchange Students Programm between Japan and Thailand. They were Mr.Toshio Kawabe in history, Mr.Takejiro Tomita in linguistics, and Mr.Yoshio Mori in medical science. After the War the first two students became the national university staffs and founded the Thai studies course at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and Osaka University of Foreign Studies respectively. Now the enrolled Thai course students are about 25 persons a year and the regular teaching staffs are three or four (Professor, Associate Professor, and Foreign Staff) for each University.

The third Thai language course has opened in 1992 at the faculty of foreign culture studies of private Tenri University by the leadership of Prof. Tomita who had retired from Osaka University of Foreign Studies. The numbers of students are 25 persons and the full staff are five at this moment.

From the 1980s it has been a fashion that many private universities, especially around Tokyo but all over the country too, opened their new faculty to offer the education on the field of the international relations and the area studies, usually named as "faculty of international relations" or "faculty of international and communication studies". Some of them staffed Thai studies specialists to fill a part of the wider specialities among them.

In the 1990s the graduate courses for development studies were opened at such national universities as Nagoya Uninversity, Kobe University, and Hiroshima University, supported by the ODE budget of the government, and they are teaching and training graduate students who are interested in development studies and international cooperation, including Thai cases. In near future a new type of practical and active researchers will be produced in a great number by these graduate courses.

2. Academic Institutions and Associations on Thai Studies

The founding of research institute and research center was another base to train Thai studies specialists.

In 1960, one semi-governmental research center, "Institute of Developing Economies" (IDE) was founded in Tokyo by the efforts of an influential academician, Dr. S.Tobata,

financially supported by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Following it, another research center, "the Center for Southeast Asia Studies" (CEAS) was founded at Kyoto University in 1965, by the efforts of a prominent Orientalist, Professor S.Iwamura, and the new center started the Thai research program at Khong Kaen (shared by K.Mizuno) and Songkhla (shared by T.Yano). In The third place "Institute for the Studies of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa" (ILCAA) was founded at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 1964, and it had staffed a few Thai studies specialists along with specialists for the other countries.

The establishments at almost the same time of these three institutes reflected the Japanese recovery of international relationship after the defeated War and her growing economic expansion into the third world, especially into Southeast Asian countries.

Beside these new institutions, such established institutes as "Institute of Oriental Culture" of Tokyo University (founded in 1941) also had a few Thai studies staff.

In this way the academic area studies specialists on Thailand, as well as other Southeast Asian countries, were just recruited by these new research institutes and centers in the 1960s on a full scale, and most active Thai specialists of the present time have been offered authorized academic chances to start their Thai studies or have been academically trained as the trainee staff there.

Around the middle of the 1960s, when these authors started their Thai studies, there were merely some ten or more proper Thai studies specialists all over the country; three for Kyoto University (Yoneo Ishii, Toru Yano, and Koichi Mizuno), three for Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Toshio Kawabe, Osamu Matsuyama, and Yasushi Nakajima), two for Osaka University of Foreign Studies (Takejiro Tomita and Toshiharu Yoshikawa), three senior staffs for IDE (Tadaharu Tanaka, Koichi Nonaka, and Takashi Tomosugi), one for Tokyo Fisheries University (Kenjiro Ichikawa), and two for Kyushu University (Tsuneo Ayabe and Yoshio Gondo). Therefore, we could enjoy a very monopolistically closed and familiar Thai studies specialist community.

The three university institutes, CEAS, ILCAA and IOC employed the eligible staffs who had finished the graduate course and had had some sufficient knowledges in their disciplines and specialized areas. The semi-governmental IDE, however, trained new undergraduate students as the trainees almost from the start. The philosophy of the founder, Dr.Tobata was that it was best to send the younger staffs to the concerned area for a few years, before training them by a particular discipline, and every year several younger staffs were sent to their specialized country for a few years after a short preliminary course, including the language and the basic knowledge. Dr.Tobata's philosophy appeared to be right for the pioneer stage of area studies in Japan. At present the situation has totally changed, and IDE herself also changed her policy to recruit the graduate students with special knowledges of their area.

In 1974 a new research institute, National Museum of Ethnology was established in Osaka by the efforts of the founder, Prof. T.Umesao, and a few Thai studies specialists of anthropology were staffed there. At present it seems to be the last chance to have any national research center staffed with some of proper Thai specialists.

In 1990, a loose network on Thai studies, named "The Thai Seminar of Japan" was organized for the first time by the appeal of these two authors, supported morally by, among others, both Prof. Ichikawa and Prof. Ishii, and some forty Thai specialists and trainees, most

of whom belonged to the younger generation, gathered at *gamagori* city, Aichi prefecture in August, for the first annual meeting. The timing was very good, as the number of Thai specialists had increased remarkably, and “a wider diffusion of scholars from specific universities and research centers out to academic institutions in the [other] various parts of Japan” had been made, as Hashimoto writes in his English survey paper [Hashimoto 1991:94]. In this year, 1996, the 7th annual meeting was held at Kyoto in the first of July and some sixty members joined to discuss about the topics on women and gender, development and NGO, and the trends of Thai studies in Japan, by inviting a Thai guest, Prof. Surichai Wun'gaeo.

We already organized an academic association covering all over the Southeast Asia areas, named “Japanese Association of Southeast Asia History” (Tonan Ajia Sigakukai), in 1970, and we have the present membership of 400 persons. The subjects of the society are not necessarily restricted to history, but cover the humanities and the social sciences. Now the specialists of each country are organizing the association of their country studies respectively, for instance, Vietnam, Indonesia, Myamma, Philippines and Thailand.

Another area studies association for more broader space of Asia, “Japan Association for Asian Political and Economic Studies” (Ajia Seikei Gakkai) was organized in 1953 to exchange views and discuss problems on political and economic fields of all over Asia. The present memberships count nearly 900 persons.

3. Popular Publication Basis for Thai Studies

When these writers began to study in the middle of the 1960s, they had to depend upon the dictionaries by Marry R. Haas and G.B. McFarland, because of the paucity of reliable Thai-Japanese dictionaries at that period.

The first complete Thai-Japanese dictionary was compiled by Okuno Kinzaburo, an old diplomat, during the World War, but his original manuscripts were burned unluckily by the US bombing of Osaka in 1945. Most of the test-printing copy of Okuno was, however, left unburned and it was reprinted in 1958[Okuno 1958]. Okuno was said to borrow its originality from McFarland, but it might not match the original one, and these authors did not refer to it so often except to the name of tropical plants.

The first and most reliable Thai-Japanese dictionary was published just in 1987 by Prof. Tomita[Tomita 1987]. A little problem is that it is not handy because of a big volume over 2000 pages. He is now editing a new Japanese-Thai dictionary. Prof. Matsuyama has published another Thai-Japanese dictionary in 1994 with rather handy type of 1300 pages[Matsuyama 1994], and he is also editing a new Japanese-Thai dictionary.

The popular cultural basis to support the academic Thai studies is also getting broader. There are a great number of private Thai language schools and classes in Tokyo, and several ones in Osaka, whose students are mostly college students, businessmen and young housewives.

Popular books on Thailand have been said to be the best-selling among the books of Southeast Asian countries in Japanese language, which have been attracting the wider range of interests by students and housewives. For instance, one of the best-selling books, *motto siritai tai: motto siritai sirizu* (“Thailand, More Want to Know” in “More Want to Know”

Series"), a guide for the common reader, with which these writers have been partly concerned, has been printed more than ten times since the first printing in 1982, in total more than ten thousand copies, and it was revised into a second edition of totally new style[Ayabe & Ishii 1995]. Another new popular guide book is *tai: ajia dokuhon series* ("Thailand" in "Asian Reading Series") [Onozawa 1994].

A popular encyclopediad, *tai no jiten* (Encyclopediad on Thailand) with 500 pages was also published in 1993 [Ishii & Yoshikawa 1993], and it is easy for the beginners and the non-specialists to get the basic and the first-hand knowleges in Japanese.

The volumes of academic style series on Southeast Asian studies, *koza tonan ajia gaku* (Southeast Asian Studies Series), were published by a general editor, Prof. T.Yano, with ten volumes and one appendix volume, during the years from 1990 to 1992[Yano et al 1990-1992]. Its appendix, *tonan ajia gaku nyumon* (Guide to Southeast Asian Studies) is a kind guide to the beginners. Tamada did his share of guide for Thai studies beginners[Tamada 1992: 262-273]. He listed up some ten Japanese introductory books for the beginners as well as the names of 36 Japanese researchers besides the best English books and the names of Western researchers.

A non-governmental friendship exchange club, "The Thai Club of Japan" was organized by the initiative of O.Akagi in Osaka in 1991 with the membership of more than several hundreds, and it is now opening the language and cooking courses for the younger and housewives members besides the regular projects with the emphasis on the cooperation of Thai culture presearvation.

4. Generation of Thai Studies Specialists

We can at least pick up three distinguished Thai specialists of the pre-war generation.

The first is a famous legal adviser, *Masao, Tokichi* in the fifth reign, who made a great contribution to the Penal Code of modern Thailand. Masao contributed a paper on a study of the Hindu origin of the ancient Thai laws in 1905 to JSS.

The second is *Gunji, Kiichi*, a dilettante diplomat, who firstly translated Wood's *History of Siam* and Wales' *Ancient Siamese Government* into Japanese. Gunji also wrote about several books on the Thai-Japan trading and diplomatic relations, depending on the historical sources of Mainland Japan and Okinawa (Rukyu) Islands.

The third is *Okuno, Kinzaburo*, who compiled the first complete Thai-Japanese dictionary, as we refered to it already.

The post-war generations had to start the Thai studies from the almost zero by founding the new Thai studies course in Tokyo and Osaka. It was the first breakthrough of the post-war Thai studies, and the founding of three institutes in the 1960 may have been the second stage. The third stage may be the very present when many educational and research institutions have been opened for the undergraduate and graduate students. Now there are some sixty active Thai specialists, as can be easily estimated by the participants of "The Thai Seminor of Japan"

We tentatively classify the post-war Thai studies specialists into four generations, just in the same way as these authors did at an open lecture of Chulalongkorn University in 1980(1).

The first are the pioneer generation Thai studies specialists who have offered such

educational infrastructures as Thai language course and dictionary for the following generations. They are, among others, Toshio Kawabe, Takejiro Tomita, Osamu Matsuyama, and Yasushi Nakajima. Generally speaking, their works are not necessarily academic in the pure sense. Their main efforts were rather concentrated to the basic arrangements of the linguistic education, and their contributions to the pure academic research are rather limited, but we cannot appreciate their leading roles for the following generation too much.

The second generation of Thai studies specialists are the first generation in terms of the pure academic research, and they are still very active in leading Thai studies in Japan(2). They were recruited and trained at the very time when Thai studies in Japan just began to be institutionalized at some research centers and universities. They belong to the first generation people who were offered chances of the field survey, but simultaneously they did not neglect the documentary sources. Their way of approaching is multi-disciplinary and holistic, if the main subject is confined to a special field, and it is also filled with general interest in history. It somehow contrasts to a rather discipline-oriented and a synchronic orientation by the younger generation.

The second generation are now approaching to the retiring age for the national university, more than sixty , and it seems that the leading academic role is just presently relayed to the third and the fourth generations.

The third are the generation to which these writers belong (3). Their ages are between fourty to middle fifty, and they are now getting the leading middle aged generation of Thai studies in Japan. In their young days, the older fifty were in the position of the academic trainee under the guidance of the second generation who had established the first Thai studies in Japan. The population of Thai specialists was still so limited that they could still enjoy monopolist positions in the institutions and their speciality. It was, however, difficult for them to stay in Thailand in their student days.

The older fifty were handicapped in their carriers by the younger fourty, who have already studied in Thailand as a part of their graduate program in Japan, and who are comparatively better in their Thai language ability as well as academic Thai native informations.

It is regrettable that the academic levels of most of this leading generation are not known in the Western World, because most of their works are written in Japanese except a few cases, as you may understand in the following papers for the respective discipline.

The last are the fourth generation specialists who have been lately trained as Thai specialists, and begun to get their academic positions(4). Most of them can fully compete with the second and the third generation in the field of their speciality.

First of all, the young fourth generation have increased tremendously in their number. Their exact numbers cannot be confirmed, but we may safely say they reach to some fourty to fifty persons, because "The Thai Seminar of Japan" is mainly supported by their participation. The big increase is mainly because many private universities have lately opened their new faculty or course on the interational relations and the area studies, and the number of graduate students has also increased accordingly.

Secondly, most of them have been enrolled and have studied at some Thai University as a part of their graduate course, supported by the government scholarship as well as private foundations. They can learn Thai language and can start their field survey from this occasion. Their language ability and academic knowledge have, therefore, improved remarkably.

The problem is that their academic positions will not be so monopolistic as the former elder generations because of the severe competition among the increasing Thai specialists.

In sum; we can observe the four tendencies for the generation difference. First, the younger their generation, the more disciplin-oriented are their works. It may be because their works have been evaluated not only in the closed Thai studies but also in each disciplinary circle.

Secondly, the younger their generation, the more specified to a particular region or problem are their works. The younger people are rather modest, and they do not so dare to tell about the general Thai society, as the former generation were apt to do, for instance, by merely depending upon a few case studies.

Thirdly, many of the young generation specialists, who are rather disciplin-oriented, prefer to go to the field to get data directly without sufficient background of documentary sources knowledge.

Fourthly, the younger generation are less interested in history than the former generation. Indeed there are such remarkable works by the young history specialists, as J.Koizumi, K.Kuroda, and H.Yamamoto, who make use of Thai primary sources, and some young political scientists, as M.Takahashi and H.Nagai, are also interested in History. The general interest in the history, which could be observed among the former generation, however, has become weaken.

The most hopeful fact is their great improvement in the ability of English as well as Thai language, supported partly by the growing experiences of studying in Western institutions. I hope they will be the first generation of Thai specialists in Japan, who are able to communicate well with the foreign researchers.

5. Examples of Survey on Thai Studies

There are some examples of research survey papers on Thai studies in Japan. There is an English paper, "Thai Research Trends in Japan: 1975-1990" by T.Hashimoto[1991:93-113]. It covers the long period and the broad field of history, society and politics in a thoughtfully condensed style within the limitation of 21 pages space. One mere weak point may be in the field of economy, but we can learn much for the other disciplines and fields.

Ajia Keizai (Asian Economy), a famous monthly Journals by IDE, has published special research survey issues many times, and these survey issue series, as a total, are the most systematic and most comprehensive examples at present.

The memorial No. 100 of the journal surveyed the developing countries studies in Japan, and T.Kawabe did his share of Thai studies in Japan until the 1960s[Kawabe 1969]. The works still proved too much general and the special Thai studies were very limited to those of some ten or so specialists in the 1960s.

The works of the 1970s were surveyed by A.Kitahara[1978:146-159] in the No. 200 of the journal (vol.19, No.1/2), and his survey paper was translated by Surichai Wun'gaeo into Thai in the journal, *jipun suksa* in 1978. He covered the field of Economic Development (General, Agriculture, Industry, Japan/Thai Relation), Social Structure/Culture, Politics /History, and Chinese Society, and listed 151 books and papers from 1970 to 1977.

The achievements of 1978-1985 were surveyed by M.Murashima and A.Suehiro[1986:212-218] in the No. 300 of *Ajia Keizai* (vol.27, No.9/10). They covered the wider field of Politics,

History, Economy/Industry/Management, Population/Labour/Society, Agriculture/Rural Society, and Religion/Ethnology, with the list of 90 books and papers.

The works from 1986 to 1994 were surveyed by S. Shigetomi and S. Higashi[1995: 150-163] in the No. 400. They covered the field of History, Politics, Economy, Rural Society, and Religion/Society/ Environment, and listed 148 books and papers.

The number of the above listed works does not necessarily exhaust all of the published books and papers. The real numbers of the works have increased year by year, and it has become a hard work for one or a few surveyors to select the best publications for their survey list.

The IDE also edited two volumes of readings on Southeast Asian studies (Volume Economy and Volume Politics/Society), which are the collection of selected passages of the screened old papers of *Ajia Keizai* (Asian Economies) Journals[Horii 1992; Yasunaka 1993]. Three and two papers on Thailand are respectively selected for each collection. The trends survey in the introductory part of each volume by each editor may be one of the best on Southeast Asian Studies of Japanese, but it is somehow biased to the works of IDE colleagues. The Editor, K. Horii, tabulated the numbers of the IDE publication on Thai Economy during 1960 and 1986 are 52 volumes, which counts about 20 % of all the 264 volumes on Southeast Asian Economy[Horii 1992:12].

6. Legacy of Thai Studies in Japan: in place of Conclusion

We have hitherto considered the objective conditions and the indexes which have fostered Thai studies in Japan for this half century in our rather simple style. Lastly, these authors would like to advocate how to make the best use of Thai studies legacy by Japanese.

Firstly, both Thailand and Japan are located in the periphery of the two great centers of Asian civilization, namely India and China. We share the same culture of "softness" and "looseness" in the sense that we do not necessarily adhere to the rigid principle of the two great civilizations, but that we often take a common pragmatic action based on the situationalism, even if J.F. Embree contrasted the Thai looseness with the Japanese tightness. Secondly, we have a similarity in the traditional culture of kinship and community, which might cover the wider area from Southeast Asia, South China Coast, Taiwan, Okinawa, and Mainland Japan.

A great ethnologist, *Yanagida, Kunio*, once tried to imagine the diffused rice route from Southeast Asia to Japan along this sea route. In these ways, we share the similar culture, and it is comparatively easier for us to understand the nature of Thai culture. The following are those examples.

Late Prof. K. Mizuno once advocated a famous concept of "Multi-Households Compound" (*yashikichi kyoju shudan*), at which most of the couples and the families of married children co-reside with their parents[Mizuno 1968]. This concept was reversedly used for clarifying the structure of Japanese family in the earlier Edo era[Sumi 1983].

Just lately a young scholar made an interesting research on the inheritance custom of even division type in Kagoshima of Southern Kyushu, and he advocated a hypothesis of similarity, originated from this custom of inheritance, in the loose and fluid structure of village community, covering the wider space from the Southern Kyushu to Okinawa Island and

Coastal South China, moreover as far as to Southeast Asia including Thailand[Sakane 1996].

We can enjoy such good examples of comparative studies in terms of the medium range, if we try to refine and use the best use of our abundant Thai studies legecy in Japan. These kinds of comparative tasks, based upon the advantage of cultural similarity, may be one of our strong fields, to which our Japanese Thai specialists can contribute.

[Notes]

(1) It is difficult to fix the criteria for dividing between the third and the fouth geneartion, but we can observe the generation difference between them. Here we tentatively use the simple index of age.

(2)The second geneartion are,above all, Tsuneo Ayabe (Anthropology) , Kenjiro Ichikawa (Political History), Shigeru Iijima (Anthropology) , Yoneo Ishii(History), [late] Koichi Mizuno (Sociology), Takashi Tomosugi (Social History). Tadaharu Tanaka (Political Sociology), Toru Yano (Political Science), and so on.

(3) The third geneartion are, for example, Osamu Akagi (Political Science), Hayao Fukui (Agronomy), Takashi Hashimoto (Political Science), Yukio Hayashi(Anthropology), Toshifumi Hirata(Pedagogy), Akiko Iijima (History), Yukio Ikemoto (Economics), Masato Kawamori (Political Science), Atsushi Kitahara (Sociology), Yuko Matusono (Sociology), Marasi Miyamoto (Thai Language), Mikio Mori (Folklore), Eiji Murashima (Political History), Yokuo Murata (Pedagogy), Masaki Onozawa (Anthropology), Hiroshi Sato (Thai Language), Yasuyuki Sato (Rural Sociology), Shin'ichi Shigetomi (Farm Economics), Akira Suehiro (Economics), Yoshihumi Tamada (Political Science), Shigeharu Tanabe (Anthropology), Yoko Tanese (Musicology),Koji Taniguchi (Economics),Toshio Tasaka (Economics), Hiroshi Tsujii (Agricultural Economics), Toshiharu Yoshikawa (History), Mikimasa Yoshida (Thai Ecomony), Akira Yoshino (Anthropology) and so on. Would you please forgive us of our careless mistakes of omitting some important persons?

(4)The fourth geneartion are, for instance, Yasuhito Asami (Political Sciences), Yuji Baba (Anthropology), Tsuruyo Funatsu (Sociology), Yoko Hayami (Anthropology), Shigeki Higashi (Farm Economics), Junzo Iida (History), Kumiko Kato (History), Masato Kawamori (Political Science), Junko Koizumu (History), Keiko Kuroda (History), Fumio Nagai (History), Ryoko Nishii (Sociology), Koji Nozu (Sociology of Buddhism), Noriyuki Suzuki (Sociology), Masaki Takahashi (Political Science), Yasuhisa Taniguchi (Anthropology), Hiroko Seki (Sociology), Yasuhiro Takai (Anthropology), Yoko Ueda (Economics), Hitoshi Yamada (Buddhism Studies), Hiroshi Yamamoto (Economic History) and so on. Would you also please forgiver us of the careless mistakes of omitting some important researchers?

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II .ANTHROPOLOGY

Baba,Yuji
Hayami,Yoko
Nishii,Ryoko
Sato,Tohru
Taniguchi,Yasuhisa
Yoshino,Akira

Anthropological Studies on Central Thailand

This section presents an overview of studies on Central Thailand. However, the ensuing bibliographical list also includes those studies that deal with Thailand in general.

Onozawa Masaki, Mori Mikio, and Moribe Hajime have been conducting research in Central Thailand since the 1970s. After an initial period of community studies, Onozawa's main topics of concern have been religious syncretism and the relationship between the nation state and religion. Based on his field research in a Central Thai village, Mori Mikio presented studies on the chao phou belief/cult. More recently, he has written on *lak muang* (the city pillar) among Tai peoples, based on extensive bibliographical studies. Reconsidering the "Great Tradition, Little Tradition" framework presented by Redfield, Moribe Hajime discusses ethnographies of Buddhism in peasant societies. Later, he conducted field research focusing on Buddhist temples in Thailand, and has since continued to present studies on temples and the activities of monks, from a historically informed point of view. Aoki Tamotsu provided much topic for discussion by his monograph on Thai Buddhism based on his experiences as an ordained monk. Some of his subsequent studies on Buddhist rituals came as offshoots of this monograph.

Prominent in the latter half of the 1980s is the urban anthropological study of Bangkok by Tomosugi Takashi. He develops a unique methodology in reading 'historical memory' into the urban scenery. His research has been primarily socioeconomic, and his studies have been compiled in a monograph publication. Another important theme in the study of Central Thailand is that of the Chinese minority, represented by Ichikawa Kenjiro. Yoshihara Kazuo's study of the urban Chinese religion (*dejiao*) in Bangkok is also a notable contribution.

Since the 1990s, there have been studies on the recent developments in Buddhism such as Hayashi Yukio's study on the relationship between development and kingship, and Fukushima Masato's study on the new Buddhist movements in the urban setting of Bangkok. There are also studies coming from young scholars who carried out research as students in Thai universities: Takahashi Miwa studies female ascetics (*mae chi*); and Oshima Arato studies the Mon with emphasis on ritual and identity.

