



Title	Sociology, Thai studies in Japan, 1996-2006 : globalization and regional social change
Author(s)	Sakurai, Yoshihide
Citation	Thai Studies in Japan, 1996-2006. pp.33-52
Issue Date	2008
Doc URL	http://hdl.handle.net/2115/35589
Type	article
File Information	sakurai-3.pdf



[Instructions for use](#)

Sociology, Thai Studies in Japan, 1996-2006: Globalization and Regional Social Change

SAKURAI, Yoshihide

1 Perspective and Method

The task that lies before the author is to summarize research findings obtained in Thailand by Japanese sociologists and then present research trends to researchers in other disciplines in an understandable manner. In this paper, due to space limitations, the author has elected to limit the reviewing period and references as follows:

First, in order to present a complete overview of the research, I gathered documents from the databases of the Japan Sociological Society and the Japan Society for Southeast Asian History for the period of 1995 to 2006.

Second, I collected sociological research papers that had appeared during the same period in the Japanese Sociological Review, Southeast Asian Studies, Asian Economy, Asian Studies, and Southeast Asia; History and Culture. Although publications other than the Japanese Sociological Review specialized in regional research, I also referred to papers in other fields such as political science, economics, history, and anthropology in order to utilize the sociological perspectives in those papers. Incidentally, only six of the papers featured in the Japanese Sociological Review or IJJS were related to Southeast Asia. Of them, two papers of Thai studies were by Sakurai and the rest was by Kitahara (Sakurai, 1996, 1999; Kitahara, 1997, 2004). In other words, very few Thai research papers can be found in specialized sociological journals. The reality is that only papers and books written from a sociological perspective and analysis have been published as regional research works. For this reason, I will review only documents that have developed sociological studies, specifically observed in sociology, while at the same time keeping in mind regional studies of Southeast Asia in general.

2 Trends in Sociological Surveys in Thailand and Other Regions of Southeast Asia

Atsushi Kitahara reviewed sociological studies on Southeast Asia between the 1960s and 1996, and posed the following two sociological questions: 1) how to reconcile regional cultures and their livelihood structures with world systems, and 2) how to conduct a pilot

study that can compare regional cultures and societies (Kitahara, 1997). Although comprehensive theories such as dependency theory and world-system theory have been proposed with regard to the former, they strike me as attempts to use a single aspect of the multifaceted realities in regional communities as proof of globalization. Consequently, those theories have not been used as successfully as in monographs in which the logics of local communities can be described in minute detail. One can clearly depict the interconnection between a region and the world by analyzing only the elements that are directly influenced or transferred due to globalization such as finance, capital ties, multinational corporations, or foreign labor. Therefore, rather than directly aiming for the former, it would be more productive to indirectly focus on the issue of the former based on the findings of the latter.

For instance, I concur with Kitahara's assertion that the sociology of business culture and labor-management relationship involving Japanese corporations and their overseas subsidiary companies can be projected through the spectrum of local cultures with Japanese-style management as the prism. The theory of comparative sociology through the eyes of workers at Japanese corporations (Imada and Sonoda, 1995) was pioneering work. Problems involving the establishment of Japanese-style labor-management relationships and career formation for local workers in foreign countries will never end so long as Japanese corporations continue to go abroad (Sakurai, 1996). This type of endeavor has been conducted as a comparison to the establishment of civil society in Asia (Iwasaki, 1998), the new middle class (Koyano, Kitagawa, Kano, 2000; Hattori, Torii, Funatsu, ed., 2002) and NGO activity (Shigetomi, 2001).

Still, it is not easy to maintain a balance between comparing collective entities (family, community, associations, etc.) that compose the objective concept as well as their indexes that are intentionally coordinated, and how to utilize local contexts.

There are all kinds of differences: differences between people of Chinese descent who perceive family in relation to exclusive kinship groups and people in island regions who associate with other people through cooperatives or intimate groups or zones; differences between communities and government-backed autonomous organizations that have been founded for the purpose of development and maintenance of security, and self-governing organizations that have been independently generated from the management of natural forests, common forests, fishing grounds, and irrigation facilities. Even though these

groups may share the same functions at present, each has a different historical background. Exploring these historical differences is crucial to understanding the region and provides a real excitement in regional studies.

Comparative regional research was proposed by Noriyuki Suzuki in 1996 while he was reviewing Thai studies in the field of sociology in Japan (Suzuki, 1996). Suzuki also proposed: 1) we move from community research to macro research by focusing on social class, migration, and the structure of nation states; 2) we move from regional research without follow-ups to action research through which researchers can resolve social issues together with those directly involved; and 3) we examine the Japan-Thai relationship from the perspective of social solidarity in addition to economic cooperation and migration of laborers. Suzuki contends that a study is not a sociological one unless we conduct a structural analysis beyond the area of regional research by interconnecting the structure of global international communities and the structure of nation states.