Northern and Northeastern Thai societies and cultures have often been described as manifesting characteristics of particular Tai ethnic groups such as the Yuan or Lao. In the case of Central Thailand, however, there has been no conspicuous effort to situate Central Thai society and culture as specifically Siamese within the wider context of Tai ethnic groups. From the Northeastern or Northern perspective, the integration of Yuan or Lao cultures into Thai national culture has been an important issue. Such an issue has not been pursued for Central Thailand which has been at the privileged center of that national integration. Indeed,

many of the studies I have mentioned consider Thai society in general, without paying specific attention to ethnic or local diversities. The studies of Thai Buddhism as well as the arguments concerning loosely structured society all manifest such tendencies. In this respect, Tomosugi Takashi's monograph is a valuable contribution which addresses the local specificity of Central Thailand. Kitahara Atsushi's study of rural communities, too, provides valuable data on Central Thai villages, while his study itself is a sociological treatise that covers all of Thailand. These studies will be valuable from the comparative perspective of considering Siamese society.

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(Baba,Yuji)

Anthropological Studies on Northeast Thailand

In 1980, the year of its fiftieth anniversary, the Japanese Society of Ethnology edited and published a book titled *Ethnology in Japan from 1964 to 1983* 『日本の民族学1964～1983』. In this book, the significant trends in the study of continental Southeast Asia during this period were listed as follows:

- 1) increase in the number of researchers
- 2) the founding of a setup for systematic and methodological research and study by various research organizations
- 3) publication and reevaluation of previous works
- 4) internationalization of studies such as can be seen in the increasing number of joint researches that include researchers from the study locale
- 5) increasing concentration and bias in the areas chosen for research

The study of Northeastern Thailand follows this same basic trend, although due to recent changes in the political climate, there have been slight changes mainly concerning the fifth point. Since the lop-sided concentration of studies in certain regions is due mainly to the political situation surrounding continental Southeast Asia, the end of the cold war affected this area too, greatly expanding the region open for research. Henceforth, we may expect that studies will increase in regions which had been peripheral due to its inaccessibility, also enabling comparative studies between areas.

Furthermore, the wave of capitalist economy is also reaching the shores of these surrounding areas, and new issues involving development and tourism have emerged. Anthropological studies have tended, up until now, to focus more on less changeable aspects of society such as religion, festivals and rituals, while avoiding treating them in relation to the relatively changeable economic and political aspects. However, in the event of rapid social changes, religion and ritual have also been transforming. In turning our attention to such changes we must seek new viewpoints concerning social factors as the setting for religion and ritual.

The rapid changes in social structure today have been affecting the life world of those people living amidst these changes. It is becoming increasingly important to investigate the nature and dimension of these changes. Recent studies, to varying degrees reflect such recognition.

The significance of studies performed by outsiders also comes to be questioned. Now that the study by Thai people on their own culture is increasing, the very act of studying Thailand by Japanese scholars itself needs to be reconsidered.

I Social Structure

As we turn our attention to individual researches in Northeastern Thailand since the 1960s, the most conspicuous contribution from early years is Mizuno Koichi's study on rural society founded on substantial periods of fieldwork. His theory which seeks principles of kinship organization underlying social structure has been most influential in subsequent studies. Mizuno criticizes the concept of the loosely structured society (Embree, J.F. 1950) which had been frequently quoted as the concept well describing Thai society, saying that it confuses social structural characteristics with those of the personal level, and points out that there is a basic structure founded on a unique logic of human relationship. This is the network of dyadic relationships based on the individual, and the understanding of kin relationship that focuses on the relationship itself. Mizuno states that rural Thai society is founded on family types which are composed of such dyadic relationships.

In rural Thai villages, agricultural production is generally carried out by cooperation between kin related households. Children will not become independent immediately after marriage, but rather maintain a co-residential relationship with their parents, cultivating land together. In many cases, parent-daughter households co-reside as units of cooperative cultivation, and Mizuno named this "multihousehold compound". It has been questioned whether this group can be considered as fixed, since the group concept changes over time as the family cycle evolves. However, to this day, the concept is quoted frequently as one that aptly represents the family structure in Thai rural society.

Prominent among the studies on Northeastern Thailand, both in quality and volume,

are those related to the re-study of Don Daeng village (the same village studied by Mizuno in the 1960s) by a research group represented by Ishii Yoneo at the Kyoto University, Center for Southeast Asian Studies. This joint study was carried out twice from 1981 to 1983, funded by the Scientific Research Fund of the Ministry of Education (Overseas Academic Research: "Dynamic Study of Thai Village Structure: Twenty Years Later"). It was an earth-breaking attempt without precedent in that researchers of both natural and social sciences resided together in one village to perform a field study of rural life in Northeastern Thailand.

There were two stated purposes in this study.

- (1) Study of changes in rural life by comparing Don Daeng at the time of Mizuno's research and almost twenty years later.
- (2) Supplementary study on various areas of rural life, not yet fully researched by Mizuno.

However, the study did not stop there, but was rather planned as an integrative study with a wider perspective on the dynamic relationship between nature and society. Underlying the emergence of such a project was not only the inter-disciplinary nature of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, but also the conscious attempt to comprehend an area as an integrated whole. This idea which attempts to "view as one system the interrelationship between the major components constituting the whole" (Kuchiba 1990), considers culture and nature as each an autonomous system, yet seeks an interrelationship of these systems as elements constituting a larger whole.

Numerous reports came out of this joint research: Fukui (ed.) 1985; Fukui, Kaida and Kuchiba (eds.) 1983; Fukui, Kaida and Kuchiba (eds.) 1985; Fukui, Kaida and Kuchiba (eds.) 1985; and Kuchiba (ed.) 1990. Since the Don Daeng Project was an interdisciplinary study, we include in our list some sociological studies from the project.

While the Don Daeng project proved far more fruitful than the originally stated purpose of supplementing Mizuno's research and reconsidering his theory, discussion over Mizuno's theory continues to this day. Shigetomi's study seeks the formulating principle underlying cooperative cultivation by such groups as "multihousehold compounds" in socioeconomic factors. What makes his study more interesting is the fact that he considers this in relation to the changes that have been brought on to these formulating conditions by the economic development of the past thirty years (Shigetomi 1995).

In studies of rural society, we cannot fail to mention Kitahara's laborious work which considers rural Thai communities in historical perspective. While his main field location is Central Thailand, he also presents much basic sociological data based on field research in Northeastern Thailand (Kitahara 1990).

II Religion and Culture

The study of Thai culture cannot be carried out without considering it in relation to Buddhism. Yet, most of the studies had focused on the Central sangha, while it is only recently that studies on local and mass Buddhism on the level of practice have become a major subject. Consequently, there are only a few studies describing local Buddhism in Northeastern Thailand.

Representative of such studies is Ishii's contribution, discussing the role of the sangha in relation to kingship. Traditionally, kingship in Thailand has maintained its legitimacy as

protector of dhamma held by the sangha, the Buddhist monastic organization. This reciprocal power structure is the subject of his discussion, and descriptions from Northeastern Thailand are provided as comparative material (Ishii 1973, 1975).

The above complementarity of the power machinery between kingship and the sangha has great significance in the emergence of customary law. Such topics are studied by the joint research group (represented by Ishii Yoneo) on “the study of customary law in Southeast Asia”. Yoshikawa(1981, 1983)'s study of status systems and law in the former Lao kingdoms of Northeastern Thailand is an outcome of this joint research. His study throws light on Lao social norms in the past and traditional socio-political system through the reading of four kinds of ancient law.

Theravada Buddhism which is centered on the sangha, the monastic organization, generates a gap between the religious practices of ordained monks who follow the precepts, and those of lay Buddhists. The relationship between these two parties may seem quite distant, yet Ishii's view of the relationship as a mechanism of exchanging material goods with merit between lay Buddhists and the sangha opened a new horizon for subsequent studies.

Ethnographic description of the practical aspects of mass Buddhism in Northeast Thailand is presented in Mizuno's study of the functional system of religious rituals (1965). This deals mainly with the relationship between monks and ritual practitioners. Ishii studies Buddhist millenarian cults in Northeastern Thailand (1972, 1975).

Furthermore, Onozawa Masaki (1983)'s study of the tham khwan (*sukhwan*) ritual, adds further consideration to A.T. Kirsch (1967) and S.J. Tambiah (1970)'s studies by discussing them with respect to Ishii's ideas on dhamma, kingship and sangha, and revealing the dual structure of Thai Buddhism.

Hayashi Yukio attempts to situate ritual in social context by adding a dynamic perspective to the mass practice of Thai Buddhism (1989). Curing rites by spirit exorcism is representative of local beliefs. Yet *mo-tham* as presented here, is a lay ritual practitioner who has acquired technical knowledge of spirit exorcism through knowledge of Buddhist practices. Through his examination of curing rites by *mo-tham*, Hayashi describes the process by which Northeastern Thailand becomes drawn into the power structure of the Central government at the same time that the concept of guardian spirits in the village is replaced by Buddhist notions of power. According to Hayashi, such marginal persons as the ritual practitioners emerged in the grassroots- level conflict between Buddhism and local beliefs, so that it will be difficult to understand its actual condition through locally and temporally restricted studies. Thus, we can say that Hayashi's study is directed towards comparative study of religion and society in Theravada Buddhist societies including not only Thailand, but surrounding regions as well.

Recently, there have been some studies on the relationship between Buddhism and development, such as by Nozu, Shuen, and Sakurai.

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Anthropological Studies on Southern Thailand

I Introduction

Until this day, fieldwork on Southern Thailand by Japanese scholars have been few and far between. This resonates with the same tendency worldwide, that is to say, anthropologists doing research in Thailand are mostly drawn to the varied ethnic situation in the Northern hills. In this review of anthropological studies on Southern Thailand, I therefore include some studies by scholars from other disciplines who have contributed writings based

on fieldwork in the south.

The interest in Southern Thailand concentrates on the Muslim population near the border with Malaysia. However, if there is any such thing as Southern Thai culture in contrast to other areas of Thailand with their distinctive cultures such as the North or Northeast, the study of Southern Thailand must pay attention not only to the religious distinctiveness of Islam per se, but to the varied yet unique aspects of the South that has been historically formulated through the coexistence of Islam and Buddhism. In this respect, in Japan, the anthropological study of Southern Thailand has only just begun.

II From the 1960s to the 1970s

Reports based on fieldwork by Japanese scholars began to appear in the mid-1960s. The earliest of these came, not from an anthropologist, but by Yano, a political scientist. Atypically for a political scientist, Yano chose to work in Southeast Asia rather than in the West, and conducted fieldwork for eighteen months from 1964 to 1966 in Southern Thailand. His research was conducted in a Thai speaking Muslim village in Songklaa province. In accordance with the Central problem orientation in area studies at the time, he attempted a structural understanding of the village focusing on land economy as a case study for depicting a more general pattern of changes in Thai villages. Even though the topics of his case studies range widely from land tenure, the formulation of inter-marriage range, experience of extra-village residence, economic life, and the developmental history of rural communities, the underlying problem orientation is to seek some regularity in the developmental history of Thai rural communities through such uniquely Thai customs as *cap caung*.

In 1972, the first work on Southern Thailand by an anthropologist appears: Maruyama's study on the Muslim as a minority problem. He points out that since the Muslim population in Southern Thailand share a common culture with population across the border in Malaysia, we must take into account the historical background in dealing with the Muslim problem. Subsequent to his study, the Muslim separatist movement became active, and the problem began to attract much attention from political scientists and anthropologists. Maruyama's publication was a valuable contribution that paid early attention to this upcoming problem.

In the 1970s, there was another important article written on the Muslims in Thailand by an author whose discipline is outside anthropology. This is the contribution by the historian, Ishii Yoneo titled "A note on the 'Protector' of Islam in Thailand". This essay explicates that in the traditional designation of the Thai King as "the supreme protector of religion" (*akkhasaatsanupathamphok*), *saatsanaa* referred specifically to Buddhism. However, in the later constitution of 1932, it was reinterpreted to refer to all religions in the constitution of 1932, so that the King is now designated as the protector of all religions within the Thai nation rather than that of only Buddhism. Ishii's article provides a basic approach for considering the relationship between state and Muslim.

III Studies since the 1980s

Entering the 1980s, we finally begin to see reports on Southern Thailand coming from anthropologists. The first cluster is by Onozawa, four articles in 1985 and one in 1987, on Malay speaking Muslims mainly in Pattani and Narathiwat. These are based on two periods of fieldwork, from July to August in 1982 and from December 1983 to January 1984. In

"Rites of Passage and Views of Children in Southern Thai Muslim Societies" , he describes the rituals performed for a Muslim child from birth to adulthood. The others analyze the problem of state and Muslim in Thailand, through focus on religious education. While the state attempts to Thai-ize through education, the Malay Muslim for whom language itself is crucial to their religious identity, resists Thai language education. Furthermore, since Muslims hold Allah as their monotheistic deity and deny all priestly occupations, the designation of the King as patriarch of religion is unacceptable. Onozawa's works consider the paths which Malay Muslims in Buddhist Thailand with their distinctive language and religion can take, from the macro perspective of national policy.

In 1987 Hashimoto, a political scientist, published an article on the integration policy of Malay Muslims, based on fieldwork data gathered in Southern Thailand. He performed four months of fieldwork in 1983 in Narathiwat. He draws a concise outline of the historical processes that led to the present day problems on the Southern border, and argues that the Malay Muslim problem is the consequence not only of the government's intervention in religion and education, but also of a felt political and economic inequality as well as anticipation of crisis in everyday life.

Maruyama investigated and collected firsthand data on Muslim education in Pattani twice in 1987 and 1988, staying two months each time, and published his findings in his article "The Foundation of Forming Work Ethics in Muslim Communities of Southern Thailand" in 1989. At the time of his research, religious education was not formally given in primary level education. However, since 1991, Islamic education was initiated in five provinces in the South (the four provinces along the border and Sonklaa), demonstrating the trial and error process in the government's educational policy. Maruyama's perspective of considering Muslim education from the actual classroom is an important one that should be adopted in future studies.

In considering the Muslims in Southern Thailand, we must differentiate between the Malay speaking Muslims in Pattani along the eastern shore of the peninsula where Onozawa, Hashimoto, and Maruyama conducted research, and the Thai speaking Muslims on the western shore north of Pattani such as Sonklaa where Yano performed research. The Muslim separatist movements in Southern Thailand has mostly taken place in Malay speaking Muslim areas. The Muslims in Satun have always been politically non-problematic Islamic believers and model Thai nationals.

From 1987 to 1988, Nishii conducted research among Thai speaking Muslims in Satun Province for one year and four months. The initial purpose was to analyze why the difference in religion does not bring about political opposition on the western shore, and thereby consider ethnicity with focus on religion and language. The first piece written in 1989 discusses intermarriage between Muslims and Buddhists. There are more than twenty percent intermarriages between Muslims and Buddhists, and in this work, case studies are presented giving concrete examples of conflicts pertaining to religious identity and life. The 1991 article attempts to elucidate how the difference in religion affects village politics through the analysis of a recall movement of a Buddhist village headman by mostly Muslim villagers. Through pursuing in detail the recall movement which ended in failure, this work argues that the framework of Muslim vs. Buddhist employed by the leaders of the movement did not operate effectively, and discusses the underlying political situation of the village. The article in 1992 is based on two months' fieldwork in 1991 in Kedah, Malaysia, directly south of Satun. This is a

comparative discussion of the differences between Thai speaking Muslims in Thailand and Malaysia. Nishii will present a paper in the International Thai Studies Conference in October, 1996, in which she considers religion as practiced in the village in Satun, titled "Social Memory as it Emerges: a Consideration of the Death of a Young Convert on the West Coast in Southern Thailand". This is a reconsideration of the religious experiences of Muslims and Buddhists from everyday micro-level practices and discourse, based on the face to face interaction between Muslims and Buddhists. Paying attention to the fact that Muslims too explain their religious experience using the same Thai words that Buddhists use, this paper attempts to clarify the commonalities and differences in their religious conceptions.

Kuroda conducted research in a Thai speaking Muslim village in Kedah, Malaysia in 1991 and 1992 for two months each time, and performs historical analyses on the Thai-Malay relationship. She attempts to pursue the migration of Thai speakers in the political vacuum between Thailand and Malaysia (Samsam and Thai) from the village perspective.

Murakami has written an article on funerals in a Buddhist Southern Thai village, based on fieldwork in a Buddhist village in Narathiwat. However, this is not an attempt to depict something specifically Southern Thai, but rather to describe funerals as Thai Buddhist rituals.

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(Nishi,Ryoko)

Anthropological Studies on Northern Thailand

(including anthropological studies on various ethnic groups in Northern Thailand as well as on Tai ethnic groups in neighboring regions across the border)

I Studies on Tai Peoples

Full-scale anthropological study on the ethnic groups in Northern Thailand as well as on Tai population in neighboring regions began in the late 1950s. From 1957 to 1958, the Japanese Society of Ethnology 日本民族学協会 (the present 日本民族学会) sent a group of researchers in a project entitled: "Integrated Study of Southeast Asian Rice-Growing Peoples and Cultures" to conduct research in Thailand and Laos. Iwata Keiji, who participated in this project reported on his research on Lao villages in Laos, and provided a model for understanding changes in the social organization of the Tai peoples. Ayabe Tsuneo conducted a comparative study on Tai peoples in Laos and Northern Thailand,

Since the 1970s, Sugiyama Koichi, Tanabe Shigeharu, and Kajiwara Kageaki carried out research. Sugiyama studied rural communities in Northern and Central Thailand, and reported on social organization and ritual. Kajiwara also studied rural communities in the north with emphasis on ritual. From the 1970s until the mid 80s, Tanabe Shigeharu's study focused on the analysis of irrigation systems in Tai rural communities in Northern Thailand. Subsequently, his emphasis has shifted to ideology in spirit cults and rituals. Tanabe is a leading scholar of anthropological studies of Tai peoples in Japan, and his influence is not limited to Northern Thai studies. He has also compiled an annotated bibliography covering religious and ritual studies of the Tai peoples.

In the latter half of the 1980s, a younger generation of scholars entered the field: among the Northern Thai (*khon muang*) population, Takai Yasuhiro (social organization and ritual), Seki Hiroko (social organization), Kimura Shigeru (economy), Kato Yutaka (worldview), Sato Yasuyuki (social organization) and Christian Daniels (material culture); and among the Tai Lue, Baba Yuji (ritual and music) conducted research and have been publishing their results since the late 1980s.

Many of the studies on rural Thai villages focused on social organization, to build upon the foundation of rural community studies set by Mizuno Koichi for Central and Northeastern Thailand. These include many studies on village organization (Tanabe, Sugiyama, Sato, Takai), irrigation systems (Tanabe, Sugiyama), kinship organization (Sugiyama, Takai), family structure (Seki and others), village ritual (Tanabe, Sugiyama, Takai, Baba), economic structure (Kimura, Seki), and women's labor (Hirai). More recently, there has been rising interest in the study of rituals (Tanabe, Takai, Baba).

With respect to the Tai population in Sipsongpanna of Yunnan, Kaji Akira has continued research based on local chronicles and ethnographies since the 1960s. Recently, Hasegawa Kiyoshi has been presenting work based on field research in Yunnan Province.

Baba Yuji, too, has published an article on Tai musicians in Sipsongpanna, and also has been studying the migration of the Tai Lue from Sipsongpanna to Thailand.

II Study of the Hill Population

While Iwata Keiji did perform some research on Mien (Yao) villages in between his research on Lao villages in Laos, the substantial contribution to the research and study of the hill population in Thailand by Japanese scholars began with Iijima Shigeru's study on the Karen. Iijima conducted fieldwork among the Karen from 1963, and analysed the social and cultural changes among the minority ethnic group in the midst of national integration. Also in the mid-1960s, Obayashi Taryo investigated the economy, myths, and other aspects of Lawa and Karen. Later in the 1960s, Shiratori Yoshiro, Takemura Takuji, and others in the Sophia University research group on northwestern Thailand entered the hill areas in the north and accumulated ethnographic data. The group's main focus was the Mien (Yao). The leader of the group, Shiratori, analyzed migration history and ritual manuscripts of the Mien. Takemura also studied ethnic identity, social organization, mythology, and other topics on the Mien. In addition, he has reported on the patronymic naming system of the Akha, and became a leading figure among Japanese researchers of the Thai hill population. Other participants in the Sophia group have also published their findings, such as Higa Masao (social organization) and Tsunemi Jun-ichi (worldview, feng-shui). All of these came out in published form in the 1970s. From the 1970s to the 80s, Maeda Seiji performed legal anthropological studies on the Lawa, and published many articles in French.

Since the latter half of the 1980s, study of the hill population has been taken on by a younger generation of scholars. These are researches on Karen by Yoshimatsu (Yamamoto) Kumiko (ritual, worldview) and Hayami Yoko (religion, ethnicity, gender), the Mien (Yao) by Yoshino Akira (social organization, ritual), the Hmong by Furuie Harumi (ritual, ethnic relations), all of whom have continued to publish their findings since the 1990s. Since the 90s, Taniguchi Yasuhisa has been conducting research on the Hmong and Haw (cognition, social organization), Toyoda Mika on the Akha, and Ayabe Masao on the Lisu, and they also have begun to present their findings.

In the study of the hill population, ever since the earlier studies by Iwata and Iijima in the 50s and 60s, the major interest has been on the adaptation of the hill population towards the lowland Thai society, and the resultant social change, national integration and ethnicity (Iwata, Iijima, Takemura, Yoshino, Hayami, Furuie, Taniguchi, Ayabe and others). These same questions have become reformulated in the studies of tourism accompanying recent economic development in the north, and on social changes brought on by infiltration of the market economy (Ayabe, Toyoda and others). There has been a steady accumulation of ethnographic data on the social organization, ritual, mythology and other aspects of the hill population (Takemura, Shiratori, Tsunemi, Higa, Yoshimatsu, Yoshino, Hayami and others).

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III.Economy

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(Part 1) Trends of Studies on Thai Economy in Japan

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 a 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 its structure.

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.

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(PART 2)¹ Political Economy , Economic History, Agricultural and Rural Economy

I Political Economy

1 Introduction

This part is intended as a review on the studies on Thai economy in political economy perspective. Even though in the studies on Thai economies there is no exclusive school of political economy, there are important trends of studies on Thai economy from the view point of history, power structure, and social system, rather than by using methods of modern economics, such as macro economics or econometrics. Here, I will use the term "political economy" to refer to these trends.

These trends may be divided into "seven types in political economy perspective" as follows² ;[MAT1]

- A) analysis of the situations of economic development mentioning natural environment, history, political affairs, agriculture
- B) analysis of the historical formation and present state of industrial structures
- C) analysis of the historical formation of capitalist, engineer and labor who play crucial roles in industrialization
- D) analysis of distinctive features of Thai industrialization, such as NAIC (Newly Agro-Industrializing Country) or NIES(Newly Industrializing Economies) and of provincial economies and environmental problems under the rapid economic growth and globalization
- E) analysis of the developmental policies and the developmental thoughts of political leaders under Thai developmental regime
- F) analysis of characters of Thai industrialization, economic developmental regime and policy compared with those of other Asian countries.
- G) critics on neo-classical economic thoughts from the viewpoint of area studies on Thai economy

Main trend of the studies in the 1960s and the 1970s was in type A), although there were also some studies concerned with type B) or type C). In the 1980s, each type of the studies developed. Especially, type B), type C), and type D) have been made further by Prof. Akira Suehiro and others. In the early 1990s, type C), type D), type E), and type F) of the studies also has become more important trends than before.

This paper is composed of 3 sections ; (1)trends of the studies in political economy in the 1960s and the 1970s, (2)trends of the studies in political economy in the 1980s, (3)trends of the studies in political economy in the first half of the 1990s. In section (2) and (3), the achievements of Suehiro will be focused in particular.

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Akira Suehiro, Mr.Gen Endo, Mr. Fumio Nagai, and Ms. Akiko Iwata for helpful comments and criticisms. But I am solely responsible for any errors.

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 view points of Thai economy in Suehiro[Ec163] and Suehiro[Ec167].
[MAT1]

2 Trends of the Studies in Political Economy in the 1960s and 1970s

In 1960s, the main topics of Thai economic studies were economic affairs, especially the situations of economic development under General Sarit regime, and economic advances of Japanese companies, and so on. A typical research of type A) as mentioned above was Kitamura[Ec079], which examined general problems of economic development including analysis of natural environment, history, political affairs, and agriculture by specialists of each field. This work was a model of this type A) research. This book pointed out that Thai government adopted inactive economic and industrial policies.

There were researches on various economic affairs. Hunahasi[Ec014] showed the historical formation of wage labor and explained the labor law. Kato[Ec067] introduced monetary and fiscal situations and policies. Tamura[Ec183] pointed out serious problems of public companies in the new policy of foreign capital inducement, most of which had been established under Phibun regime. Nonaka[Ec115] analyzed the features of the encouraged industries. An intensive analysis of Japanese companies investments during this period by Kamiya[Ec065] also referred to the history of economic interaction between Thailand and Japan. In this decade, although these valuable general surveys were made on, what seem to be lacking was enough examination on relatively high economic growth during this period and various influences on Thai economy by the Vietnam War.

It was said that Thai economy came to the turning point in 1970s. The two aspects were both the end of the special procurement demands of the Vietnam War and the shift of industrialization from import substitution to export promotion. Most of economic studies concerned not only with these economic situations, but also with the investment conditions or the economic relationship with Japan after anti-Japan movements in 1972 and the Student Revolution in 1973, and agricultural economic change after the Green Revolution.

Shishido[Ec125], which was an important work of type A), discussed some problems of turning point of Thai economy, namely the difficulty in shifting to export promotion, the income inequality between industrial sector and agricultural sector and the situation of the Green Revolution, and the other problems of Japanese business's inroads and Japanese economic development aid. And Yoshioka[Ec242], which was published after the anti-Japanese Movements and the Student Revolution, was also one of typical studies of type A). This work included not only comprehensive surveys of economy, industrialization, natural environment, labor problems, society, and foreign development aid, but also analysis of the backgrounds of anti-Japanese movements and the ways for the normal economic relationship between Thai and Japan.

Several other interesting topics are referred here. Examining textile industry which was one of main industries in import substitution, Katano[Ec066] pointed out the importance of export competitiveness and Ogawa[Ec116] discussed problems about the transfer of production management. Suehiro[Ec126] explained main feature of Thai industrialization as import substituted industrialization depending on "import" of capital and intermediate goods through analyzing historical development of seven major textile groups and Japanese investment on textile industry. This was a pioneering work of his institutional and historical analysis of Thai economy and his theory of "economic agents of industrialization", which Suehiro would develop after the 1980s. Torii[Ec205] examined labor market by dividing into three sectors; agricultural sector, modern sector and his "urban indigenous" sector to raise an essential

criticism on the dualistic models of the Lewis-Ranis type, studying the case of Thonburi.

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

A special feature of the studies of Thai economy in the 1980s was the increase in those of not only type A) but also type B), type C), type D), and type G) as mentioned above. These kinds of the studies were based on analysis of various materials, historical documents, master thesis and other books in Thai language by the scholars or students who had made intensive or long-term research in Thailand. A series of achievements by Suehiro are the good examples. This section will mainly give an overview of his works.

3-A The studies on Thai economy of Suehiro [Overview]

Suehiro's main concern in his graduate school days at the University of Tokyo was "the studies on Modern Japanese Economy" and "the studies on Japanese Capitalism." Then he became interested in Asian, especially Thai Economy. Since then he has applied this kind of framework on Japanese economy to the study on Thai economy. At the same time, his researches have been based on exhaustive positive surveys on various main industrial structures by using a lot of materials and documents in Thai and English language.

Here is [Figure 1]: "Research Framework[Akira Suehiro]: The tripod structure of his Thai economic study and the development of his study to Asian Economy from the 1890s to the first half of the 1990s," which I summarize, shows the whole picture of the studies on Thai economy from the 1980s to the first half of the 1990s by Suehiro. This [Figure 1] is regarded as an useful framework to explain the trends of his studies. Three main trends indicated in [Figure 1] are as follows;

*Set I: the analysis of promoters of industrialization.

[See type C) as mentioned in introduction]

*Set II: the analysis of distinctive features of industrialization

[See type D) as mentioned in introduction]

*Set III: the analysis of political regime and social structure, and industrialization.

[See type E) as mentioned in introduction]

These three sets overlap and are closely related with each other as follows;

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

[See type B) as mentioned in introduction]

*Portion [2] means the study on "promoter of industrialization." This means the historical and present study focusing on the main promoters of industrialization, which is composed of three parts; capital accumulation, formation of skills, and formation of wage labor and labor movements.

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

*Portion [4] means the study on Thai developmental regime. This re-examines the meanings of "Pattana"(development) in Thai context, and the characteristics of "Thai" development regime and "Thai" democracy.

*Three rectangles [5] indicate development of his concerns to the studies on Asian economy in the first half of the 1990s. These mean three topics; the study of "promotor of industrialization" in Asia from set I, the study of late-starting industrialization from set II, and the study of Asian developmental regime from set III. [See type F) as mentioned in introduction]

*Three small overlaps A, B, and C can be also indicated besides overlap [1] in [Figure 1].

*Overlap A of set[I] and set[II] shows the analysis of management reforms of Thai business groups or foreign direct investment in economic change after the late 1980s.

*Overlap B of set[II] and set[III] indicates the analysis of 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 business sector, that is to say, the study on a side benefit economy or concessionary business and so on.

3-B The studies on Thai economy of Suehiro in the 1980s

Trends of his studies in this period can be divided into two groups. Trend (1) is the investigation on historical formation and present management reforms of business groups based on surveys of industrial structures. In [Figure 1], Overlap [1], Portion [2] and Overlap A designate trend (1). Trend (2) is the discussion on NAIC and NIES types of industrialization. Portion [3] and Overlap A in [Figure 1] designate this trend (2). The number of trend (1) works were more than that of trend (2).

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

Distinctively, the studies on main industrial structures include historical formation and current situation of business groups, and their management reforms of Thai business groups or foreign direct investment.

On textile industry which had been the main industry in the 1960s of import substitute industrialization and the 1970s of export oriented industrialization, Suehiro[Ec126] made intensive surveys in historical perspective of development of big seven business groups. In addition, Suehiro[Ec127] examined the vertical controls of the Japanese companies over this industry, unbalanced trade between Japan and Thailand and the background of the anti-Japan movements in the early 1970s. The comparative analysis of Thai textile industry with other southeast countries was made in Suehiro[Ec128][Ec133]. Suehiro[Ec130][Ec134] pointed out the difficulty in changing Thai electronics industry into export industry.

Suehiro[Ec131] investigated the Japanese business's strategies of the foreign investment on the electronics industry in Asian countries.

Suehiro[Ec135] was one of the most important works because of his emphasis on not Chinese management, but independent response of Thai capitals by investigating on Thai 24 business groups.

He carried out intensive examinations of agri-business. Suehiro[Ec137] made a historical analysis on rice business from the Bowring Treaty in 1855 to the Second World War. He acutely pointed out competitions and partial charge of rice business including domestic distribution, rice milling, export, shipping, and insurance between European merchants and Chinese merchants. Focusing on CP group which made a vertical integration of food, poultry

chicken farming, and export, Suehiro[Ec140] investigated on the rapid growth of agro-industry after the 1960s. Suehiro[Ec143] focused on Metro group which expanded the agri-business of cassava and tapioca after the 1960s. A survey on the changing foreign demand structure and export strategy of natural rubber was made in Suehiro[Ec144].

Suehiro[Ec147] examined the historical development and management reforms with the success of Bangkok Bank which is the biggest bank in southeast Asia.

The fruits of years of these positive and historical investigations were compiled into Suehiro[Ec136] as an occasional paper and Suehiro[Ec148] as a monograph published by the Center for East Asian Cultural Studies. By using the tripod structure of capitalist as the analytical framework, a close study was made on historical formation and structure of capitalists in Thailand and the present changing situations of various industries and business. This study on capital accumulation is an important part of a three-part series of his "Thai capitalism" composed of capital accumulation, historical formation of skills and technology, and historical formation of wage labor. And this kind of works were developed further to the study of "promotor of industrialization". Suehiro[Ec142] introduced the trends of "Chatthip School" and the school of political economy in Thailand which stimulated his research concerns.

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

Based on these positive studies, Suehiro and Yasuda[Ec141] acutely pointed out characteristics of Thai industrialization. Thai industrialization from the 1960s to the middle of the 1980s was regarded as the NAIC type. This kind of industrialization would be hoped as a unique strategy of Thailand, too. Since the rush of foreign investment in 1987, Thai economy has changed to NIES type. Suehiro[Ec145] made a close study on a new aspects of industrialization and investigated various types of Japanese investments.

About problems in the NIES type of economy, Suehiro[Ec146] argued how technology and skills could become firmly established in Thailand and pointed out neccesity of "industrial economist". Also, Suehiro[Ec150] examined overconcentration of the population and the economy, and serious traffic problems in Bangkok.

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

Trends of other studies in the 1980s are indroduced here. They may be divided into three types.

First, as the studies on the situations of economic development, there were several works. For examle, Yasuba[Ec237] discussed on dynamism of private sector after the 1970s and pointed out a promising possibility of labor intensive type of export oriented industrialization. Tujii[Ec209] showed his negative view on absorbing the labor surplus by the 1970s type of industrialization. [type A) as mentioned in Introduction]

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

As the analysis of provincial economic disparities and environmental problems under the rapid economic growth and globalization, works by Watanabe and Tasaka were valuable. Watanabe[Ec222] analyzed growing provincial disparities and internal mass migration to Bangkok area and Watanabe[Ec223] emphasized necessity of rising absorbency of employment at the modern sector by analysis of growing urban informal sector. Tasaka[Ec191][Ec192] pointed out various aspects of unbalanced economic growth, for example, low wage labor and forest destructions, and crisis of external debt burden. [type D) as mentioned in introduction]

Thirdly, as critics on neo-classical economic thoughts from the viewpoint of area studies on Thai economy, a series of works by Hara received much. Hara[Ec018] criticized on neo-classical developmental thoughts by analysis of Thai political and developmental regime. Hara[Ec019] criticized on neo-classical liberalized policies by the analysis of internal labor market and short-term contract employment in Thailand. Hara[Ec020] discussed cultural characteristics of Thai economy influenced by thoughts of Clifford Geertz. A close discussion on the dilemma of economic growth up to the middle of the 1980s was made from the critical view against neo-classical developmental thoughts in Hara[Ec021]. [type G) as mentioned in introduction]

4 Trends of the Studies in Political Economy in the 1980s

The studies on Thai economy in the first half of the 1990s mainly focused on the rapid economic growth and changes after the late 1980s. More attentions have been paid to provincial economy, environmental problems, and the characters of Thai economy in Asian perspective. [type F) and G) as mentioned in introduction]

4-A The studies on 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 on historical formation and present management reforms of business groups, especially after 1987. In [Figure 1], Overlap [1], Portion [2] and Overlap A designate this trend.

Trend (2) is the emphasis on the theoretical studies, such as the study on "promotor of industrialization" or "family business", the study on NIES type of industrialization, the study on Thai developmental regime, and the study in Asian perspective. Portion [2], Portion [3], Portion [4], Overlap A, Overlap B, Overlap C and three rectangles [5] in [Figure 1] designate this trend (2). In this period, trend (2) have been given more considerable weight in his study than trend (1).

(1) The investigation on historical formation and present management reforms of business groups, especially after 1987, based on surveys of industrial structures.

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

In the early 1990s, Suehiro and Nanbara[Ec157] made intensive surveys on historical formations and management reforms of main giant combines and big business groups in political, economic and social changes and explained characteristics of "family business." This was a close and comprehensive work covering main industries including banking, commerce,

agri-business and heavy chemical industry. Suehiro[Ec158] also examined capitalist development of commercial bankers, industrial elites and agri-business groups.

There were also positive surveys on several industries. Suehiro[Ec153] made a detailed research on historical development and management reforms after 1970s of Siam Cement group which was based on heavy chemical industry and was the biggest business group in Thailand. He pointed out that this group developed its diversified business with success, but on the other hand, it had some problems with exporting , R&D. Suehiro[Ec160] examined historical formation and management reforms of Bangkok Bank group and especially focused on a transition to "collective leadership" system.

An intensive study on a rapid growth industry of telecommunication was made in Suehiro[Ec173]. This made a case study of Shinawatra group, which have attracted a great deal of attention as a new promotor of industrialization. He examined the effects of its new business strategy, such as the adoption of "concession way" and "strategic business cooperation", and the promotion of technological specialists.

Suehiro[Ec169] made not only a comprehensive survey on ownership, management, sales and business strategies of multi-national enterprises by using the most up-to-date data, but also a close analysis of economic control over and impact on Thai economy by multi-national enterprise, and cooperation and rivalry with Thai capitalists.

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

Suehiro[Ec167] summarized his five major issues to discuss the state and theme of the 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) power structure and Sakdina economy, and 5) development and environmental problems. He emphasized on neccesity to study the present rapid changes of the Thai economy from these historical and institutional views. In this section, his studies with these concerns can be devided into three trends in this section as follows.

First, the study of "promotor of industrialization" (set I in [Figure 1]) was his main analytical viewpoint to study Thai or Asian indusutrialization. This has been developed into the study of "family business" and the study of "social ability of industrialization". Suehiro and Nanbara[Ec157], as mentioned above, was a fine monument of the study of "promotor of industrialization" and "family business." Suehiro[Ec154][Ec155][Ec161][Ec164] demostrated to apply his study of "promotor of industrialization" and "family business" to the discussion on Asian industrialization or late-starting industrialization, by his detailed surveys on Thai capitalists.

Suehiro[Ec171] was a valuable work to describe clearly the study of "social ability of industrialization." This ability was classified into three main types, such as, 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 expert, and production control sysytem.

The skill formation, as the LT ability, was also one important topic of the study of "promotor of industrialization." Suehiro[Ec176] was a precious work about this topic which

examined historical skill formation of railway industry before the Second World War, by using personal funeral books of technical experts, many articles in the weekly newspaper, *Bangkok Times*, and so on. He made not only a detailed investigation on the history of development of railway, personal histories of technical experts and the import of railway technology, but also discussed the backgrounds of difficulties in the technology transfer from the West to Thailand, from an socio-economic viewpoint.

Secondly, Suehiro[Ec151] explained main characteristic of NIES type of industrialization. The point was that Thailand became an international base for export processing industry in this dramatic economic changes. On the other hand, Suehiro[Ec166] pointed out the negative aspects of industrialization, especially which were caused by agribusiness, such as the destruction of the environment, the friction among residents, and the 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 to examine the social and political causes of these negative aspects.

Thirdly, Suehiro[Ec152] analyzed the history of Thai "developmental" regime and that of Thai economic thoughts. In the first place, he explained about the characteristics of the developmental regime and economic polices from "Rattaniyom" in the Phibun regime, "Pattana" in the Sarit regime, the turningpoint to economic oriented polices in the 1970s, to the period of industrialism in the 1980s. Furthermore, Praya Suriyanuwatra's economic thoughts was analyzed.

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

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

He showed deep interest not only in Thai economy, but also in the Southeast Asian economy(Suehiro[Ec159]). In the 1950s and the 1960s, Southeast Asia was the place of dispatching new thoughts, such as anti-colonialism, nonalignment. Now, however, Southeast Asia is discussed predominantly in only economic context of industrialization, investment. He argued that not from these one-side viewpoints, the independent responses of Southeast Asian countries to the international changeable circumstances should be more emphasized and analyzed. Suehiro[Ec168] took up the study of the so-called "developmental dictatorship" in Asian countries. An extensive discussion was made about various meanings of both "development" and "dictatorship" in not only Thai context, but also other Asian contexts. He emphasized on the importance of the intensive studies on "developmental regime."

4-B Other trends of studies on Thai economy in the first half of the 1990s

A characteristic of trends of other studies in the first half of the 1990s is a

diversification of the studies on socio-economic changes in the NIES type of industrialization, such as provincial economy, provincial desparity, and environmental problems. Especially, notable researches were also made on provincial businessmen and provincial economies. [type D] as mentioned in introduction]

Akagi and Kitahara[Ec001] was one of the most valuable positive studies on socio-economic changes in rural areas based on intensive field research in Southeast Thailand. A notable point of this research was a comprehensive study on socio-economic transformation in both new industrial zones and agricultural villages.

Other surveys on provincial economies have been also made during this period. Ueda[Ec219] and Ueda[Ec220] contain the results of her researches on Nakhonrachasima. Endo[Ec005] analyzed causes of population growth in Chiangmai Province and the roles of Chiangmai in Northern Thailand. After his field research of several years in Chiangmai, Endo[Ec006] compiled the fruits of positive study on historical formation of provincial businessmen and the present situation by making interviews and analyzing the documents and the articles of *Phujatkan* and others. Endo[Ec007] gave a clear summary to the arguments of "Jao Pho" and re-examined critically these by analyzing independent responses of provincial businessmen to the recent rapid economic changes. Watanabe[Ec224] showed a big difference of rural employment between in rainy season and in dry season. Also, she examined the way of stable employment in agricultural area.

Tasaka has made various notable studies on problems in the rapid economic growth, such as labor problems in Tasaka[Ec194], forest destruction and environmental problems in Tasaka[Ec193] and [Ec195]. Lately, he made intensive surveys on financial sector after the financial reforms after the early 1990s in Tasaka[Ec196], [Ec197],[Ec198],[Ec199], and [Ec200].

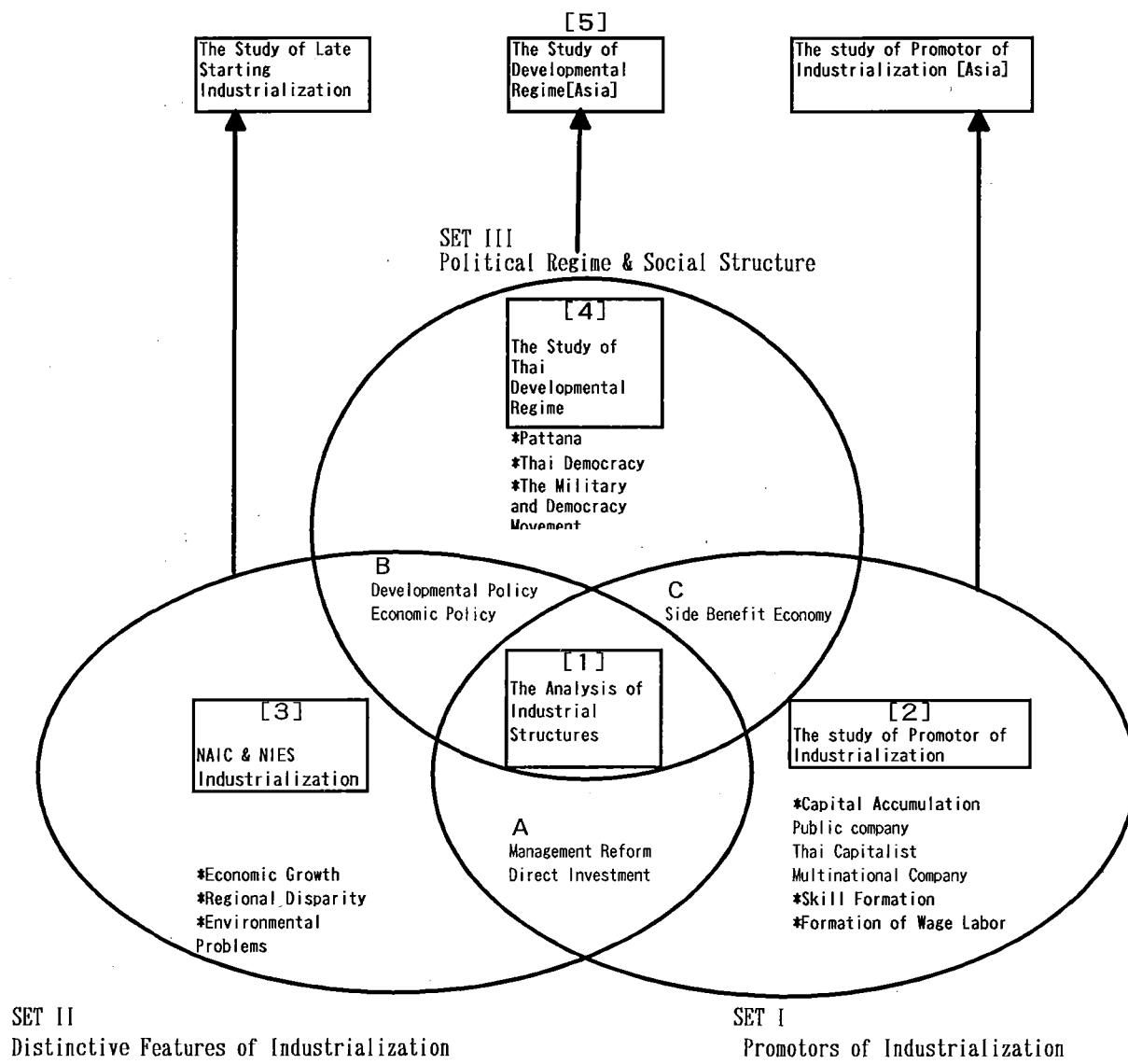
Asami[Ec002] made an examination on Thai liberal corporatism of Anek Laothamatas in comparison with the study on "revised" bureaucratic polity by Chai-anan Samudavanija, and discussed the relationship between state and business sector in a state of transition. Hara[Ec024] analyzed the developmental polices and social responses to them in Southeast Asia, and tried to criticize neo-classical economics by integrating the area studies with the developmental economics.

(Miyata,Toshiyuki)

[Figure 1] 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 first half of the 1990s



[By Toshiyuki Miyata]

II Economic History

The studies on Thai economic history in Japan have been made by not only economists, but also historians, geographers, and so on. I will introduce these studies which can be divided into four types as follows.

(1) the studies by economists can be classified into three topics. The first topic discusses the capital accumulation and the historical formation of skills which are important parts of the study of "promoter of industrialization" by Akira Suehiro, and the historical study of European merchants by Toshiyuki Miyata.

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

Suehiro[Ec176] was extremely valuable as the intensive historical survey on railway industry and the history of skill and technical formation in Thailand, by collecting the historical documents at archives in Germany and Thailand. He presented the statistics of finance and construction costs and the lists of Thai and foreign technical experts including their detailed personal history. It contained the comprehensive chronological table from 1856 to 1941, covering the detailed facts concerning railway industry with newspaper, *the Bangkok Times* and some precious diaries.