With regard to his first idea, studies based on Suzuki's proposals correspond to the creation of the research category of international sociology. Yet, it is still difficult to encapsulate the entire international community in a research perspective. In actuality, many studies have been immigrant studies discussing the citizenship of immigrants and refugees or the structure of multi-cultural society. As for his second and third recommendations, most of those studies were Suzuki's own (Suzuki, 2006a; Suzuki and Wangpokakul Peeriya, 2006; Noriyuki Suzuki, Keeratiporn Sritanyarat, 2006). In my view, there is ample room for improvement concerning the content of reports on NGOs and NPOs.

Comparative regional research has been promoted by regional researchers, rather than by sociologists. The COE Project at the Institute of Developing Economies has striven to understand Southeast Asia multilaterally by using key concepts such as "small-population society" (Tsubouchi, 1998), "composite society," "frontier world," and "dense society." Yet, such terms do not appear to converge with common localities (Tsubouchi, ed., 1999, 2000). On the contrary, once the subject of comparison is extended to race, religion, and culture (Kato, 2004) or family, region, and ethnicity (Kitahara, ed., 2005), the diversity of the region is emphasized.

Compared to research of Northeast Asia and South Asia, comprehensive studies on Southeast Asian society commonly depict social aspects that are greatly regulated by

external factors such as the ecosystem or the history of colonization rather than broad ethnic histories in the memories of people or the continuity of cultures, if not the foundation of the nation or the history of its disappearance. The sociological perspective also shares this point. Under circumstances in which regions are involved in the global capitalist economic system or rapid social change that are implemented under national development-oriented policies, those studies have examined how individuals, family, regions, and social systems have adapted to the changes.

In this respect, beyond simply focusing on the inherent feature of specific regions, depicting regional differences in terms of the depth or direction of transformation is much more in the nature of sociological research; at the same time, presenting issues of the local community or society in general from the standpoint of individual dignity or social equity also falls under the purview of sociology (Ikeda, 2000). Globalization and development-oriented political and economic policy have been the driving forces behind social transformation in Southeast Asia, (Suehiro, 2000). The transfer of people, things and money has helped generate rapid social change in the region, during the course of which the following research tasks have emerged with respect to various aspects of society.

3 Sociological Research Tasks of the Present

3-1 Region (Rural – Urban Relationship)

The rural community has changed greatly due to the commodity economy (Akagi, Kitahara, and Takeuchi, ed., 2000, Totani,1999; Kitahara, 1996,1999,2004; Sato, 2005; Sakurai, 2005). With this in mind, how will regional communities in Southeast Asia, where the majority of people live, be maintained in the future? (Kitahara, 2004).

Because businesses and factories with large employment capacity are located only in primary cities of several million people, and medium-sized cities of several hundred thousand people, rural people often participate in the informal sector in urban areas for cash earnings so that they send money to support their children or aging parents in rural villages. Many young people form households in the slums or suburbs, and a large number of them live there permanently as lower-class workers. The class structure, regulated by the resources related to land ownership and the right to use areas for agriculture, forestry and fisheries, is about to collapse. The village landscape has changed

greatly due to the high academic achievement of children, made possible by cash income (secondary school graduates do not inherit family businesses) and consumerism (materialism and debt). Now, rural villagers not only have a hard time making a living in jobs that involve dealing with nature, but are also unable to conduct extensive subsistence farming (Yamamoto, 1999). The background is this: in addition to the fact that the increasing demographic pressure does not allow unruly or unregulated use of resources (excess of slash-and-burn cultivation), ecological destruction (the conversion of forests into agricultural land; river management by dams, etc.; pollution due to factory and urban waste) were added; thus, stakeholders have conflicts over the boundaries of private property, commons, and national land. In the 30-year period of 1960-90, the forest area in Thailand dwindled to half (this happened in Northeast Thailand in 1975-90); in 1989 Thailand banned commercial logging of natural forests (Sato, 2002).

From rural community to city, from the socialist bloc to the capitalist bloc, resources continue to be drained in one direction. Industrialized countries are also working to protect the right to live in rural regions --- even in areas under adverse conditions --- by imposing government policies such as price supports and income security for farm produce, or support for environmental sustainability. Southeast Asian countries, however, do not have sufficient financial latitude to carry out improvement of regional communities even though marginal settlements are generated in the ecosystem or with labor resources. Unlike Japan, South Korea, or Taiwan, those countries cannot afford to promote dual employment or subsidiary businesses as a managerial strategy or national policy. Because infrastructure is not sufficiently developed, it is unrealistic to envision industrial sites in rural areas. Although sustainable farming and eco-tourism initiatives have been implemented by regional development NGOs, their power to generate employment remains weak. To live in a rural community in Southeast Asia, not only in Thailand, involves serious problems (The Japanese Association for Rural Studies, ed., 2004).