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

The second topic is on the history of economic policy by Makoto Nanbara and Yukio Ikemoto. Nanbara[Ec113] analyzed Phra Sarasa's economic policy and thought in the 1930s, while Ikemoto[Ec043] discussed the King Rama IV's policy and thoughts as the liberal and mercantile correspondence to the economic environment in the middle of the 19th century.

The third topic is on the industrial history by Yoko Ueda, Hiroshi Yamamoto, and Akira Sugawara. Ueda[Ec217] analyzed the rice milling industry in Bangkok in the late 19th century as the initial industrialization. Yamamoto[Ec223] discussed the trade expansion before opening the country in the 19th century. The independent reactions of the ruling classes to it were discussed with regards to the investment on the sugar industry. Sugawara[Ec177] examined the situation of the domestic textile market in the 19th century and pointed out the transition of the import from Asia to the Great Britain after the Bowring Treaty.

(2) historians and political scientists study based on the examinations of the historical Chinese and Thai books and documents. The works are classified into five topics.

The first topic is the study of "port polity" of Ayutthaya by Yoneo Ishii. Ishii[Ec049] was the initial work to analyze the Ayutthaya dynasty not as an oriental despotic state, but as

a trade state ruled by the merchant king. In 1990s, the series of his studies on "port polity" of Ayutthaya have been published. Then, Ishii[Ec050] and Ishii[Ec053] made intensive examinations on the monopolistic trade controlled by the merchant king, such as the monopolistic purchase of goods from the Bengal Bay trade and the South China Sea trade, the trade at the monopolistic prices. Ishii [Ec054], who is affected by Fernand Braudel's Mediterranean (The Mediterranean Sea), discussed the new type of history from a maritime viewpoint, with regards to Southeast Asia, especially by examining the characteristic of the "port-polity" of Ayutthaya.

The second topic is the trade history by Misako Takasaki. Takasaki[Ec179] analyzed the history of rice trade between the Qing dynasty and Siam in the 18th century, based on the historical Chinese documents, 『清実録』, 『明清史料』. Particularly, it was examined that the Chinese merchants in Siam and the Royal Household had an intimate relationship in the monopolistic trade and the tributary trade. The nature of the Siamese Kings was shown as the merchant king. Her work is still one of the most valuable studies on the trade history of the 18th century.

The third one is the history of regional economy by Junko Koizumi. Koizumi has made positive studies on the political system and local economies in the 19th century, utilizing firsthand historical documents in the national library and the national archives of Thailand.

Koizumi[Ec080] analyzed the commercial activities of the Kula or the Tongsoo at the end of the 19th century, who had move around Burma and Northeastern Thailand. At that time, Northeastern Thailand had an open trade network. Koizumi[Ec081] examined the relationship between the king and the local powers by making a close historical survey on "Suai" in Northeastern Thailand in the middle of the 19th century. Koizumi[Ec082] examined the administration of Nakhon Ratchasima by investigating the imposition of "Suai" in the middle of the 19th century. It also pointed out the weakness of the central ruling power to the local powers in the control over "Phrai". Koizumi[Ec083] discussed the indirect control of the King over local powers. Koizumi [Ec084] researched the change of taxation and duties imposed on the local principalities and the people through the Chakri Reform from the late 19th century to the early 20th century.

The fourth one is the history of overseas Chinese by Takeshi Hamashita. Hamashita[Ec015] gave an intensive and comprehensive historical overview of the trade, the business, and the migration of overseas Chinese, especially Chao-Zhou group from the 17th century to the early 20th century. This analysis, which focused on the Chinese remittance and their trade networks among Amoy, Hong Kong and Bangkok was an indispensable work to understand Thai economy from the viewpoint of the wide networks in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea.

The fifth one is the historical study on the finance of the royal household by Fumio Nagai. Nagai[Ec107] examined the independent response of Siam to the new circumstances before and after the Bowring Treaty in the middle of the 19 th century. He examined the background of this response retrospective especially to the reforms of trade and tax systems in the period of the King Rama III.

(3) the studies economic geography and the land system in historical perspective can be divided into 4 topics. There were the history 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[Ec184][Ec185] examined the historical development of canal system from the Ayutthaya dynasty to the late 19th century, by using the valuable historical documents such as *Phraratcha Phongsawadan*, *Prachum Kotmai Pracham Sok*, and so on.

Suehiro[Ec150] summarized the history of the city formation of Bangkok in the 19th century, focusing on the construction of canals and roads. Kakizaki[Ec063] pointed out that the main transportation before 1932 had been railway, and that road had taken merely supplementary role. Since 1912, the road construction has been handled by the Department of Road, but the construction of trunk roads from Bangkok to the local areas had not been made before 1932.

A series of works on land system by Kitahara was made very dynamically in the 1970s. His positive detailed works have been still valuable. Kitahara[Ec071] made the detailed historical analysis of the land tax reform in the context of fiscal reform from the mid 19th century to the early 20th century. Kitahara[Ec073] also made the intensive historical analysis of the special committee of land court in the late 19th century. Kitahara[Ec072] made the further analysis of land tenure in the Ayutthayan period by re-examining the text of the Three Seals Law.

(4)the study on the history of Thai-Japanese economic relationship in the 1950s and the 1960s was made by Akira Suehiro. Suehiro[Ec172] regarded that the real turning point of the Japanese economic inroads to Southeast Asia was in 1965. He emphasized that the progress of this Japanese inroads, however, was attributed mainly to the formation of the developmental regimes in Southeast Asia, targeting the economic development, the national integration, and the anti-communism.

Finally, further studies on the economic history are needed from the three approaches; (1)the more positive studies on economic history using firsthand materials in the 18th century and the 19th century

(2)the more positive studies on economic history from the 1920s to the 1930s

(3)the re-examination of Thai economic history from the viewpoints of the modern intra Asian trade, and of the Asian network.

(Miyata,Toshiyuki)

III Agricultural and Rural Economy

1. Agricultural Economy

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

A key to comprehend agricultural economy in Thailand is to know its natural environment of as a whole and development of the Delta area. From this point of view, Takaya[Ec180] is a good reference to read. In the 1960s, the traditional export goods such as rice, tin, rubber and teak took 70% of total amount of export and rice alone took 30% of the total. Hasegawa[Ec027] pointed out the importance of rice economy and it examined holistical geography, water supply, technology of rice farming, distribution and export. This work with a wide range of contents is the essential one for rice economic study. Motooka[Ec104] also analyzed the situation of agriculture until the early 1960s and pointed the importance of a gradual progress of diversification.

In 1970s, products of rice increased and the rice exports maintained 15% of the total export. An analysis of production function by Tsujii [Ec206] summarized that the Green Revolution in Thailand did not introduce new rice breeds, but made a development of the irrigation system and increase the use of fertilizers and tractors. Tsujii [Ec207] made a detail explanation on the Rice Premium System. Nakajima [Ec112] examined also the economic equilibrium by an analysis of 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 the 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 the new agricultural products such as corn, cassava, sugar cane had increased up to 30~40% of the total export. The agricultural diversification had advanced against the background of a primary goods boom which was caused by oil crisis. Surprisingly, planting these agricultural products had spread over the North-eastern Thailand and Western Thailand where it had been regarded as inappropriate to raise rice. Yokokura[Ec239] has examined these diversification totally. Then, Taniguchi[Ec187] analyzed the regional distribution of these products as a further study. Tsuji[Ec208] analyzed several aspects of the influence by oil crisis in the 1970s. Hasegawa[Ec029] pointed out the important location of Thailand in the world rice trade by giving 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 products boom was cooling down, the export of these new products declined progressively. At this period, however, along the expansion of agricultural technocrat ,and the promoting policy of agro-industry, the export of agro-industrial products such as broilers, tuna, shrimps had increased rapidly from 3% of the total export in the 1970s to more than 10% in the 1980s. Agro-industry is well-described by Suehiro [Ec140], [Ec143], [Ec144], and Sigitomi[Ec117].

The turning point of agriculture in the 1980s was analyzed by Hara [Ec023], he viewing the relation between agricultural diversification and differentiation of rice farm. Tsuji mentioned about the Thai rice export features in the world-wide over-production of rice by focusing on the competition with U.S.A. In the process of these economic social changes, Tomosugi felt the necessity of the study of local small markets from the economic and cultural

pointviews(Tomosugi:[Ec204]). Hasegawa [Ec030], [Ec031] described the agricultural history with the rural life, the development of farming, and the destruction of forests.

The rapid industrialization of the late 1980s made the export of the agro-industry products increase steadily. In the early 1990, the export amount of these products exceeded that of the traditional 4 products. It increased three times as much as that of the middle of the 1980s. This point could be referred to by Suehiro[1993]. The reorganization of agricultural sector as a whole was explained by Yamamoto[Ec231]. Tsujii[Ec212], on the other hand examined the importance of the agricultural sector from the social life point of view, employment and food-security. Although Thailand had been leading rice-producing and exporting country, the portion of rice export of the total export was less than 5% in the early 1990s. This topic was examined further by Kamegai[Ec064]. Hasegawa[Ec032] also made an intensive study on this. Tsujii[Ec213] analyzed the state of Thai rice economy under the circumstances of opening rice market in Japan and of keen competitions in the world rice market. After the urgent rice import to Japan in 1994, Tsujii[Ec214] explained the present situation of Thai rice economy and Higashi[Ec033] examined the price fluctuation of the Thai rice in this period.

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

2. Rural Economy

In the 1960s and the 1970s, Koichi Mizuno, Takashi Tomosugi and Tadaharu Tanaka made the intensive field researches of village societies by themselves. Recently, the joint researches by the researchers who have various specialties, such as natural ecology, agriculture, sociology, and anthropology have increased greatly in number.

The typical contributions have been made by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies(CSEAS) in Kyoto University. Mizuno [Ec102] beared the fruits of years of his field study, and published by his colleagues dedicated to the memory of the late Prof. Kouichi Mizuno. His work had done in Don Daeng village the achievements of his field researches on rice producing, farming, land ownership, its inheritance, and income. Mizuno [Ec101] also investigated the influences of industrialization and the changes of Om Noi village in Samut Saakon province. In the 1980s, the joint research of CSEAS has done in Don Daeng village by the researchers of natural ecology, agriculture, sociology and anthropology. This project aimed to compare the present situation with what Mizuno used to describe, and to examine further responses of the villagers to a new economic changes. Fukui[Ec008][Ec009] made an agricultural and ecological survey on this village, and Kuchiba(ed.)[Ec090] also carried out some sociological and anthropological investigation of this village.

After this researches, Fukui and his colleagues made their research in other parts of the Northeast, especially Yasothon province. Number of surveys have been made on various aspects of the 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 the comparison of rice producing and migration of work in three villages, Nakada[Ec109] on rice surpluses and work migration, and Fukui[Ec010] on the change of agricultural structure and environment. In 1996, these field research works from the viewpoint of agricultural changes in North-Eastern Thailand were compiled into Fukui [Ec012]. Ikemoto [Ec044] examined the expansion in cottage industry of triangle pillow.

Takashi Tomosugi, who is one of the pioneers in the rural studies, has been conducting researches from his unique sociological and anthropological views, mostly in the Central and Northern Thailand. He made following achievements; Tomosugi[Ec201] surveyed on farm-household economy in the Central Thailand. Tomosugi[Ec202] made an examination of economic history of Delta area in the context of three elements of "labor accumulation", (labor power, land, capital). Tomosugi[Ec203] made an analysis of the change of wage works in the 1970s. Yamada, Hara, Kano, Tanaka, and Fukui [Ec230] summarized the economic changes of rice farming village in the Central Thailand in the early 1980's and gave empirical data as to economic aspects of rural society .

Osamu Akagi, Atsushi Kitahara, Toshio Tasaka and their colleagues have made notable, intensive and comprehensive field researches in the villages, and analyzed the differentiation of farmers, the formation of wage labor, the rent of farm land and the inheritance, especially in the perspective of political economy and Marxian economics. The notable results of their joint works could be found in Kitahara (ed.) [Ec075] and Akagi and Kitahara (eds.) [Ec001] in the Northeastern Thailand and the industrializing Southeastern Thailand. Kitahara analyzed economic structure of rice agriculture in the context of land and labor distribution[Ec070]. Kitahara[Ec074] made sociological analysis on the formation of "compound" and its change. Kitahara[Ec077] was the detailed accomplishment of his works. Tasaka[Ec194] examined the differentiation of farmers from the 1970s of the Green revolution to the 1980s. In the late 1980s, a controversy on land ownership, inheritance, rent, and joint management between parents and children, or among brothers and sisters was held among some scholars; 1) Miyazaki[Ec098] emphasized on joint management, 2) On the other hand, Tasaka[Ec190] doubted the explanation of Miyazaki by pointing out "hai tham kin" between parents and children, and "hai dulee" or tenancy among brothers and sisters, 3) Miyazaki[Ec099] showed intensive empirical data on the joint management against Tasaka, 4) Kitahara[Ec076] also criticized the interpretation of Miyazaki especially about the joint management after the inheritance.

Shigetomi who is a researcher of IDE has also made empirical analysis of rural economies. Recently his works provide acute discussions of participatory rural development. Shigetomi[Ec119] made an investigation on agricultural census and gave an overview of the arguments on the differentiation of the farmers. Shigetomi[Ec121][Ec122]examined the conditions to make "the functional organization" for the participatory rural development, based on the empirical field researches.

(Miyata,Toshiyuki)

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Introduction

In this paper, I will try to overview the trends in educational studies in Thailand conducted from 1960's to 1990's. To prepare for this paper, I referred to the following bibliographical sources mainly:

*Data Base of Japan Comparative Education Society (RICE)

*Bulletins of Japan Comparative Education Society No.1-22 *Research Bulletins of the Research Institute of Comparative Education and Culture, Kyushu University

*Research Bulletins of the Comparative and International Education, the School of Comparative Education Studies, Univ. of Tsukuba

*Lists of Educational Books and Papers: the Present Situation and Issues of Asian and African Studies in Japan, The Association of Asian and African Studies, 1966

Among the researches of the education in Thailand done during 1960's and 1990's, I selected about 120 studies which had been indicated in the list shown below. I will explain the main study trend divided into the three periods; 1960's and the first half of 1970's, the latter half of 1970's-the first half of 1980's, and the latter half of 1980's-present.

Finally I have described the characteristics and issues of Thai Educational Studies which have been found through this analysis of the studies.

In writing this paper Mr. Nozu, Takashi, Assoc. Prof. of Saitama College, has helped me very much in providing information and ideas.

1. Trend of Educational Studies:1960's-the First Half of 1970's

In the latter part of 1960's and the first half of 1970's the educational studies had been carried out mostly by two institutions. They are the Research Institute of Comparative Education and Culture, Kyushu University and the National Institute for Educational Research, Tokyo. In the beginning of 1960's some staff of the Research Institute of Comparative Education and Culture, Kyushu University had conducted field surveys of rural education focusing on Buddhism Education. The study results were shown in the papers of Mr. Ayabe, Tsuneo(No.016), Mr. Ushijima, Yoshitomo(No.118), and Mr. Gondo, Yoshio(No.020,021,022).

Mr. Ino, Masato analyzed the textbook of lower secondary school from the view of Buddhism thought in Thailand(No.048). Mr. Ohshima, Mamoru wrote the history of educational modernization related to Thai Buddhism(No.099). He focused the role of temples and monks in the development of Thai modern education. The period concerned was during 1830-1920 when the modern education was started and the compulsory education system was established. Mr. Ayabe, Tsuneo made a functional analysis of Temple(Wat) Committee and

School Committee based on the results of rural survey(No.018). The other studies were done by Mr. Arai, Ikuo, the research member of the NIER(National Institute for Educational Research). His interest was in the relation- ship between national plan of economic development and school education. He also studied statistical analysis of educational development including wastage study in Thai primary schools(No.010,011).

In Thailand the Government established the First Five Year National Plan of Economic Development for 1961- 1966. The Second National Plan was continued for 1967-1971. In the field of education according to the nationaleducation plan the compulsory primary education was extended from 4 years to 7 years in 1960. However, most of the children in rural areas finished primary education after receiving it for four years.

2. The Trend During the Latter Half of 1970's and the First Half of 1980's

In this period the real situation of educational policy and its implementation, school education and templeeducation were analized by some researchers. For example,Mr. Hirata, Toshifumi and Mr. Akagi, Osamu analized educa-tional policies before the 2nd world war and after the warrespectively(No.034,005). Mr. Ishii, Yoneo made histori- cal analysis of the development of modern education empha- sizing the role of sangha(monks' organization)(No.053). Mr. Murata, Yokuo conducted survey of rural education and made clear the enrolment ratio, expectation of students and their parents for further education and future jobs(No.063,064). Mr. Gondo,Yoshio concerned with value and view of life in Thai rural inhabitants and school children(No. 021,022). Mr. Murata, Yokuo compared the world and socialview of Thai upper secondary students with those of the Philippines and Malaysia(No.074).

In addition various kinds and systems of school had been introduced and analized. They were comprehensive secondary school(No.089), preschool education(No.069), private school(No.061,066), development of higher educa - tion(No.013), employment conditions of students in universities(No.014) were also surveyed and analized.

The subject teaching was also introduced in the fieldof Chemistry and English teaching(No.120,060). The brief history of Chulalongkorn University and Thammasert University was written by Mr. Ishii, Yoneo and Mr. Akagi, Osamu (No.052,001). The situation of Thai students who were studying abroad was analized historically by Mr. Akagi, Osamu(No.002)and the present situation of Thai student in Japanese universities by Mr. Murata, Yokuo(No.065).

In 1973 there happened the student revolution protesting the Thanom & Prapert Military and Dictatorial Power. And a democratic cabinet was established. But in responseof this progressive revolution the conservative group got power by means of coup d'etat in 1976. Through this revo-lution several reforms of politics, administration, and education were tried. The history of Thai Students Move- ment which had given strong influence to Thai politics wasstudied and described by Mr. Akagi, Osamu(No.004). He focused the activities and historical infuence of "The Thai National Student Center" .

In the field of education the school system, curricu-lum of primary and secondary schools, and educational administration had been reformed. The compulsory educa- tion was

shortened from 7 years to 6 years in 1978. In the same year the national curriculum was changed according to the principle of the education for real life and society. It stressed the work-oriented education and progressive education. In 1980 the system of educational administration was reformed. The administration of local primary school(Ronrian Chaubarn) shifted from Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education established the primary education committee at the national, provincial(Changwat) and county(Ampheu) level which has administered the local primary schools.

And the educational reform mentioned above was introduced to Japan titled "Aiming at the harmony between Education and Society" by Mr. Nogami, Shuichi(No.091). Paying attention to this education reform the curriculum studies had been conducted by Mr. Murata, Yokuo(No.067). He also analyzed the real situation of local primary educational administration through the survey of five provinces in 1985(No.070).

Mr. Onozawa, Masaki began to study ethnic identity of minorities focusing Muslim Education in southern Thailand(No.103,104,105). The study of modern education history was made by Mr. Hirata, Toshifumi and Mr. Akagi, Osamu. The former analyzed the beginning of modern education in the light of Buddhism influence(No.034). The latter analyzed and characterized the educational policy under the General Saito regime just after the 2nd world war(No.005).

3. From the Latter Part of 1980's to Present.

Especially in this period a number of papers were published. It is estimated that the papers were published from 7 to 10 every year. The area of studies also expanded. They are mainly divided into following four areas: First, the detailed studies of school education increased. Those are found in the following fields: Information education (No.030), preschool education (No.094,096), Mathematics education (No.056), Science education(No.111), Teacher training (No.047), Vocational Education and School textbooks (No.057,029).

Concerning preschool education, Mr. Nozu, Takashi have made surveys of the kindergartens and day care centers in Phitsanulok and analyzed the results in the light of enculturation toward Buddhism. The school textbooks were analyzed in relation to Japanese influence. Mr. Koshida, Takashi made analysis of Asian school textbooks including Thai ones from the view how the influence of Japan during the 2nd world war was written. Mr. Hashimoto, Suguru analyzed the contents of the Thai school textbooks of social studies which dealt with Japanese history, culture, society, politics and economy.

Secondly, the non-formal education was studied by some researchers. Ms. Nakazono, Yuko studied literacy education making the survey in many provinces(No.086). Mr. Murata, Yokuo and others also collected materials and analyzed the relationship between cultural policy and non-formal education(No.083).

Thirdly, the studies of multi-culture education have increased expanding the areas from Islamic education to other fields. The fields cover Chinese education (No.114,115), hill tribe education(No.108,109), and other minority education. It is remarkable that this multi-culture education has been discussed related to the problem of national integration. Mr. Murata, Yokuo published some study reports concerned with multi-education and national integration in South-east Asian countries. He picked up the problems of religious and moral

education, language education, and policy for national unity compared with the cases in other South-east Asian countries(No.073,079,081).

Fourthly, influenced by the trend of internationalization of Japan, the international exchange program or cooperation programs between Japan and Thailand have been discussed. These include Japanese language education in Thailand (No.084,092), education for international understanding(No.055), acceptance system of Thai students in Japan and their sending system in Thailand(No.026,041,044,080, 113), educational cooperation and assistance to Thailand (No.077,090).

In 1980's there were many youths who had not completed elementary and lower secondary education in Thailand. Non-formal education were provided for them the Government in the evening classes and weekend classes at the local primary schools or non-formal education centers established in each province. The functional-literacy education programs for adults have been provided and implemented. But the programs were not so efficient. This is studied by Ms. Nakazono, Yuko(No.086,087).

In 1990's the govt. decided to extend the years of compulsory education from 6 years to 9 years. This means that lower secondary education had become compulsory. As a result of this policy the lower secondary education has rapidly spread to local areas. This policy has not been analyzed objectively yet by any Japanese researchers.

Influenced by the family planning and population education, the number of children and school students had decreased so much in Thailand since 1980's. In the primary schools the demand for teachers also decreased and the graduates of Teacher Training Colleges (Witayalai Kru) had difficulties to find teacher positions since the 1980's. That is the reason why the Teacher Training Colleges were reformed and new Comprehensive Community Colleges called "Rachapat Institute" were established in 1995. The process of the reform of this teacher training colleges has been analyzed by the studies of Mr. Horiuchi, Tsutomu (No.047).

4. Characteristics and Issues of Thai Educational Studies

The educational studies in Thailand follow the two methods. The one is based on books and documents reading in Thai language and English. The other is done by means of field survey in Thailand. This survey method is increasing nowadays. As for the areas of Educational Studies, the researchers have carried out mainly in three areas. The First is the historical development of education focused on the beginning of modern education. The second is the relation between Buddhism and education. The third is various aspect of formal education and non-formal education after 1960's. This includes minority education which is paid attention to recently.

As seen in Chart 1, many papers are concerned the outline and general explanation of Thai Education. More theoretical and analytical studies will be needed from now. The fundamental documents of Thai education such as "Introduction of Thai Education", "History of Thai Education" have not been written yet.

There are more studies based on field survey than the ones based on Thai and English documents reading. Most of the former studies have been conducted by the method of

questionnaire and observation survey. However there are few studies which are made by closely planned field surveys spending a long period. Recently there has increased the study survey taking rather long time which have mostly been conducted by young graduate students. There are rather few studies which analized education from the view of social science. The joint studies of education made together with the experts of other areas such as politicalscience, economy, sociology and anthropology are lacking.

Furthermore, as international communication and cooperation between Japan and Thailand are increasing so much, the studies of personal and information exchange between Japan and Thailand, Japanese language education, inter-national understanding will be demanded.

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V.HISTORY

Iijima,Akiko
Kato,Kumiko
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In this section of Japanese contributions to the studies on Thai history, only those written after 1960s will be dealt with. It is, however, worth looking into some features of the "early" scholarship before 1960s on Thai history in Japan through Ishii's review[Ishii H027]. The works belonging to the "early" scholarship were, according to Ishii, divided into two groups. The first one is the outgrowth from the extended interests of Sinologists whose research tools were classical Chinese documents, and their basic concerns were oriented toward China's relations with Thailand. As for the second group, the main concern basically reflected the activities of the Japanese overseas. Therefore, both groups paid only limited attention to the study of Thailand itself, the primary focus of their studies being placed elsewhere.

Since then, however, the studies of Thai history in Japan has become quite perceptible. These studies began examining Thai history in its own right, and not from the points of view related to China or Japan. They have begun using Thai language materials at the same time. Using materials mostly in Thai and analyzing Thai history in itself are common features of most of the research works after 1960s, which will be introduced here.

It was in 1964 that systematic bibliographic survey of Thai publications in the field of history done by Ishii began to appear in a series of articles[Ishii H015-018]. In that, Ishii presented various recensions of the Ayutthayan chronicles and the chronicles of Ratanakosin dynasty and other historical records regarding various parts of the kingdom as well to the Japanese students of Thai history. Ishii also stimulated a wider use of Thai historical sources by writing essays based on the Kotmai Tra Sam Duang[Ishii H019-021]. Ishii's pioneering works should still be consulted as they provide good introductions to the Thai history for the present-day Japanese students.

Since his pioneering works mentioned above, Ishii has been a leading figure for more than thirty years and has contributed a great deal to the Thai studies in Japan as well as overseas. Thus we should like to summarize Ishii's contributions firstly, and then proceed to others' works produced subsequently.

Ishii's contributions to the historical studies in particular comprise various fields and topics.

Part of Ishii's earlier contributions is a result of multidisciplinary research projects on Thailand carried out by members of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies of Kyoto University which was officially founded in 1965 and where Ishii was affiliated for years. A collection of articles written by an interdisciplinary group of scholars was published under the title Thailand: A Rice-Growing Society[Ishii H023] in 1975, in which Ishii contributed a chapter entitled "History and Rice-Growing" and proposed an ecological approach to the periodization of Thai history. His proposal was made in conjunction with his geomorphologist colleague's suggestion of a probable relationship between natural environment and a course of history.

One of the main focuses of Ishii's research has been the Kotmai Tra Sam Duang, or the Law of the Three Seals(KTSD) of 1805. Besides writing introductory essays on various aspects of the socio-economic history of pre-modern Thailand including slavery, provincial administration and corvee system, basing on the texts included in the KTSD, Ishii, by critically approaching to the KTSD manuscripts, analyzed the whole structure of the corpus[H032], discussed legal concepts which appeared in the KTSD, and raised questions from a Southeast Asian comparative jurisprudense perspective more or less influenced by Indian law[H031]. It should also be mentioned here that the KTSD has been input segment-by-segment into a computer data base by a project led by Ishii and the result of the ten years' operation by Thai and Japanese scholars has been published as the Computer Concordance to the Law of the Three Seals (Bangkok, 1990) in five volumes.

Another field of Ishii's interest has been some aspects of the Siamese modernization. Ishii in particular took interest in the nineteenth-century Siamese intellectuals' thoughts through the time of clash between traditional Siamese culture and Western civilization[H028, H029, H035]. Ishii's ample knowledge of both Buddhism and Christianity as well as Latin language apparently heightened the quality of his discussion.

Since Ishii offered the problematic of considering Ayutthayan kingdom as a mercantilist or trading state first in his chapter in the Thailand: A Rice-Growing Society, he has been increasingly elaborating his discussion on Ayutthaya. In addition to the well-known chronicles and the KTSD as well as European sources, he has made extensive use of Chinese, Japanese and Ryukyuan sources that allowed him to get into the details of trade transactions surrounding Ayutthayan kingdom. In his recent essay, Ishii has synthesized his argument about Ayutthaya with reference to the concept of "port-polity", in which the amalgamation of entrepot and polity constitutes a salient feature. Ayutthaya as a "port-polity", he thinks, was a direct predecessor of Bangkok, thus, playing an important role in early formation of the modern Thai state[Ishii H039].

Although Ishii's recent publications seem much concentrated on Ayutthaya, he has taken no less interest in Sukhothai epigraphy[Ishii H040]. Another computerised team-work has been done in conjunction of Sukhothai epigraphy(A Glossarial Index of the Sukhothai Inscriptions, Bangkok, 1989.), and there, too, Ishii took the lead.

From mid-1970s the younger generation of scholars emerged that started using archival sources for their research of Thai history. Their foci of interest were on socio-economic aspects of Thai history during the reigns of Rama IV and V. These studies contributed to the study of historical development especially with respect to the central plain region of Thailand [Tomosugi H079; Tanabe H071, H072, H076; Kitahara H050]. The development of the canal system in the Chao Phraya Delta from Ayutthaya period through the reign of King Rama V, for example, was traced in detail by Tanabe[H071, H072].

More recently, Koizumi, also making lavish use of using archival sources, has extended research interest into other parts of Thailand, mainly to the northeast, while making substantial contribution to socio-economic aspects of Thai history during the 19th century as a whole. One of Koizumi's articles is about the trade activities of a minority group from Burma called the Kula in the northeastern Thailand[Koizumi H051]. In another study, Koizumi by examining the existing archival documents on suai(head tax in kind) from the northeast

between the 1830s and the 1860s, illustrated the process of the commutation of suai, and provided some concrete and empirical information which indicates the process of the development of commercial and market economy in the northeast in a quantifiable way[Koizumi H052]. Koizumi also dealt with the manpower control in the mid-nineteenth century Nakhon Rachasima, and revealed that the king in Bangkok could control only a small part of the population there through the suai imposition[Koizumi H053]. In a recent article, Koizumi illustrated the relationship between the crown in Bangkok and local political powers in connection with the position of commoners under local powers[Koizumi H054]. The point is that there were two levels of tax collections, that is, the tax collection at the local level where local political powers imposed on the registered people and the suai payment from local political powers to Bangkok. All through these studies Koizumi' s strong concern has been the development of commercial and money economy in the northeast during the 19th century and its influence on the society.

In relation to the use of archival materials, a reference should be made here to Yoshikawa' s Burma-Siam Railway: Asia-Pacific War appeared in the Secret Documents [Yoshikawa H088]. Although numerous papers on Southeast Asian people under the control of the Japanese Army during the World War II exist, most of them have been written based only on Japanese and English materials. Yoshikawa' s work is the only one that made use of Thai materials from the National Archives of Thailand.

Besides archival sources of the central state, a new generation of students of Thai history has set about paying attention to more local, or regional sources.

As for the southern Thailand, while the "early" scholarship interested in the tributary systems of China with the Court of Siam and other provincial states in Malay Archipelago made contributions based on Chinese documents [Nagazumi H061], several works have been produced since 1980s based on field work and the use of local Thai language materials. Some of them are related to Malay studies in Malaysia.

A southern Thai specialist, Koroda has much interest in the historical role of the southern provinces within the trade network system covering Siam and Malay Peninsula in the pre-modern period. Based on various sources including both Thai and Japanese manuscripts, Koroda described the process whereby the rise of Songkhla on the Gulf of Siam coast as entrepot since the end of the 18th century occurred[H055]. On the other hand, Koroda also described the process by which Thalaang, which had been the most important entrepot on Andaman coast, went through a decline [H058]. In these papers Koroda pointed out the reconstructive movement of the trade network over Siam and the Malay Peninsula as having begun towards the end of the 18th century. Koroda' s other attempts have been reconstructing village histories by collecting oral traditions. Her work in 1995 [H059] was based on the oral traditions in the rural area of Kedah in Malaysia which had been a Malay Sultanate under Siamese control for hundreds of years. Koroda maintains that oral traditions may make up for the shortage of rural history in the form of manuscripts sources.

Nishii' s works[Nishii H063, H064] based on field research and anthr-opological analysis concern Thai-speaking Muslims(Samsams) in Satun Area. Regarding the local administration of sourthern Thailand, Hashimoto' s work in 1987[H006] is the most important introductory study.

It is conspicuous that scholars focusing on some region or another have had a residential experience of a prolonged period in the region of their interest.

Iijima, though her earlier works dealt with the central kingdom of Siam[Iijima H011, H012], has focused on the northern Thailand and adjacent areas since her prolonged stay in Chiang Mai in the late seventies. She presented a preliminary note, based on her observations of northern Thai palm-leaf manuscripts that are found in abundance in the monasteries scattered throughout northern Thailand, with the intention to search for ways in which those manuscripts could be put to serious and critical use as historical sources[Iijima H013]. In that, she suggested a broader regional approach where manuscripts written in identical Tham letters should be comparatively studied. She later developed and put forth her idea as "the region of Tham manuscripts culture," which comprises some parts of Shan states, Sipsongpanna, Laos and part of northeastern Thailand.

Lastly, we refer briefly to the trends of research works on history of Tai speaking peoples outside the present border of Thailand. Historical research on Sipsongpanna has been conducted since the late 1960s in Japan. As to articles on political system and social organization, we can find works of Kaji[H042, H043], Tanabe[H073], Hasegawa[H004] and Kato[H046, H047, H048]. Following Ishii' s suggestion of a concept of "quasi-hydraulic society" [H023] and Tanabe' s work which tried to see a "quasi-hydraulic society" in northern Thailand[H075], there are some works such as those of Kaji[H044], Baba[H001] and Kato[H046, H047] which attempt to point out the characteristics of Sipsongpanna' s political systems through their examination of the irrigation systems. As to the political system of Tai peoples in north-west Vietnam, there are some contribution by Yoshizawa[H089, H090, H091].

There are several scholars who have been interested in various aspects of political development of contemporary Thailand. Although some of them have inclinations toward historical studies, their works shall be reviewed in the political science section. Only Ichikawa' s name is to be mentioned here. Most of Ichikawa' s works are related to the history of the Chinese-Thai and their assimilation to the Thai society. Another important work of his is about the Free Thai movement[Ichikawa H009.]

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VI.Trends of Thai Studies in Japan: Political Science

TAKAHASHI,Masaki
NAGAI,Fumio

1. Introduction

Studies of Thai politics in Japan has been done with regard to the 'structure' and 'change' of Thai politics. 'Structure', which I keep in my mind here, means the allocation of political powers and political actors, institutional arrangement, or furthermore, historical background, value and ideology which regulate power allocation and political institution. On the other hand, 'change', which I keep in mind here, means the evolution of new political entities, transformation of political powers and shift of power balance, or the change of value and ideology which regulates, justifies or gives significance to the political phenomenon. Generally speaking, Japanese scholars are likely to conduct positive research rather than theoretical research.

Studies on Thai politics in Japan has started, at least at the beginning, under the strong influence from studies of Thai politics in the U.S. For example, Yano had conducted research on the evolution of political elite and the formation of 'Khana' after 1932, based on David Wilson's theory about 'Khana politics.' On the other hand, next generation, represented by Akagi, Murashima, Hashimoto, Tamada, Kawamori, Asami, try to re-evaluate critically the concept of 'bureaucratic polity,' formulated by Fred W. Riggs, from theoretical framework and positive viewpoint, by focusing on other extra-bureaucratic forces.

However, among those are there many researchers who shifted research object from modern politics to historical studies. The reason seems to come from the restoration of monarchy since 1970s. As those products by Akagi, Murashima, Tamada, or Morisako clearly show, historical and philosophical studies on monarchy and nationalism, or 'Lak Thai', have been quite popular among Japanese scholars in recent years. Moreover, along this research trends, institutional approach to 'state' formation, not 'national' formation, has been increasing in terms of strengthening Chakri monarchy (such works by Yano, Takahashi, Tamada, and Nagai). These historical works written by Japanese political scientists are distinctively contrasted with those works by European and Thai scholars.

Interestingly enough, studies on modern Thai politics are also increasingly reflecting the historical and ideological discourse, not merely staying at the level of political economy or democratization. As works on political movement in contemporary Thailand conducted by Murashima, Suehiro, Hashimoto and Asami show concretely, they neither simply apply general theory to Thailand's case, nor overestimate recent political development of Thailand superficially, such as democratization or rise and fall of political powers. Instead, they try to understand realities of Thai society from historical, cultural, and ideological context. Anthropological and religious works on political ideology, which will be discussed in Chapter III, also suggest the importance of ideology in real politics.

As is evident from above, recent studies on Thai politics in Japan demonstrate itself distinct from those in the West and Thailand; namely the emphasis on historical and ideological perspective. Compared with such research situation that studies of Thai politics in

the U.S. are oriented unhistorical on one hand and that studies of Thai politics in Thailand can not deal with monarchy directly on another, the state of Thai studies on political science in Japan appears quite impressive. As regards to the method and materials of research, not only Thai and western materials but Chinese and Japanese materials, whether firsthand or secondhand, are also utilized on an extensive scale. Because Chinese and Japanese documents are indispensable for the research of Thai political history, particularly during 1930s and 1940s, Japanese scholars have relative advantage in this regard than other nationalities. Moreover, if we consider the present condition of poor research results on Thai bureaucracy despite the recent strong criticism on the 'bureaucratic polity' paradigm, positive research conducted by Japanese scholars should be worth noting, which is more apparent compared with recent development of ideological approach in Australia. But unfortunately, those results are not well known to Thai and western scholars, since most of them are written in Japanese.

The purpose of this paper is to show the various results produced by researchers on Thai politics in Japan. We two persons, TAKAHASHI and NAGAI, major in political science as discipline and have been conducting research on Thai politics in particular.

This paper is composed of 4 chapters. Chapter II introduces 11 Japanese researchers, who specialize in Thai politics, on individual bases, together with their major products. Their academic objects and interests vary widely, but roughly speaking, NAGAI is responsible for the products by older generations and TAKAHASHI for those by younger generations. On the other hand, Chapter III introduces important products by those scholars who do not specialize in Thai politics. We categorize those works into 5 major research areas. TAKAHASHI is responsible for the areas of political science and public administration; NAGAI for those of law, history, and political ideology. As a whole, the division of our paper that TAKAHASHI is responsible for the modern Thai politics and NAGAI for political history and political ideology, stems from our current academic concerns. Finally, in last Chapter, we summarize studies of Thai politics in Japan and will show prospects of research on Thai politics.

Though this paper is a joint work by TAKAHASHI and NAGAI, final responsibility goes to each author, the name of which is indicated at the end of each section.

(F.NAGAI)

2. Major researchers on Thai politics

(1) Yano, Toru

Yano is a pioneer in studies of Thai politics in Japan. He is not only an expert on political science but also an area researcher, as he has rich field research experiences in Thailand and can command Thai language, too.

The Constitutional Revolution of 1932 was the first research topic for Yano. He analyzed political process of the revolution in his Master Thesis, and later he published a monumental book, [P185]*Modern Political History of Thailand and Burma*, which used many Thai secondly materials as well as western materials. According to Yano, the Constitutional Revolution had sublated the self-contradiction of modernization under the absolute monarchy and was a turning point between absolute monarchy and constitutional monarchy. But since Constitutional Revolution had been half done in a way, the principle of legitimization had also left in confusion, naturally the way of power shift could not be firmly established. Then, in the

2nd Chapter, Yano analyzed the characteristics of People's Party's 'Old generation' and elite cycle between 1932 and 1957, and explained the mechanics of 'political instability' in Thailand. [P189] is a partial product of this research.

After published this book, Yano turned his interest into following 4 co-related topics. The 1st topic is on the political structure of Thailand, which regulates the 'unstable' Thai politics in a stable way, on the basis of his research on the 'political instability.' In [P191] "Political Structure of a "Rice Growing" State", upon pointing out the importance of 'three stratum structural analysis,' he elaborates various significant issues in the study of Thai political structure, such as the Chakri Reformation, characteristics of political leadership, the manner of representative principle and Sarit regime, based on his past research products. Here, three strata are composed of royal family, bureaucrats and peasantry. In [P195]"Political Function of District Officers in Thailand," Yano pays attention to the role of district officers, who are points of contact between bureaucrats and peasantry, and confirmed that Thai political system is characterized by the unilateral out-put from government to mass people. These articles, together with his socio-political field research conducted in Southern Thailand in mid-60s, seems to be published in his unpublished book under long consideration, *Political Structure of Thailand: Politics of Non-relations*.

The 2nd topic is the politico-cultural analysis of Sarit Regime. [P186; P187] "Sarit Thanarat and the Pro-American Diplomacy of Thailand" has inquired political stability under the 'New Generation' headed by Sarit after 1958 and attributed the reason to his 'atavism' into Thailand's unique political culture, *Lak Thai* ([P187] is an English version). By analyzing 'Revolutionary Party's Edicts,' Yano pointed out the importance of political leadership by Sarit, political role of inherent culture as well as their problems.(revised article is published in [P196]). [P188] "Some Characteristics of Leadership in Thailand: Sarit Thanarat's "Revolutionary Party Edicts"" enlarged on this point, but he carefully pointed out the possibility that a new type of political instability, resulting from the socio-structural change, would surpass the governability of Sarit regime. And [P190] "Politics by "Revolutionary Party Edicts" in Thailand" analyzed the background of October Incident in 1973, by using the "Revolutionary Party Edicts" (Nov. 1971 - Dec. 1972) under the Thanom Regime.

The 3rd theme is a theoretical research on political culture. As I have described already, Yano has come to be interested in the political significance of culture under Sarit Regime. Apart from Sarit regime, he has been also interested in the movement of ratthaniyom under Phibul Regime and "Nationalism from above" in the Reign of Rama IV. Actually Yano has discussed this point in [P191; P192], with relation to political structure, but he argued in more detailed and systematic way in [P193] "The "Culturalistic" Approach to National Integration", which is also included in [P196]. [P198] "The Realization of "Politics"" mentions 'ethnogenesis' under the Reign of Rama VI and political role of *Lak Thai* in Thai political history.

The last topic of Yano is on the international factor of the 'political instability.' As he had already mentioned in his first book [P185] that not only internal factor but international factor is also of great importance in arguing 'political stability,' he enlarged

this point in the context of Thai-American relations under the Cold War structure. This argument is already found out in his first product on the analysis of Sarit Regime ([P186;P187]), but it was in [P197] that he made an systematic argument. Upon theoretical reflection and comparative analysis among Phibul regime after WW2, Sarit Regime, and Thanom Regime, he concluded that ‘‘a penetrated system’’, found typically as in Thailand, has a problem of legitimacy and as a result suffers from political instability. [P199]” The Realization of “a Penetrated System” also deals with same issue.

As we have investigated above, Yano's research trend after the publication of [P185] *Modern Political History of Thailand and Burma* could be called, in a word, structural analysis of Thai Politics. Or we can put in another word that, while [P185] deals with political instability in People's Party era, studies after [P185] deals with political structure, in which political culture plays an important role. But for Yano, who focused on the Constitutional Revolution of 1932 in his academic career and maintained that the Constitutional Revolution was a logical conclusion of the Chakri Reformation, the Chakri Reformation has been an indispensable topic in his research project for years. His recent two articles, [P199] ““Pre-Modern” and “Modern” of Politics: the “Chakri Reformation”” and [P200] “The “Chakri Reformation” of Siam (1): King Rama IV and His Modernization,” deal with the Chakri Reformation during the Reign of King Rama IV and Rama V, through the analysis of Royal Proclamations. In the latter article, Yano maintains that He did not care about external pressures so much and that as a natural consequence He did not contribute affirmatively to the reformation.

One of the characteristics observed in Yano's studies on Thai politics is, whether he deals with political instability, political culture, political structure or so forth, it is the Thai politics between 1930s and mid-1970s which he evaluates in his analysis. We can easily understand this point by his such terminology as ‘Old Generation’ and ‘New Generation.’ He does not deal with the change of Thai politics after 1973, socio-economic cause of this underground change and international factor after the socialization of Indo-china, either.

Secondly, because Yano overemphasizes on the ‘structure’ of Thai politics and the ‘inherent’ character of ‘Thai culture,’ his analytical framework does not allow the internal dynamism, such as economic development and subsequent political transformation. For example, his ‘three stratum structural analysis,’ based on the concept of ‘Rice-Growing State,’ exclude's the political function of urban commercial sectors ([P191; P192]). As studies by Takahashi and Nagai suggest, the analysis of commercial sector, represented by Chinese merchants and tax farmers in 19th and early 20th century, is indispensable in the study of Thai political history. In addition to this, they played a pivotal role between Thai state and ‘segmental’ society which Yano defined as one of the 4 basic requisites for ‘mini patrimonial state’ ([P194]). Recent works by Yano also pay attention to the aspect of ‘imagination,’ ‘creation’ or ‘invention’ of artificial compositions, such as ‘culture’ and ‘nation’ , but needless to say, final judgment must wait until the publication of his book, *Political Structure of Thailand: Politics of Non-relations*.

In any case, considering the traits of Yano's past research into consideration, it might be more appropriate to call Yano's study on Thai polities as ‘Politics of Non-Change,’ rather

than 'Politics of Non-relations' as he himself claims.

(F. NAGAI)

(2) Ichikawa, Kenjiro

The object of Ichikawa's study is concentrated on the period which People's Party had dominated Thai politics, namely a quarter of century between 1932 and 1957. His research is mainly based on documents, especially widely known for the use of Chinese materials, but he has some works based on interviews, such as to Pridi Phanomyong in late 1970s.

Ichikawa's research could be divided into the first half period and the second half period. In the former period, he was mainly concerned with the Chinese Thai and Communist Movement in Thailand. [P058] "Chang Lan-chen and the Chinese under an Upheaval of Thailand" analyzed how Mr. Chang Lan-chen, a Chinese in Thailand, adapted to the change of international circumstance before and after the Pacific War. In this article Ichikawa discusses what sort of influence Beijin government and Taipei government had to Southeast Asia, and what kind of reactions Chinese in Southeast Asia showed to their home country. Ichikawa also deals with topic in the context of communist movement in Thailand in [P059] "Genealogy of Communist Movement in Thailand: 1945-1949" and [P062] "Nationalism and the Anti-Communist Policy in Thailand, 1950-1954." In the former article, upon reviewing former studies theoretically, he pointed out that there is a continuity between anti-Japanese movement during the WW2 and communist movement after the war. On the other hand in the latter article, he maintains that Thai nationalism works in the anti-communism policy. Ichikawa has written several articles on Chinese in Southeast Asia in general, which definitely help Ichikawa's study on Thailand.

Studies in the second half period are concentrated on anti-Japanese Free Thai movement. In a sense, this is a life work for Ichikawa, since he had already published several articles about this movement in 1970s ([P060; P064]). But [P067] "Phibul Songkhram and Pridi Phanomyong: Two Eminent Statesmen in the Contemporary Thai History" ([P069] is its English version), should be taken up as his real product. His question here is 'what aspects of Phibun's and Pridi's nationalism arouse the opposition of traditional political and social forces?' and 'what kind of traditional reaction did their modern ideas evoke?' Ichikawa interviewed Pridi himself at Paris in 1978, which apparently motivated Ichikawa to conduct research on this issue. For instance, [P068] "Constitutional Revolution of 1932 in Thailand: Ideology and Reality of the Students Who Studied Abroad" describes in detail how political elite deals with the different value systems of East and West, of the modern and the traditional, in terms of Thai nationalism. Based on those preparatory researches, he published a book on Free Thai movement, [P072] *Anti-Japanese Movement under the Japanese Occupation in Thailand: Leaders of the Free Thai Movement*. This book traces historical development of Anti-Japanese movement, so called 'Free Thai Movement' in Britain, The U.S., and Thailand and clarifies that those movement in each country could not cooperate very well and ended in at most information campaign or ad-hoc sabotage, as a result they could not rise in revolt under the Japanese occupation in Thailand. Along this line, he has produced articles on historical description and historical viewpoint in general based on this research, too. For example, he treats the 'Declaration of war towards Great Britain and the U.S.'

(January 1942) and 'the announcement of invalidity' (Aug. 16, 1945) of that Declaration or the heroic historical view ([P070; P073; P076]).

As is evident from the above, Ichikawa has paid a constant attention to how Thailand in the era of People's Party's government (1932 to 1957) corresponded to the changing international environment at that time. Therefore, his analysis is not necessarily limited to Thai internal politics. Rather he has many references to international politics, especially in China and neighboring Southeast Asian countries, which renders his study distinct from other researchers.

Nonetheless, it seems to me that Ichikawa does not utilize rich Thai materials, which is more evident if compared with the use of Chinese and English documents. In addition, the significance of this period in Thai political history is left still ambiguous in his overall argument. In fact Ichikawa started his research from the analysis of the relationship between modernization and tradition, but only discussing about behavior patterns and personality of political actors is not enough. Political institutions, such as monarchy and bureaucracy, and state formation in the period before and after the People's Party's era, namely Chakri Reformation and Sarit Regime, should be discussed altogether. In a sense, Ichikawa has been a sincere Thai national historian, but strangely enough, constitutional democracy, the issue in which Murashima is very interested, has never attracted Ichikawa's attention.

(F. NAGAI)

(3) Akagi, Osamu

Akagi is a scholar who has studied Thai politics and laws since the beginning of the 1970s. He analyzes them with theoretical frameworks, field research and primary sources written in Thai.

When he started his Thai studies in the 1970s, he studied on the constitutions and laws of Thailand and published in [P001]" On the Constitutions" , [P004]" The Continuity of the Traditional Legal System in Modern Thailand(I)(II)" and so on.

In the 1980s, he wrote several works on issues of the 1970s; namely the student democratization movement and the Communist Party of Thailand. Political incidents in the 1970s motivated him to study these political topics. [P006]" Research Note and Data on 'Pocketbook' Publication in Thailand" is a bibliography of Thai Pocketbooks published during the three years of democratization. In [P007]" Politics of 'Khommiunit' in Thailand" , he pointed out that the pronunciation of the words "communist" and "communism" in Thai was "khommiunit" and that the term of "khommiunit" with its conceptual ambiguity replaced the traditional concept of anti-regime action, "kabot" . In his paper, [P009]" The Foundation and Development of the Communist Party of Thailand (I)(II)(III)" , he researched the Communist Party of Thailand, using sources written in Thai. In [P010]" History of Student Movement in Thailand Concentrated on NSCT" , which was written in 1979, Akagi described the history of the student movement by focusing on the establishment, development and collapse of the National Student Center of Thailand(NSCT). He pointed out not only positive but also negative aspects of the student movement and the NSCT.

In the same period, Akagi's was looking at more basic rules of Thai politics besides the

contemporary political issues in his paper [P008] "Socio-Cultural Basis of Thai Bureaucracy" and [P011] "Source of Prestige in Thai Villages". He tried to understand the Thai politics with political culture of Thailand. The former paper is hypothetical research. He proposed the types of power that he arranged from belief systems in the traditional Buddhism and then analyzed the political structure of Thailand by using the types of power. In the latter paper, after analyzing "itthiphon" or prestige in Thai villages, he concluded that villages are ordered by "Baan" or a traditional community of Thailand.

Meanwhile, Akagi also studied the historical process of nation-state building in [P012] "A Note on the Formation and Development of Lak-Thai", [P017] "Boundary Demarcation of Thailand" and [P019] "A Note on the History of the National Anthem of Thailand". In [P012] "A Note on the Formation and Development of Lak-Thai", Akagi considered the Thai traditional value of Lak-Thai, because he realized that it was necessary to create Thai value in order to make up for the loss of Thai national identity caused by the failure in democratization movements of the 1970s. In [P017] "Boundary Demarcation of Thailand", Akagi studied building process of "Pratheet Thai", or Thailand, whose demarcation of boundary, he maintained, had an internal necessity in contrast to the other Southeast Asian countries. On the other hand, he also focused on the policy of national culture in [P019] "A Note on History of National Anthem of Thailand". This paper described a history of the national anthems of Thailand because a national anthem is closely related to a modern state building.

In [P014] "Development Politics and Local Politics", Akagi found the fact that Tambon Development Fund, which was worked out by the Kukrit administration in 1975, made Tambon Councils across the country active because management of the fund was left in hand of Tambon Councils. And he predicted in this paper the appearance of informal power at district level. This concern was developed into study of the local politics, researching Chonburi as a case study. The results were published in [P020] "Thailand: Political Development observed from the Provinces", [P024] "Industrialization, Development and Transition", and [P025] "Transition of Local Politics". Two Key concepts in this research are "Chao Pho" or the influential persons in local politics and "itthiphon" or the informal power. Since economic growth began to spread across the country in the latter half of the 1980s, these concepts have received some attentions. Rapid economic growth provides chances for Chao Phos to play a big role in local and national politics. Akagi pointed out that Chao Phos were allowed by the Thai political culture to have a substantial power. Therefore, he insisted that Thailand would have to take two important steps in order to attain democracy; "institutional democratization" and "cultural democratization". These studies said that it was impossible to explain Thai politics without referring to the new political developments in the provinces.

[P015] *Political Culture in Thailand* is a fruit of his studies in the last two decades, which explained the Thai society with cultural aspects. In the chapter 1, he analyzed a small village in the Northeast of Thailand and abstracted a motif of tightness and looseness. In the rest of the book, he used the motif to explain the nation and society of Thailand. [P021] *A Guide to Thai Politics* is a reference book on the Thai politics, which has basic data on the constitutions, central and local administrations, political parties and so on.

(TAKAHASHI Masaki)

(4) Murashima, Eiji

Murashima has been concerned with the modern political history of Thailand in 20th century, such as political movement, political system, political thought (nationalism and democracy) and so on. His academic character is, in a word, positivism based on primary materials, both published and un-published. He is famous for his hunting for and use of both primary and secondary materials more thoroughly than even Thai scholars. He is the second Japanese researcher next to Yano, who dedicated his scholarly works on Thai politics as a political scientist.

The main object of Murashima's works could be divided into two categories, which differs before and after mid-1980s. Early works conducted by Murashima could be called as positive analysis of political change after 1970s in Thailand. According to Murashima, this period is the period of structural transformation, following ten some years after the Constitutional Revolution of 1932, since there occurred new phenomena that intellectuals, students, capitalist political parties, laborers and farmers, challenged to the established ruling structure behind the change of international environment such as the socialization of Indo-China and domestic environment such as economic development. [P109] "The Development of Peasant Movement in Thailand in the 1970s" describes the involvement of farmers in the political system concerning the land issue, by analyzing their petitions to central government and their orientation for the communist movement. On the other hand, [P111] "Thai Student Movement and Communism in the 1970s" deals with student movement and CPT urban movement in 1970s, on the assumption that student movement played a catalytic role. Based on documentary and interview research, this article had thrown new light upon the organization, various activities, and the process of increasing influence of CPT at that time, which had remained unexplained yet. [P113] "Local Elections and Local Leaders in Thailand" revealed the realities of local politics, which had not been researched well, through the case study of local elections (for members of a city council and provincial assembly) held at Nakhon Sawan City in June 1980. Upon following those researches, Murashima pointed out in a short essay, [P112] "Thailand: Composition of the Political Change in the 80s," that the conventional paradigm of 'bureaucratic polity' or 'patrimonial state' can not explain Thai politics any more and that three contending forces such as military, capitalist political parties and royal family, shape Thai politics after 1970s. [P116] "Political Dynamics of the 3 Large Forces, Military, Political Parties, and Royal Family: Distinctiveness and Logic of Thai Political System" further maintains that, upon comparing 4 periods, namely ① democratic period dominated by political parties (Oct. 1973 to Oct. 1976.), ② Thanin Administration dominated by royal family (Oct. 1976 to Oct. 1977.), ③ Kriangsak Administration dominated by military (Nov. 1977 to Mar. 1980) and ④ Prem Administration (Mar. 1980 to July 1988), he attributed the persistence of ④ Prem Administration to the balance of 3 large forces.

As is evident from above, Murashima in early 1980s had conducted research mainly on political change of modern Thailand. But his research after mid-80s has appeared to be more historical-oriented. [P115] "Periodical Change of Political System in Thailand: Parliamentary Democracy and Military Intervention into Politics" shows the turning point of his academic interest. Judging from 3 viewpoints, the type of Constitution, the manner of military involvement in politics, and the type of authorized political party, Murashima pointed out that

there has been 5 periodical cycles from military coup d' etat, through democratization to re-intervention by military coup since 1932, and explained that these cycles stem from the undeniability of democracy as a legitimate principle by military themselves . Murashima's works afterwards indicates very well his consistent interest in parliamentary democracy. For example, [P119]" The Military and Democracy in Thailand's Early Constitutional Period" is a laborious work on the reactions and dilemmas of People's Party, which claimed themselves as a protector of constitution and parliamentary democracy, to the request for the establishment of political parties and the law of political party during 10 years in which progressive rules were regulated after the perpetual constitution ([P121] is an English version). [P125] "The Emergence of Party Politics in Thailand" investigated the establishment of parliament parties and parliamentary cabinet between 1944 and 1947. Murashima said that this period is very important in terms of the characteristics of party politics which has appeared intermittently in later years, too.

However, for Murashima, who asserts that 'nationalism, together with constitutional democracy, is one of the 2 big purposes of the Revolution of 1932' ([P122: 92]), historical study on Thai nationalism and national community as well as study on parliamentary democracy, is an important pillar of his historical research. [P117]" Building of the Official State Ideology in Thailand" is an epoch-making article which re-evaluates the introduction of 'nation' concept into Thai politics in the reign of Rama V. In this article, he criticized *Chaiyo!*, written by Walter Vella, for not giving enough consideration to the influence of the reign of Rama V to the birth of nationalism in Thailand. He maintains that nationalism under Rama VI was formulated on the succession of Rama V's thought ([P118] is an English version. [P114] is an earlier version).

Thus, Murashima's historical study could be defined as the study about the origin and development of democracy and nationalism in Thailand. As a natural consequence, it is definitely significant to understand Thai political history around the Constitutional Revolution on a whole scale. It seems to me that this is the main reason why Murashima came to be concerned with ethnic problems, Chinese problem in particular. According to Murashima, 'Chinese problem is an important part of Thai modern history before 1950 [P126:44]' Though [P120]" Thai-fication of Chinese in Thailand" was his first product with regard to this point of argument, [P124]" Political Activities of the Overseas Chinese in Thailand; From 5.30 Movement till the Sino-Japanese War" should be noted as his real product. According to Murashima, the main purpose of this article is to describe the development of the political activities by Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Party in Thailand from mid-1920s to 1941 as accurately and elaborately as possible. The main subject is composed of 3 chapters; 1st chapter deals with the activities by the Kuomintang, 2nd chapter deals with activities by Communist Party, and 3rd chapter describes the compulsory Thai-fication of Chinese by Thai government (1939 to 1941) and reactions shown by Chinese in Thailand. This article, which was also translated into Thai language ([P126]), is a laborious work based on minute investigation of Chinese, Thai and Japanese primary sources and at the same time is a very challenging work, since it tries to modify the established opinion by William Skinner in his classical book, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, about the Chinese political movement at that time. [P129] "National Community and Ethnic Problems in Thailand" discusses the process of

Thai-fication by the central government in early 20th century towards *Lao* in northern Thailand and Malay-Muslim *Kaek* in southern Thailand as well as Chinese residents in urban areas.

Suppose ‘there existed a complicated and delicate relationship between Japan, Overseas Chinese in Thailand, and Thai government under Thai-Japanese Alliance’ as Murashima claims ([P127: 43]), study on the history of Thai-Japanese relationship during Asia Pacific War has a significant meaning in understanding Thai political history after the Constitutional Revolution. [P123] “Military Expenditure Negotiations under the Japan-Thai Alliance Pact of 1941～1944,” which is the first product on the Thai-Japanese relationship for Murashima, pursues the military expenditure negotiations scrupulously by using original Thai diplomatic documents. And [P127] “The Thai-Japanese Alliance and Overseas Chinese in Thailand” examines the triangular relationship between the Thai government, Japan, and Overseas Chinese in Thailand between 1941 to 1945, based on his preceding academic stocks.

Judging from the above discussion, Murashima's works could be characterized as the re-organization of modern Thai political history by the close positive research based upon primary documents and supplementary interviews. However, this understanding only explains the front of a coin of Murashima's works, since his historical research had originated from the investigation of 2 major political ideologies which People's Party introduced to justify the Constitutional Revolution; parliamentary democracy and Thai nationalism. As we have surveyed already, his main concern in the early stage was why military intervenes in politics periodically under the present Thai political system. If we interpret his research trend in critical manner, we can say that his present study just gives body and substance to his hypothesis on the periodical turnover of [P115]. However, he is currently getting more inclined to the excavation of historical facts rather than theoretical research. It seems to me that he continues historical research which puts much stress on fact-findings for the time being.

One of the subjects Murashima has not yet touched on is probably on the issue of Sarit regime from the end of 1950s to the beginning of 1970s. As we have surveyed already, Murashima has started his academic career from the analysis of political change after 1973, re-evaluated the concept of ‘bureaucratic polity,’ and then turned his interest into history. However, Murashima rarely refers to ‘bureaucratic polity’ in his recent publications. Study on bureaucracy is an important topic for the study of Thai politics, but Murashima's research in this field has still remained germinal (cf. [P128]). Interestingly enough, academic approach towards bureaucracy differs significantly between Murashima and Tamada, who has recently published detailed positive studies on bureaucracy, although they critically investigated the adaptability of ‘bureaucratic polity’ to modern Thai politics in their early works.

Secondly, while parliamentary democracy, which People's Party introduced to legitimize Constitutional Revolution and their succeeding political hegemony, is the main factor for the periodical intervention in politics by military, what kind of role does Thai nationalism, another important political ideology for the People's Party, played in the Thai political history? Murashima used to give a short comment in [P112] that paradigm of ‘king-nation separation’ was replaced by that of ‘king-nation one body’ after 1973, but since then I found no progress in this aspect. The future development of his research in this respect is expected, too.

And thirdly, Murashima seems to emphasize the discontinuity in 1932, by focusing on the introduction of the parliamentary democracy and nationalism by People's Party, which stands clearly contrasted with Yano's emphasis on the continuity in 1932 by focusing on political structure. This issue, continuity and discontinuity before and after the Constitutional Revolution of 1932, is quite an important topic. New light on this issue is also being expected by Murashima's analysis, too.

(F. NAGAI)

(5) Hashimoto, Takashi

Hashimoto mainly has studied Thai local administrations including the policies of modernization of local administrations with USA aid, administrations of rural development, decentralization and deconcentration, and the Southernmost Muslim Community. Recently he has begun a historical study of local administrations.

[P035] "American Foreign Aid Policy and Thai Bureaucracy" researched the administration of rural development and local administrations and said that Thai local administration was rapidly developed in the 60s with the USA's aid. In [P036] "Local Administration and Rural Development in Thailand", he concluded that administrations of rural development and the persons in charge of development at local level, local officials and village leaders, are the most important factors for the performance of the development projects. He examined conditions for the success of rural developments in his paper, [P037] "Rural Development in the Advanced Area of Development in Thailand: A Case of Saraphi District, Chiang Mai". According to him, Saraphi District is an advanced area of rural developments because Saraphi has exceptionally good conditions for development. Therefore, Saraphi can't be a model of rural development for other areas. In addition to local administrations, Hashimoto also studied local autonomy in [P039] "Local Self-Government in Thailand" and [P040] "Local Self-Government and Political Participation of Community Residents in Thailand". In the former, while considering the possibility of changing from "formal" autonomy to "real" autonomy, he concluded that the development of local autonomy is inseparable from the democratization of national politics. Recently, Hashimoto wrote [P051] "Reformation of Local Administration in the Chakri Reformation Period", a research paper on the history of local administration.

While he studied the provincial administrations and politics, he also researched the public administration and politics of Bangkok. [P041] "Urbanization in Bangkok Metropolis and Changes in Suburban Rural Area" shows us that the urbanization of Bangkok in the 1970s and the 1980s caused big changes of villages around the metropolis and altered the relationship between the metropolis and its neighboring areas. He conducted a follow-up research on this topic in 1991 and published [P048] "Urbanization in Bangkok Metropolis and Changes in Suburban Area" including the new data.

[P038] "The Problems in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand and the Integration Policy toward the Malay-Muslims" and [P043] "Changing Society and Politics in the Southernmost Muslim Community of Thailand(1)(2)(3)" are research papers on the Southernmost Muslim Community. The former analyzed the government's integration policy

toward the Muslims and the problems associated with the policy. The latter analyzed social changes and politics in the Southernmost Muslim community by focusing on the spread of the Thai language around this area. He emphasized the function and influence of television sets in spreading Thai language and Thai culture.

Though most of his studies are on the institutions of local administrations, [P045] "Politics of Rural District" tried explicating the politics of rural areas. He proposed "Political Science of Rural Areas" in the paper. He explained that these area are different from provincial areas, because the provincial areas are not always rural; recently many cities have grown in the provinces. It is interesting to compare his proposal with the mentioned "Political Science of Provinces" of Akagi.

(TAKAHASHI Masaki)

(6) Tamada, Yoshifumi

Considering the adequateness of the model of "bureaucratic polity" formulated by Fred W. Riggs, Tamada had focused mainly on contemporary Thai politics after the 1970s. At first, he had ,like other researchers, the viewpoint that the bureaucratic polity model became less applicable in the 70s because of the strengthening of the king and the political parties. Therefore, he studied party politics and businessmen in [P161] "Businessmen and Bureaucrat in Local Thailand (1)(2)" . He recognized that political parties are not always truly democratic and that Thai politics have characteristically "soft" nature that can't be understood by the model of "bureaucratic polity" . He pointed to 'itthiphon (influence)' in Thai politics at a local level. He uses the terms "itthiphon" as informal power and "amnat" as formal power of governmental authority. [P164] "Itthiphon and Amnat" is written in English and [P169] "Itthiphon lae Amnat" is in Thai on this theme.

On the other hand, [P162] "Political Parties and the Military in Thailand" and [P165] "Coups in Thailand, 1980-1991" are papers on the military, which, he said, has been lack of positive studies in spite of its importance in Thai politics. His concerns in these papers are how the military tries to deal with the development of party politics and why a coup d' etat took place.

In [P167] "Hard and flexible Rule in Thailand" , Tamada reviewed his Thai studies of the last decade. Besides considering the concepts of "itthiphon" and "amnat" , he explained the power structure of "the three big groups" in Thai society; the royal family, the military, and the political parties. According to Tamada, these groups are interdependent on each other, unopposed to each other, and have had a cooperative relationship, which is called "tripod-power structure" . Democracy in Thailand could be disrupted by the tripod structure and not by the military alone, he maintained. Needless to say that the model of "bureaucratic polity" is not adequate to explain the Thai political situation, yet. There are no conflicts, as he said, between the bureaucrat and the extra-bureaucratic forces, but mainly between the tripod and the people. He concluded that it was necessary to study the ideology, culture and history behind the tripod-power structure.

Now, he recognizes that the model of "bureaucratic polity" is not applicable to the Thai state even before the 1970s. For this reason, he set about researching on a part of the

history of the tripod-power structure in [P171] "Chakri Reformation and the Consolidation of Monarchical Power". He considered that the purpose of the Chakri Reformation was to strengthen the power of king. He looked into the name and the dates of inauguration and resignation of all cabinet members in the official gazettes of the Thai government from 1892 to 1932. After dividing the members into two groups, princes and non-princes, he investigated the personal history of each member mainly by reading their "Crematory books". Analyzing these basic data, he concluded that the personnel affairs of the cabinet members in this period were aimed at strengthening the ruling regime of the princes of the Mongkut family. Due to the regime, the successive kings had little motivation to reform the Kingdom state to a modern nation-state.

(TAKAHASHI Masaki)

(7) Takahashi, Masaki

Takahashi has been concerned with the adequateness of the nation-state as an analytical concept. According to him, the Thai nation-state is not complete yet; the process of nation-state building may even have slowed down. He maintains that a nation-state can not be set as a premise of a political unit but only as a hypothesis to be investigated. With that in mind, he started his researches on the Thai state in the 19th century and now is concerned with the state building process in the 1950s to 1960s.

In [P153] "the Chakri Reformation and Réconstruction of the Dual Society in Thailand", he explained that the Chakri Reformation created a distance between political power in Bangkok and the village communities around it. [P155] "The Phayaphab Incident and the Conflict Structure in the North of Thailand in the End of the Nineteenth Century" described the process of Chiang Mai's integration into the Bangkok Dynasty while the British colonial power was invading Lanna Thai, the present North of Thailand.

Because Takahashi thought that the conditions prior to the reformation must be studied to understand the result of the reformation, in [P154] "The Political Order of the Bangkok Dynasty in the Former Half of the Nineteenth Century", he analyzed the Bangkok regime using a concept of "regime of authorized trade". The growing process of international trade created, according to Takahashi, an alliance of political power in Bangkok and the Chinese traders. Since the Bangkok Dynasty gave the Chinese traders the right to trade under the rule of royal monopolistic trade, the traders paid taxes and political loyalty to the Dynasty. Each sector is a part of the same system, "the regime of authorized trade".

In recent years, he has focused on contemporary politics, particularly since World War II. The results were published in [P156] "The Kampuchean Conflict and the Foreign Policy of Thailand (1978-82)" and [P158] "The Kampuchean Conflict and the Communist Party of Thailand". The former took notice that Thailand regarded itself as a "front-line" country against the Communist countries in Indochina and was successful in getting political and military supports from ASEAN countries, China, and USA. In the latter, he described the close relationship between Thai domestic politics and Indochina regional politics, analyzing the process of the collapse of the Communist Party of Thailand during the Cambodian Conflict. Now he conducts research on the "statism" of Thailand during the Cold War.

(TAKAHASHI Masaki)

(8) Asami, Yasuhito

Through research of labor issues, Asami has paid attention to contemporary Thai society and politics. By studying labor and "Corporatism" theory, he has concluded that the bureaucratic polity model is less applicable to Thai politics.

He has studied the labor movements from 1900 to the 1970s from different view points. First of all, in [P026] "Labor Movements in Thailand 1900-1958", he maintained that there were characteristic signs of corporatism in Thai society before 1958, even though the political regime was still dictatorial. Pointing out in [P028] "Thailand's Labor Policy under the Sarit-Thanom Administration" that the government officials played important roles in the decision-making processes of labor issues, Asami questioned the view that the Sarit-Thanom military administrations were despotic. In [P030] "Thai Labor Movement in the 1970's", Asami took notice that the political motivations of the government could be superior to the economic motivations of employers even under the export-oriented industrialization in which the employers, according to him, demanded an oppressive labor policy. According to him, the government, fearing political instability, took the more concessive one.

Although largely concerned with labor issues, he also provided us with the current trends of political studies in Thailand in his papers, [P027] "Export-Oriented Industrialization and Changing Patterns of State-Society Relation in Thailand" and [P029] "Growth of the Middle Classes and the New Trends in Socio-Political Discourse in Thailand". Now that Thai scholars conduct excellent research, we should survey and evaluate the trend of their research. In the former article, Asami criticized Chai' anan's view which maintained the applicability of the bureaucratic polity model. At the same time, Asami appreciated Anek Laothamathas who emphasized the aspect of "Corporatism" in Thai political society. In the latter, he introduced a new aspect of Thai society after the "May Incident" by referring to the discourse about "middle class" of Thai scholars like Nithi, Pasuk, Anek, and Kasian.

(TAKAHASHI Masaki)

(9) Kawamori, Masato

Kawamori's several articles offer a useful survey of current political affairs, particularly after the collapse of the Prem administration.

In [P097] "An Alternative for Chatchai's Pro-business Administration", he considered the process of establishing the Chatchai administration and its corrupted nature. [P099] "Thailand: The Rise and Fall of the Suchinda Regime" is a report of political events from the breakdown of the Chatchai administration by the coup d' etat to the May incident in 1992. [P100] "Democratization Movements in Northeastern Thailand and 'May Incident'" is another article on the May Incident, in which he explicated the Incident from the viewpoint of the democratic forces. He did not apply a middle class model to analyze the Incident, but saw expanding gaps among classes and ones between cities and rural areas. He emphasized the roles of the peasant in Northeastern Thailand and laborers in cities in the democratic movement. This topic is expected to do more detailed research. Apart from the current reports, he studied connections between political thoughts and economic thoughts of the Sarit period in [P101] "Political Thoughts and Economic Policies of the Sarit Regime in Thailand".

(TAKAHASHI Masaki)

(10) Morisako, Takashi

Morisako is interested in the issue related with the adoption of Western originated political principle in the non-western country, namely Thailand. In his article [P107] "Conflict among "Ideal States" : "Age of Nation-states" and "Modern Times" of Thailand" discusses transformation of traditional *Muang* state into modern territorial state, *Prathet*, and nation-state, *Rat-chart*. On the other hand, in [P108] "Experience of Democracy in Thailand: Undercurrents of Uprising in May 1992" he evaluated the experiences of Democracy in Thailand in terms of the ideal and reality of People's party, Sarit Regime, Democratic Army and party democracy and mentioned about the relationship with the 'May incidence' of 1992.

Characteristics of Morisako's research lies in the politico-philosophical analysis on the historical and political inheritance of Thailand through the comparison between Thailand and the West.

(F. NAGAI)

(11) Nagai, Fumio

Nagai's main interest lies in the modern state formation of Thailand from mid-19th century to early 20th century. After writing a Master's thesis on the chance of Chakri reformation in the case of Paknam incident of 1893, he traced the modern state formation of Thailand back to the founding of Thonburi Dynasty, and is trying to investigate the process in terms of the reaction of Thai state to the international system. In his first two articles, [P130; P131] "The Opening of a Country *sans* External Pressures: A Reflection on the Start of Modernization in the 19th Century Thailand (1) (2)" , evaluates the politico-economic circumstances of Siam before and after the conclusion of so-called Bowring Treaty of 1855. Nagai points out that Siam at the turn of mid-19th century, had aimed to strengthen her economic interest and political status by shifting from China-centered tributary system to British-centered modern world system, and refuted the conventional interpretation of external pressures. [P135] "A Reflection on the Early Reform by King Chulalongkorn (1873-1874)" maintains that the cause of early reform by Rama V comes not from external pressure but from financial reasons.

Nagai's studies show some unique characteristics. First, Nagai uses comparative approach in the analysis of Thailand's reaction to the change of international environment in mid-19th century. Secondly, with regards to the modernization of Thailand, which was a 'port polity' , Nagai pays special attention to the politico-economic structure, such as tax farming and royal monopolistic trade. This is the reason why he dealt economic factor in [P130] and wrote a review article on Seksan Prasertkul's Ph.D. thesis in [P132]. And thirdly, he takes advantage of English materials, including unpublished Ph. D. Thesis extensively. [P133; P134] are parts of those results.

Present interest of Nagai has been shifting from the era of Rama IV to the era of Rama V, which is indicated in [P135] cited above. Further products based on his field research conducted in Thailand in 1994 and 1995 are being expected.

(F. NAGAI)

3. Studies by other researchers

(1) Political Science

The political events from the latter of the 1980s to 1992 motivated those who are not specialists on Thai politics to research Thai politics. In [P149] "the Military and the Democratization Movement in Thailand" , Suehiro, Akira, an economist on Thailand, explicated the causes and results of the May Incident in 1992 while taking notice of the "14 October 1973" . Though primarily describing politics in the last two decades, he concluded that "democracy as an institution" developed in the 80s, and that the economic technocrats and capitalists strengthened by economic growth were not strong enough to obstruct political actions of the military like the coup d' etat in 1991. In light of the coup d' etat in 1991 and the May Incident in 1992, he recognized the importance of relations among society, politics, and economics in Thailand. Therefore, in [P150] *Thailand: Development and Democracy*, using two main points of view, development and democracy, he described the considerable changes in Thai society from the end of the 1950s till the beginning of the 1990s.

In [P096] *Modern History of Thai Politics*, Kato, Kazuhide wrote a Thai political history from the Ratanakosin Dynasty to the May Incident 1992 with purpose of exploring the political system of "democracy with the king as the chief of state" . He devoted considerable attention to the royal function in the Thai political system. He thought that the traditional concept of king has been restored in the modern royal concept since the Sarit period.

Hiizumi, Katsuo focused on the coup d' etat since the "Constitutional Revolution" of 1932 in [P054] "A Pattern of Participation into Politics by Officers on the Active Service" . He is mainly concerned with conditions for a successful coup d' etat and whether or not constitutions admit officers holding cabinet posts in addition to the military office.

In [P148] "Authoritarian Regimes in Southeast Asia and Foreign Policy" , Sudo, Sueo analyzed the relationship between the authoritarian regime and diplomacy of Thailand concerning the change of Thailand's Indochina policy. Suzuki, Shizuo in [P151] "Anti-government Movement and Political Development" , investigated the democratization movement of the 1970s. He explicated three points; that the 14 October Incident was nationalistic movement, that it was a result of the students' joint struggle with the king, and that it consequently accelerated the political development of Thailand in spite of the failure of the democratization movement. In [P138] *Politics of Coup d' etat in Thailand*, Okazaki, Hisahiko et al didn't positively deal with the middle class or people's movement toward democratization. Tominaga, Tetsuro studied the Sarit regime, focusing on the political roles of the King in [P180] "An Approach to the Sarit Government: Another Origin of the Modern Thai Politics" and on reorganization of the Prime Minister's Office in that period in [P181] "An Approach to the Administrative Organization in Thailand" .

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(2) Public Administration.

Though public administration has been mainly studied by Hashimoto, there are some researchers studying about it, too. Kiyonaga, Keiji, one of them, in [P103] "the Tax System and Administration in Thailand" , researched the tax system of Thailand and reported that an

indirect tax, particularly, customs, was the main tax of Thailand in 1965. Kojima, Akira studied budget and development in [P105] "The Budgetary Politics in the Developing Countries" and [P106] "The Development Administration and Process of Compilation of a Budget in Thailand". On the other hand, Yoshida, Mikimasa surveyed the Thai Bureaucracy in [P205] "Bureaucracy of Thailand" and researched the process of performing the economic and social development plans at provincial level in [P204] "Rural Development and Decentralization Policy in Thailand".

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(3) Law

As for the study of Thai law, there are some judicial studies on the reception of modern Western law in early 20th century and modern private laws in Thailand.

[P079] "The Traditional Idea in Thai Marriage Law --- Especially about the Articles concerning Engagement---" analyses in detail how the judicial customary, found in the Three Seals Law, was adopted in the process of compilation of modern codes around the turn of 20th century, in the case of engagement regulations prescribed in the Civil and Commercial Code. [P082] "The Modernization of Thai Law---the Case of Marriage Law---" introduces the argument about the monogamy system in the modernization of Thai family law quoting from the memorandum of Legislative Advisor to Ministry of Justice, George Padoux. [P093] "Comparative Study on Civil and Commercial Code of Thailand <Introduction>" examines the compilation of Siamese Civil and Commercial Code in reference to the Japanese Civil Code from historical perspective. [P080] "An Elementary Study of the Reception of Modern Western Law in Thailand" gives a overview how Criminal Code and Civil and Commercial Code had been received in early 20th century's Thailand.

There are a few studies on modern law, such as Industry Law[P159], Company Law[P160], Labour Law[P184], but not comprehensive.

(F. NAGAI)

(4) History, History of Japan-Thai Relations, and International Relations

There is no reason to ignore historians' works on Thai history in terms of study of Thai politics, of particular, Thai political history. One area is on Chakri Reformation and another on history of Japan-Thai Relations.

First, let's look at works on the Chakri Reformation. Studies on Chakri reformation could be divided into 2 categories; concrete process of the reformation and rebellions in rural areas. Koizumi wrote a short article on the overall process of the Chakri Reformation and the reaction to it in [P104] "State Reformation and People in Thailand," based on primary Thai materials. There are couple of pieces on the important aspects of the reformation, such as Ishii's research report on the dissolution of slavery and forced labor system ([P085] The Dissolution of Inconvenient Labor System in Thailand), Tanabe's article on provincial administration ([P174]"The Process of the Establishment of State-Area in Thailand; Around the Time of Chakri Reformation"), and Iijima's article on extra-territoriality ([P084]"On the Consular Jurisdiction in Thailand\A Preliminary Note\"). Although those works were written over 20 years ago, they are still of importance. On the rebellions, which were bought

about by the Chakri Reformation around the turn of 20th century, are there several studies analyzing from different viewpoints such as the role of Buddhism, the role of ideology, or peasant rebellion([P086; P087; P175; P152]).

Secondly, among studies on history of Japan-Thai relations, Yoshikawa's works would come first. Yoshikawa is known for writing many articles on history of Japan-Thai relations. In [P209]"Japanese Sericultural Experts in the Thai Government during the Reign of King Chulalongkorn," he describes in detail roles of Japanese sericultural experts in the Ministry of agriculture at the beginning of 20th century. He has a study on Japanese Asianists in Thailand during Meiji era, such as Manjiro Inagaki, Uzaburo Ishibashi, Chitsuna Iwamoto ([P208]). Upon those researches, he wrote *History of Thai-Japanese Relations in 600 Years* ([P211]) with Ishii, Yoneo ([P212] is a Thai translation). [P210] "The Phibun Regime in Thailand and the Pacific War" makes it clear how Phibun government dealt with Japanese advance into Thailand in 1930s and 40s. His recent book, [P214; P215] *Burma-Thailand Railway: Asia-Pacific War appeared in the Secret Documents*, a pioneering research book on Burma-Thailand Railway, reveals the overall development of plotting, construction, and management of the railway. His study shows that disadvantage of the lack of Japanese first materials on this issue can be overcome by the use of unpublished firsthand materials possessed in Thai Archives. Besides Yoshikawa, Nakamura also had conducted detailed research on Japanese sericultural experts in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce ([P136]"Japanese Sericultural Experts in Siam during the Meiji Era"). Iida's short essay, [P083] "A Historical Sketch of Diplomatic Relations between Japan and Thailand; Focusing on the Abolition of Japan's Extraterritoriality," is a partial product of his Ph. D. Thesis([P081]), submitted to the University of Bristol. Shimizu and Batson wrote an article about the diplomatic relations around the beginning the Pacific war in [P146] "Wanit Pananon and Thai-Japanese Relations at the Outbreak of the Pacific War."

And thirdly, there are some products on the Postwar international relations of Thailand. [P177]"Thailand and International Relations" analyses how Thailand reacted to the changing international environment and introduced a concept of "choice diplomacy." Yoshida critically investigates the logic of Thai diplomacy in the context of Thai-American relations ([P203]"The Logic and Development of Thai Diplomacy: in the case of the relationship with the U.S., China and Indo-China").

(F. NAGAI)

(5) Political Ideology

Needless to say, political ideology, such as democracy, communism, nationalism, or whatever else, has an indispensable element in the study of Thai politics, too. Here we pay special attention to the most important official state ideology in Thai politics, '*Lak Thai*', and nationalism. *Lak Thai* is composed of 3 elements, namely monarchy, religion and nation, but most important element among them is nothing but monarchy, at least before the Constitutional Revolution and after Sarit Regime. Nonetheless, two other elements, religion and nation, also play important role in real politics, together with nationalism, which causes various phenomena in contemporary Thai society. This is the reason why we review academic results in the field of anthropology and religion in this paper.

First, from the beginning of 1970 to mid-1980, many researchers are interested in the

aspect of national integration. For example, Ishii's works ([P087; P088]) and Onozawa's works ([P140; P144] discuss the role of Buddhism Sangha in the formation of nationalism in Thailand. On the other hand, Onozawa's another two works ([P143; P144] pay attention to the role of Monarchy in the process of national integration. Politico-anthropological study on the level of village, such as Etoh's work ([P034]) and Onozawa's work ([P141]) on Village Scout, reveals how monarchy played an important role in the grass root politics. In fact, as Onozawa's another article on cultural integration towards Muslim in Southern Thailand, [P142] "The Development of Cultural Assimilation Policy and Ethnic Identity in Thailand", shows clearly, demand for cultural multiplicity is stronger than the claim for cession from Thailand among Muslims in Southern Thailand nowadays, which suggests the deep penetration of educational policy by central government. Into 1990s, researchers seem to be less interested in the integrative process of Thai nation. Rather they tend to look at the diversity of Thai society on foot covered with the nation-state ideology at the top. For example, Ayabe points out the persistence of 'Isan' ethnicity in the Thai nation-state in [P031] and the existence of ethnic culture of Black Thai living in Petchaburi province in [P032]. Onozawa also discusses the creation of new tradition by Lao-Vietnam Catholics in Isan ([P145]). It is true that those works would re-reconfirm the diversity of Thai society and persistence or invention of cultural entities, they do not reach the denial of the strength of national integration in Thailand.

The second group deals with the various aspects of monarchy in particular. Ishii ([P089; P091]) examines the relationship between Buddhism and monarchy in the historical context, which should not be neglected in understanding the place of Buddhism and monarchy in contemporary Thai society. Yoshikawa ([P212]) discusses Thai monarchy in historical and cultural context. Tanaka ([p179]) tries to explain why Thai people still give moral support to Thai monarchy, by the analysis of people's consciousness of order. Hayashi ([P053]) is a valuable contribution which evaluates critically how monarchy behaves in the rural development. While Tomosugi inquires the structural analysis of monarchy, Buddhism and money by the representation of architecture in Bangkok, Kano ([P095]) claims that the political use of Buddhism and monarchy has been strengthened by pursuing the change of belief in guardian spirits from 1950s.

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4. Conclusion

What are the future trends of studies on Thai politics in Japan? In the 1990s, there is a new trend that examines the applicability of the bureaucratic polity model formulated by Riggs. It seems that each scholars has been throwing light on aspects that were ignored and distorted by the model, showing that a real political society is more various and changing.

Akagi puts focus on "local politics", noting that non-official powers in provincial areas are growing in accordance with local economic development. He emphasizes "itthiphon" and "Chao Pho". On the other hand, Hashimoto, after studying the local administrations and local autonomy, appears to be recognizing the importance of study on "village politics" which is different from national or local politics. Tamada has begun studying the total political system of Thailand, which may be called "politics of the Tripod-ruling structure", preferring to the bureaucratic polity model. Asami has studied on Thai politics, considering political position of the labor class in the Thai political structure. His study may be called "Politics of laborers".

Kawamori proposes “politics of villagers’ movement”. Although the Japanese scholars had a tendency to study the military, coup d'etat or administration systems of the government, they now study various aspects of Thai political society.

The studies on international factors of Thai politics is another new trend of Thai studies in Japan. Though, generally speaking, the Thai studies in Japan have hardly been beyond the border of a nation-state, some researchers have considered international aspects of Thai politics. Yano studied relationship between domestic politics and the USA’s policy toward Thailand. Ichikawa also paid attention to international aspects of the communist movement. Takahashi’s studies emphasize a political system of Thailand in international systems. Nagai focuses on process of state formation of Thailand in international systems in 19th century to 20th century. Sudo studied a linkage between political regime and foreign policy of Thailand. In the future, this trend will grow.

Finally, in addition to their historical and positive approach, Japanese scholars should be more concerned with theoretical analyses. Theoretical approach and positive approach are complementary to each other. For example, in study of nationalism and nation-state of Thailand, a difference between “national integration” and “state formation” is not recognized so clearly. Particularly some anthropologists and historians tend to confuse them. One of the reasons may be that Thai study in Japan has made light of theory.

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VII.Thai Language

Miyamoto(Saengnikorn) Marasri

Introduction

Fifty years have passed since the end of the World War II .At that epoch,for the first time in Japan,the Thai language studies were begun in two national universities ,in Tokyo and Osaka. Although the development in other fields of Thai studies was significant,until the 1970's the language studies were an inconspicuous part of this domain.In that period,the Thai language studies were conducted mainly in the two universities , and the textbooks written by Tomita Takejiro and Kawabe Toshio were principally used by university students .The Thai language studies became especially noticeable during the 1980's , when Japanese businessmen realized that knowledge of the Thai language is one of the important factors facilitating their investing in Thailand.In that period many private schools and culture centers began to open Thai courses and for the first time Japanese people had the opportunity to learn Thai.In the present review , I would like to take up the works on the Thai language accomplished in Japan between 1975 and 1996. This is a time,when interest in the Thai language is no more confined in the universities but is widespread to the society. (In the mean time, the society meant Japanese businessmen and travellers.)

Here,I would like to divide the works on the Thai language into three types.

- 1.dictionaries.
- 2.textbooks.
- 3.research articles.

1.Dictionaries

The most significant authors of Thai dictionaries edited in Japan are Tomita Takejiro and Matsuyama Osamu . In 1975 Thai-Japanese and Japanese-Thai Concise Dictionary edited by Tomita Takejiro was published.Before that,university students used Thai-English and English-Thai dictionaries published in Thailand . In 1987 Tomita Takejiro edited Thai-Japanese Dictionary(desk edition).At present,it can be said that this dictionary is the first and the best Thai -Japanese dictionary in Japan . There are a lot of idioms,verbal expressions and word usages'examples.In 1994 Matsuyama Osamu edited Thai-Japanese dictionary(desk edition). Like in the Tomita's dictionary,there are many idioms and verbal expressions,but there are no word usages'examples. Two years later(1996) Matsuyama pubilshed a concise one, and in the same year he edited Japanese - Thai dictionary. This dictionary has more entries than Tomita's one in 1975.Since Tomita's one was discontinued,Matsuya-ma's one is the only Japanese - Thai dictionary that we have at present.(Tomita publised Japanese-Thai dictionary in Thailand in 1995).

2.Textbooks

Most of textbooks on the Thai language published in Japan have been written by Mizuno Kiyoshi,Miyamoto(Saengnikorn) Marasri ,Tomita Takejiro and Udo Seiji . Though the textbooks written by Tomita(1978and1987) were used only by students of the Osaka University of Foreign Studies,they are good basic books for the Japanese,especcially"A Textbook on Standard Thai II",is a good basic one for learning the Thai alphabets and reading.

Between 1989 and 1996,Mizuno Kiyoshi(partially in collaboration with another author) wrote six textbooks . Almost all of them are conversation guides for beginners . The textbook written in 1995 is a book intended for businessmen.

Udo Seiji wrote three textbooks in 1992, 1993 and 1995. His textbooks are mainly intended for beginners too. In the textbook written in 1995, he tries to explain the Thai verbal expressions by analysing the examples that collected from novels.

Miyamoto (Saengnikorn) Marasri tries to explain the Thai verbal expressions and grammar as well as some traditions and the culture of the Thai people in conversation drills and puts some comments on the Thai people's way of thinking and culture in her three textbooks written in 1990, 1992 and 1996. The book in 1992 is intended for beginners, while the one in 1990 is designed for people who are studying Thai as a major subject, and the one in 1996 is for those who finished the beginner's course and want to continue to study Thai.

3. Research Articles

Before 1980, published research works on the Thai language were scarcely available. In the early 1980's some linguists began to be interested in the Thai language. Since that period there were many research works published, mainly by 6-7 scholars (Ayabe Hiroko, Horie Ingkapirom Priya, Mikami Naomitsu, Miyamoto (Saengnikorn) Marasri and Sakamoto Hinako). The research works of the mentioned and other scholars can be arranged as follows.

First, the works on phonology. In this field, there are articles written by Imazu Toichi (1989), Mikami Naomitsu (1982) and Onishi Haruhiko (1989). Imazu went through research on the standard Thai, while Mikami referred to the correspondence of Phuthai and standard Thai, and Onishi studied onomatopoeia.

Second, the research works on verbs. They have been conducted by Isobe Hidemi (1988), Mikami Naomitsu (1992, 1993), Nozu Hatsumi (1993), and Sakamoto Hinako (1985, 1988). Isobe and Nozu focussed on serial verbs, Mikami pointed out the functional change of verbs, and Sakamoto studied subcategorization of verbs and compared Thai verbs "Pai" and "Maa" to "Iku" and "Kuru" in Japanese.

Third, the research works on semantic. Sakamoto Hinako(1987) has semantically analysed the Thai prepositions , "duêy", "kàp", "dooy", Miyamoto(Saengnikorn) Marasri(1990,1992) did on the prepositions and the conjunctions "mâa", "toon", "weelaa", "nai", and the possessive adjective "khöoj". These works are good for the Thai language education, as there are explanations of their usages.

Fourth, socio-linguistical approached researchs. Ayabe Hiroko, Horie Priya and Miyamoto (Saengnikorn) Marasri are the main researchers in this field. Ayabe studied honorific and proverbs, Horie on greetings, and Miyamoto on greetings, proverbs, idioms, alternative hammering. Here, I also found that pronominal reference is the topic that much aroused researchers' interest. There are three works of Kaenjak Kanokporn(1990), Mikami Naomitsu(1981) and Sato Hirofumi(1989) on this topic.

Fifth, I noticed that comparative or contrastive researchs are much popular in Japan. All the works conducted by Horie, Sato, some research articles of Ayabe, Miyamoto and Sakamoto are comparative or contrastive studies on Japanese and Thai. Mikami in his grammatical researchs compared the Thai language to other Southeast Asian languages.

The rest of the works are the researchs on the present condition of the Thai language education in the Kansai area in Japan, general consideration of languages in Thailand, and syntax.

Conclusion and Perspectives

As the works on the Thai Language in Japan have been accomplished mainly by the mentioned above ten scholars, we hope that many linguists will be interested in researching the Thai language in more specialized directions. For the present, I would like to sum up the works concerning the Thai language as follows.

1. Though we have dictionaries that are good enough for studying and researching, we still hope to see more varieties and

better quality of works in this field.

2. Almost all the textbooks are conversation books for beginners or for people who just want to study Thai for travel purposes. There are in demand basic textbooks and textbooks of intermediate level of better quality, as well as textbooks for advanced learners and high quality textbooks for researchers. Concretely, books on Thai grammar and writing are still in demand at present.

3. There are several fields of research that have not been accomplished yet; for example, research on dialects, Pali & Sanskrit in Thai, loanwords, classifiers, research on etymology etc. We are expecting that these researchs will be accomplished by the scholars in Japan, as well as some fields of research such as research on word classes, syntax, phonology will be continued in the future.

4. In Thai, poetry is more attractive than prose, but at present there are no research done on poetry anymore. It is expected to accomplish researchs on the poetic writings and the Thai poetry's characteristics ,too.

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Introduction

In this paper, I would like to give an overview of Japanese sociological studies dealing with Thailand. I also would like to draw attention to research done on Thailand which does not fall under the rubric of Sociology, but which still has great implications for our understanding of Thai social structures.

When we at the Japanese Thai - Study Seminar Group -- fondly known as Thai Seminar -- first heard about the sixth International conference on Thai Studies was going to be held at Chiangmai, we decided a group to prepare series of papers on our reviewing Japanese research on Thailand. This paper is one of this series given by Thai Seminar members on Thai Studies in Japan.

The trend in sociological studies on Thailand in Japan before 1985 has been already discussed in two previous articles, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan, Japanese Studies on Developing Countries; 1978 to 1985, and Japanese Studies on Developing Countries; the 1970s. Both articles discuss in detail the research carried out by Japanese sociologist concerning developing nations, including Thailand.¹⁾

In this paper, I will focus on the trends in sociological studies on Thailand carried out from 1985. To prepare for this paper, I referred to the following bibliographical sources.

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- Social and Opinion Research Database in Japan (1) and(2) --- Social and Opinion Research by members of the Japan Sociological Society after 1980. Social and Opinion Research Database Project Group.
- The Report from the Annual Meeting of the Japan Sociological Society. vol.58-67
- Yano, Toru (ed.) Introduction to Southeast Asian Studies. Kobundo: 1992
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- Koyano, Shogo (et.al) Today' s Area Studies in Sociology in Japan. Association for Sociological Study of Developing Areas: 1995.
- _____ The Trend of Comparative Regional Studies in Sociology by Japanese Sociologists, Association for Comparative Regional Studies in Sociology:1989.

This paper is a reviewed version of a talk given at the 6th Thai Seminar 16th and 17th of July, 1995, (The original version, "Review of Sociological Studies on Thailand in Japan 1985-1995" , was published, in Japanese, in Ryudai Law Review. Vol.56, 1996.) New information has been added and certain sections have been revised.

1. Thai Studies in Sociology

Generally speaking, sociological studies on Thailand in Japan have been carried out by two very different disciplines; Sociology and Area Studies. Thai Studies is commonly regarded as a component of Area Studies in that the researchers study a specific region, 'Thailand'. However, research dealing with Thailand also has a strong sociological component. This is because investigations on Thailand nearly always concentrate on identifying and understanding the social structure of Thai society.

Although the term, 'Sociological Studies', is generally defined as the study of the relation between social structure and change, or to be more precise, between the formation of social order and its destruction, in reality, it is difficult to clearly define what comprises a sociological study. This is because sociological investigations are very interdisciplinary in character. A number of scholars involved in research on Thailand from disciplines outside of Sociology use sociological research methods and theories, and work alongside sociologists in joint research projects.

The extent to which research on Thailand is focused on sociological themes is reflected in the fact that in writing this paper I found it very difficult to differentiate what comprises a sociological investigation. The disciplinary boundaries of sociological studies are not as distinguished as other academic disciplines. Unfortunately, this means that not only in new fields of sociological enquiry such as Development Studies, Environmental Studies, Women Studies and Cultural Studies, but also in classical sociology fields such as Community Studies, there are unavoidable overlaps with other disciplines such as Economics, Anthropology, and Geography.

When Area Studies was initially formed, being a child of International Relations, it was not interdisciplinary in character. However, as Area Studies matured into a separate and distinct discipline, new methodologies were invented. Slowly, through the implementation of these new methodologies of study, Area Studies become an interdisciplinary approach in understanding society, similar to Sociology. In fact, some people argue that Area Studies is more interdisciplinary in its method than Sociology.

Scholars in Area Studies use the methodologies of Sociology in their field studies. When they carry out field work, they use the local language of the region for direct interaction with the indigenous people. Moreover, through field work, they observe and record the political, economic and cultural structures of the community under investigation,

As stated above, there is an enormous account research on Thailand using sociological methodologies. In this paper, I would like to concentrate on studies by sociologists, and also on sociological studies by scholars from other disciplines.

2. Trends in Thai Studies: 1970 - 1985

Japanese sociologists first started their research on Thailand at the beginning of 1970. During this period, sociological research on Thailand gained the attention of the academic

community despite the small volume of research because of difficulties in financing and carrying out research abroad. Research during this period concentrated solely on the nature of social structure in Thai society.

There were many pioneers in Thai Studies whose effort led to Thai Studies and also Area Studies, being accepted into Japanese mainstream academic circles. Members of the Institute of Developing Economies, and Takashi Tomosugi and Atsushi Kitahara who had worked at the Institute, contributed greatly to the development of Thai Studies. In addition, the work done by a group of scholars from the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University, was also influential in establishing and expanding Thai Studies. Some of the individuals in the Kyoto group were; Yoneo Ishii, Koichi Mizuno, Masuo Kuchiba, Yoshihiro Tsubouchi, Toru Yano, and Hayao Fukui.

The Kyoto research group gained much attention for their detailed and comprehensive investigation of village communities in Thailand. The interesting feature about the Kyoto research group was that natural scientists were invited to participate. The research group's most important discovery was the unique characteristics of multi-household compounds and family circle as a distinct social cultural unit in the Dondaeng Village. This study is well-known by Japanese Thai-Study scholars.

Not only Sociology, but other disciplines too focused on analyzing Thai society during this period. Among the members of the Southeast Asian Center, only Mizuno, Kuchiba and Tsubouchi were sociologists. Atsushi Kitahara was originally trained as an economist and Takashi Tomosugi as a geographer. Yet, after they had finished working at the Institute of Developing Economies, both undertook research projects on village communities in Thailand that concentrated on identifying the singularity of Thai rural society.

Moreover, in the 1970s, Kenichi Tominaga and Hiroshi Komai from University of Tokyo investigated the effects of modernization on Thai class structure, and the role of the local Chinese in Bangkok. In the early 1980s, Koichi Niitsu and Yuko Hashimoto(Matsuzono) researched the slum communities in Bangkok. In addition, Toshio Tasaka, even though he was an economist, did research on agricultural differentiation, a topic favored by sociologists.²⁾

3. Trends in Thai Studies: 1985 to the present

The mid 1980s saw a dramatic increase in the number of Japanese graduate students wanting to study about Thailand. This enthusiasm stemmed from a wave of interest by young Japanese on all things Thai. This surge in interest increased the volume of research on Thailand done by Japanese scholars. Using the knowledge gained by the previous generation of Thai scholars, the next generation were broader in approach. They began to look at themes that connected social structure with social change. New research methods were also invented as both generations of Japanese Thai scholars experimented with ways of meeting the requisites of Area Studies. Moreover, Thai Studies became more interdisciplinary in character as various joint research projects got off the ground.

Also since the mid 1980s, considerable energy has been spent by Japanese scholars in searching for new ways of doing Area-Study research. For example, since 1993, the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science has financially supported various projects by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies to find a set methodology for carrying out Area Studies. The Ministry

has given significant financial support to projects considered as potentially leading to significant developments in academic research. The results obtained by the Center have appeared in the quarterly journal, Global Area Studies. Moreover, through these research projects, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies managed to nurture a new generation of Thai specialists with extensive firsthand knowledge.

The other academic organization that contributed greatly to the development of Thai studies in Japan was the Association for Comparative Studies in Sociology, formed by members of the Japan Sociological Society. This later became the Association for Sociological Study of Developing Areas. Both of these Associations organized conferences and published papers dealing with Thailand. More significantly both these institution promoted research and methodological debates concerning society and development.

The Institute of Developing Economies has played a significant role in establishing research on Thailand in mainstream academia. The Center for Southeast Asian has helped expand the influence of Thai Studies due to the success it has had in identifying the changes in Thai society. Research dealing with social change in Thailand appear in the following publications.

- Kitahara, Atsushi (ed.) Structure and Changes in Thai Villages. 1987
- Kitahara, Atsushi Thai Rural Society. 1990
- Kitahara, Atsushi and Akagi, Osamu (eds.) Thailand: Industrialization and Social Changes.
- Kukchiba, Masuo Traditional Structure and Change in Village Dondaeng. 1990
- Tomosugi, Takashi Changing Features of a Rice Growing Village in Central Thailand -- A Fixed - Point Study from 1967 to 1993. The Unesco Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, The Toyo Bunko 1995.

In the 1980s when the labors of the pioneers of Thai Studies started to bare fruits, Japanese people became aware of the importance of their Southeast Asian neighbors and the need to develop better relations. There was a broader, more significant development behind Japan' s rediscovery of its Asian neighbors. Borders between nations were gradually being erased, exemplified by the increased interaction by Japanese people and companies with their counterparts in Southeast Asia; socially, commercially and culturally. Contacts between Japan and Southeast Asian countries increased dramatically as personal interactions became more and more common. Thus,due to the increased presence of individual Japanese people and companies in neighbouring Asian countries, the public feeling in Japan was that the Japanese should incorporate themselves more and more with Southeast Asia.

Apart from the political, commercial, and social demand for Area Studies, the increased popularity of the discipline was also due to changes within Sociology. Area Studies became to flourish as Sociology became interdisciplinary in content. This phenomena was reflected in the increase in courses related to Area Studies at Japanese universities and colleges. During this period, joint research ventures too increased greatly. Some examples of sociological research in Thai Studies since 1985 are as follows;

- Kitahara and Akagi led two research groups. One group undertook a detailed investigation of Thai villages. The other group concentrated on the relationship between rural and urban

sectors.

- Another research group led by Shogo Koyano and Ryukichi Kitagawa compared urbanization in Thailand and Indonesia. The research results of their work was published in *Sociological Study of Urbanization in Southeast Asia*.
- Koichi Niitsu conducted a survey on slums in Asia. See *Slums in Asia* by Koichi Niitsu.
- Tsubouchi Yoshihiro investigated the features of urban civilization in Southeast Asia.
- The joint research work of Yano Toru and Yoshihiro Tsubouchi was published in the journal, *Global Area Studies*.
- Hayao Fukui analyzed transformation of agriculture in Yasothon Province.
- Nishikawa Jun analyzed the social of Thai Buddhism in conduct and thought. His work is expected to be published soon.

The general trend in Japanese research has been to do micro-level research on village communities. For example, Yasuyuki Sato, Yasuhiro Takai, and Yasuko Seki made a great inroads into understanding Thai society through their investigations of village communities in northern Thailand. Naohiko Takemura too, concentrated on village life in northeast Thailand. Ryoko Nishii studied villages in southern Thailand.

Rapid economic development in Thailand during the early 1990s brought with it new social problems. Many scholars started paying attention to the social cost of "Western model" development and began to form theories of alternative development. This new theoretical approach is critical of the Thai government's development policies that place great emphasis only on economical growth. Noriyuki Suzuki is one Japanese scholar who argues the need for models of alternative development using Thailand as a case study. Suzuki outlays his thesis in his book, *Alternative Development in the Third World; A Case Study of Thai Villages*. Another Japanese scholar, Akira Suehiro analyzed the relation between alternative development and agricultural enterprises in his work, *Thailand: Development and Democracy*. In addition, research groups within the Institute of Developing Economies have spent considerable resources investigation the environmental costs involved in Thailand's rapid economic growth.

Not all Japanese scholars have been won over by alternative development theories. Atsushi Kitahara and Yoshihide Sakurai have been very critical of alternative development theories in their research. They are of the opinion that the programmes put forward by alternative development theorists are not practical.

The considerable social dislocation caused by rapid economic growth has also produced a great number of illegal and legal Thai migrant labors to go to Japan. Hiroshi Komai takes up the issues of Thai migration to Japan in his work, *Live Together with Immigrant Workers*. Komai concludes his work by insisting that Thai migrant labors should have their basic human rights protected, regardless of their status in Japan.

There is also, of course, the highly publicized problem of Thai female workers, and prostitution. The problem of Thai prostitution is also a problem of AIDS contamination. Tsunetsugu Munakata traces the spread of AIDS among Thai people both in Japan and in Thailand in his Report on Aids and Prostitution.

Another issue often discussed in contemporary academic circles is the influence of

Japan's ODA policy on Thailand. Shiro Yoshizawa edited Comprehensive Studies on ODA that dealt specifically with the influence of Japan's ODA on Thai society.

Many research groups from various fields in Sociology, who are not specialists in Thai culture or society, have joined the ranks of comparative studies dealing with Thailand. For example, Takatoshi Imada, who specializes in Japanese work patterns, discussed Thai people's attitudes towards work. Hiroko Hara and fellow gender-study colleges examined the relation between economic development and gender roles. Also, a research group from the Osaka University for Education examined the problems facing Thailand's education system. Unfortunately, since all of the above research was carried out by scholars with limited knowledge of Thai society, the conclusions so far have been unconvincing.

Although comparative studies offer interesting insights, the quality of Japanese comparative studies on Thailand must improve if Japanese scholars are to offer any substantial research at the international level. Atsushi Kitahara insists that the problem lies with sociologists who jump at the chance of participating in research projects abroad, but lack knowledge of the country they intend to study.³⁾ As international comparative research becomes popular in Japan, more and more sociologists start research projects overseas without any prior knowledge of the country or society they are to investigate.

The number of sociological publications on Thailand by people outside the university has also increased around the last five years. This indicates that the Japanese public has become interested in Thailand. Journalists have dealt with a very broad range of topics relating to Thai society such as immigrant laborers, ODA, economic related problems, NGO, prostitution, and gender issues in ways not possible by academics. Journalistic writing on Thailand differs from academic writing in several ways. Journalist can publish work dealing with Thailand quickly. Their audience does not expect empirical detail in their writings. Also, they have the freedom to pursue their investigations without the administrative and teaching duties that university professors in Japan are obliged to perform.

I would like to give a small sample of the journalist writing on Thailand. Yayori Matsui, a free journalist, has specialized in writing about Thai women. Moreover, the Three Thai Female Victims of Shimodate Affair Support Group recently edited Letters from Thai Women to Japan, a Prostitution-Oriented Society. This publication comprises of a series of essays and letters from Thai women who spoke out against the judgement concerning the Shimodate Affair in which three Thai entertainers murdered their Thai employer, who was allegedly taking advantages of them. The Letters from Thai Women questions the commitment of Japanese authorities to protecting the rights of Thai women working in Japan. There are also many essays and documentary reportage about the daily life of Thai people and the diverse colors of Thai society. A Rail Trip in Thailand by Kazuyuki Okamoto (1993) is exemplary of this type of publication. In his book, Okamoto records the lives of Thai people he met during his train trip through Thailand. Japanese NGO and NPO groups also published periodic newsletters drawing attention to the social problems prevalent in Thailand. As the above examples do not belong to any formal body of social research, they are not listed in the reference found on the last page of this paper.

4. Problems Facing Thai Studies in Japan

The number of research projects by Japanese sociologists on Thailand has increased steadily. Japanese sociologists have also made substantial progress in the quality of their research. However, there still exist problems that need to be solved. Japanese research on Thailand has rarely been carried out from the point of view of understanding Thailand as a component of a global society. Japanese sociologists tend to concentrate exclusively on one designated area, one nation-state or one specific society. This methodology is typical of an Area Studies approach. Yet, sociological studies do not have to concentrate solely on a specific geographical area. For example, Thai society can be better understood by taking into account how Thailand interacts with the rest of the world. I firmly believe that the future progress of Thai Studies lies in its incorporation into International - Sociology --- the study of how Thailand is part of a global society.⁴⁾ Furthermore, Atsuhi Kitahara shares a similar critical view from the perspective of comparative studies.⁵⁾ He argues that Thai Studies in Japan concentrates solely on understanding Thailand as distinct geographic entity. There are hardly any attempts to analyze Thai society in comparison with other Asian societies.

The conclusions reached by Japanese sociologists on Thai society have been the subject of controversy among Thai scholars. Professor Prasert Yamklinfung, for one, is critical of the way Japanese scholars go about doing their research based on his experiences working with Japanese scholars on joint projects. He argues that sociologists in Japan tend to focus on micro communities such as villages or towns. The result is that they have a tendency to ignore the broader structures that run throughout the whole of Thai society. Moreover, he was critical that industrialization in Thailand was rarely analyzed by Japanese scholars.⁶⁾ He also points out that the formation of Thailand as a nation-state has also been a theme under explored in Japan. Professor Prasert is also critical of the sparsity of research relating to changes in class structure and the influence of Japan's direct investment in Thailand.

There are two types of analysis in Sociology. One focuses on small units or communities such as the family, the village, or the city. In other words, 'Micro-level research'. The other type of analysis looks at larger communities and how they form, such as the horizontal relationships of a nation-state. This is known a 'Macro - level' approach. To fully understand social structure and social change, a synthesis of both of these approaches is necessary.

Research by Japanese academics on Thailand favor the micro-level approach over the macro-level. When Japanese researchers carry out their investigations, they generally start with a micro-level approach because of the lingering influence of Area Studies methodology. As a result, there is few Japanese academics who deal with the macro-level components of Thai society.

Admittedly, there is a need to continue micro-level studies of Thai society before extending these to incorporate macro - level issues. The reason for this is that Area Studies is a relatively young discipline, and there has not been enough time to gather sufficient micro-level data on Thai society. It is almost impossible to succeed in macro-level analysis without a firm understanding of the micro-level issues. In other words, one should always be striving to

relate the micro-level dynamics of society to the broader macro-level structures.

Some Japanese scholars participating in joint research projects have tried to connect micro-level research with broader, global themes. An example is the work complied and edited by Atsushi Kitahara and Osamu Akagi entitled *Industrialization and Social Changes*. (1995). For me this is the future of Thai Studies.

Surichai Wangaeo, also formulating his opinions from working on many joint projects with Japanese scholars, points out that many of the results found by Japanese researchers are not returned to Thai society. In some cases, he argued, it appears that Japanese researchers are only concerned with gathering information and data on Thai society so that they can publish in Japan. Many articles written by Japanese Thai-Study scholars are seldom translated into Thai or English. This means that the Thai public has little opportunity to read the results found. However, the issue is more complicated than that. The few papers that are written in Thai or English by Japanese scholars are not often referred to by Thai scholars. It can be assumed that research done by Japanese scholars is not held in high esteem in Thailand. Or, perhaps, Thai scholars seldom notice works carried out by Japanese specialists.

While Surichai strongly disapproves of the fact that Japanese researchers are interested only in gathering data or information for their own use, he favors 'Action Research'. 'Action Research' involves researchers cooperating with the local people to try and improve the quality of life. Together, researchers and the local community experiment with possible solutions for improving life without inflicting harm on the environment.

Regardless of the controversy caused by Surichai's opinions amongst Japanese academics, his opinion helps to focus attention on the fact that research should aim to try and develop practical solutions to the specific problems facing our societies at present.

We, sociologists, are expected to play an active role in Area Studies. Presently, the world's eyes are focused on the Asian region. There is a general anticipation of an "Asian Age" in which Asian nations will play a very prominent role in shaping the Twenty-First Century. New research projects on the Asian region are deemed necessary because of the increased commercial, diplomatic, and social exchange. Consequently an increasing number of Japanese are becoming interested in Thailand. Much interest is concentrated on Thailand's economic performance and rapid growth. As economic relations between Thailand and Japan increase, the volume of research on the Thai economy also increases. Such research is regarded as a priority by Japanese commercial interests.⁷⁾

Yet, it is impossible to explain Thai society and the complex relations between Japan and Thailand by only using economic theories. Economics is just one of the elements of society. However, contemporary issues can be explained using sociological research that concentrates on understanding social structures and change. For example, sociological research can show the relevant social structures behind the economic growth experienced by Thailand at the moment. The same sociological approach can also show the social changes produced by economic development. Sociologists can study issues which economists can rarely explain. The advantage of a sociological perspective over economic analysis is that Sociology allows us to consider Thai society from various points of view rather than from just the determinates of production.

As Max Weber stated in *Economy and Society*, the sociologists' role is very important

when a society is in upheaval. Sociology offers significant insights on contemporary issues in fast changing societies, such as contemporary Thailand.

1)After the 6th Thai Seminar held on the 16th of July , 1995, the trend in research done by Japanese scholars on developing countries for the period 1985-94 was discussed in a special issue of Ajia Keizai vol.36. 6-7. Institute of Developing Economies Japan: 1995. The report was organized by country or region. A similar article, but organized under the various academic disciplines, was published in another special issue of Ajia Keizai vol36. 8. Institute of Developing Economies: 1995. Sociological studies, however, was not discussed in either articles.

2)For an overview of the research carried out during this period, see Japanese Studies on Developing Countries; 1978 to 1985, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan (1978). and Japanese Studies on Developing Countries ; the1970s, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan (1986).

3)See Atsushi Kitahara "Chapter 3: the Trend of Research on Southeast Asia." Today' s Area Studies in Sociology in Japan. Association for Sociological Study of Developing Areas; (1995).

4)Hiroshi Komai defines International Sociology as a new type of Social Science on Sociology. It is an approach that attempts to grasp how we have come to live in a global society by identifying the interactions between individuals, communities and nations that transgress national boundaries. Moreover, Komai states that a theory of International Studies needs to be formulated around solid, detailed empirical evidence. See, Hiroshi Komai Japan as Multi-Ethnic Society p4. Kokusaishoin: 1994.

5) See Kitahara' s work above in fn 3, pp46-48, and also comments by Shogo Koyano, "Subjects and Methodology in Sociology" in Shogo Koyano (ed.) Cross-National Comparative Research in Sociology, (Gakuyo Shobo; 1994).

6)Atsushi Kitahara argues that Japanese sociological studies carried out by Japanese scholars on Southeast Asia communities have remained firmly within the tradition of Area Studies, with each society being treated as a distinct entity because of its geographic location.

7) This reflects the fact stated in fn 1.

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IX.Thai Literature Translation

Miyamoto(Saengnikorn) Marasri

At present,I can not say when the Thai literature was introduced to Japan for the first time. According to the materials at hand,I know that,in 1976 some Thai folklore proses were translated into Japanese and edited by Yoshikawa Toshiharu and Akagi Osamu.In the 1980's,several Thai literature works were translated into Japanese,mainly by Iwaki Yujiro,Hoshino Tatsuo,Nishino Junjiro,Nonaka Koichi,Tomita Takejiro and Yoshioka Mineko. Almost all of them are contemporary literature works,novels, there are also short stories.Concerning classical literature, although summaries of them were translated by Tomita Takejiro (1981), the whole ones have not been translated yet.

Here,it can be said that at present the literature translations have been done more due to one's preference than in order to introduce or study Thai literature in a specialized direction. We expect to see the translations or works on literature in more specialized directions,we expect also introducing to Japanese people works concerning aspects of the Thai literature;for example, the history and outline of the literature from Sukhothai period to the present and poetical works etc., so that Japanese people could know the characteristics of the Thai literature in general.

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