And what of cities? Urban studies have been conducted on the formation of the labor market and industries in global cities in Thailand and Southeast Asia and on the issue of social classes at the Graduate School of Economics, Osaka City University (Tasaka, ed., 1998). A global city means a city with two classes: in the socially upper class are executives and families of MNCs and international organizations, while in the socially

lower class are foreign workers who have legally or illegally immigrated from neighboring countries; a competitive relationship and segregated housing may be observed between native and illegal workers. Through the transfer of money by migrant workers inside and outside the country, who have established residency, and through the networking of transient workers, the global city is directly connected to the rural area or neighboring countries. Still, it is not quite true that the Southeast Asian region has become “borderless.”

The transmigration of workers and working conditions are controlled by the country in question and their civil rights are limited. In Thailand and Malaysia, “semi-legalization” measures have been adopted by which illegal workers who had migrated from neighboring countries are required to be registered to work (Tamaki, 2005). Meanwhile, migrant workers who are willing to go abroad are either lower-middle class workers or farmers from economically advanced countries. Underground organizations are involved in illegal human transport, which includes human trafficking. In other words, the national boundary of economic disparity helps bring an enormous profit to people or organizations involved in the transfer of human beings.

In those stratified and segmented global cities, a number of urgent issues have surfaced: coping with traffic congestion and waste, controlling gambling, drugs, and prostitution, taking care of slum residents and street children, maintaining the urban environment, and developing communities (Hata, 2005).

In Southeast Asia, regional social studies focusing on policy enforcement to maintain local communities are required. The actors in regional formation can vary. Dichotomous thinking, such as whether ODA or NGO/NPO, economic development or social human-resource development, external resource-importing development or spontaneous development, is now out of date. Thus, it is crucial to build up local theories that take root in the realities of the region by conducting research surveys.

3-2 Family, Education, and Labor

In Southeast Asia, the birthrate has been on the decline not only among the urban middle class but in rural communities as well. Thus, each nation has begun to discuss a solid reinforcement of the social security system in preparation for a further decline in the birthrate and the aging of populations (Tanada, ed., 2005).

In Thailand, the average birthrate in 2000 was 1.82 nationally and 1.12 for Bangkok specifically. As the economy grows, the life course of not succeeding one's parent's occupation, receiving secondary education (the enrollment rate was 82.5% in 2003) and becoming a salaried worker in a city has become increasingly common. Twenty years ago, the enrollment rate for higher education institutions was less than 5%; it is now over 40%. Thailand's economic growth has spurred dramatic progress in higher education. On the other hand, students at national universities in 2003 (41 out of 78 colleges were made regional universities from educational colleges) accounted for only 18% of the total number of college students. Two "open" universities, where anyone may enroll, accounted for 41%, 61 private colleges for 26%, and 17 junior colleges and others for 15%.

According to World Bank statistics, the highest enrollment rate of institutions for higher education (including junior colleges) in 2003 was Thailand (40.1%), followed by The Philippines (29.4%), Malaysia (28.8%), Singapore (25.0%/2004), Indonesia (16.2%), Myanmar (11.3%), Vietnam (10.2%), Laos (5.1%), Cambodia (3.1%), and Brunei (1.9%). The 2003 per capita GDP of Singapore (\$21,825) was approximately ten times higher than that of Thailand (\$2,236), and approximately 64 times higher than Laos (\$339.5). The policy on quantitative relaxation for higher education (an increase in the number of private colleges and national university students) varies depending on the country. The above figures more or less match the economic growth of each country.

However, with the exception of Singapore, no country has established a labor market compatible with the expansion of higher education. Cheap labor is still required in the labor-intensive manufacturing industry and service industry. Also, it is not that the demand for technical jobs or administrative work worthy of higher education graduates has increased dramatically. In Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, the guarantee of quality in higher education is the key to making economic progress. In Indonesia and Vietnam, quantitative expansion is the key; other countries are still in the phase of training leaders.

In Southeast Asian societies, where, traditionally, women's economic activities are not restricted, the employment rate for women is higher than that in Northeast Asian societies. Still, that does not mean that men and women equally share household chores and child rearing. In the city, the cost for the externalization of domestic chores (eating out is the norm; hiring foreigners or workers from provincial areas for cleaning, laundry, and child

rearing) used to be low. But now, when, due to urban sprawl, the commute becomes longer and the child-care costs rise, women's work patterns show an M-shaped curve in a figure analogous to Japan (Ochiai, Yamane, and Miyasaka, ed., 2007). Domestic labor moves to countries that can afford the cost. Therefore, the Philippines exports house keepers and care workers to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and other countries, and Vietnam sends brides to Taiwan, who become permanent residents through international marriages (approximately 30% of marriages in 2003 in Taiwan were international). The household and family have become global. Advanced countries can enjoy globalization. But in developing nations where nursing-care workers cannot be employed, the elderly won't be able to receive public assistance or support from their children's generation. How will they manage? There is no easy solution to this; it is a complex issue strongly linked to both gender and globalization.

There have been a number of papers and books describing cultural differences among family members, the gender issue in individual communities, and the empowerment of women. What the comparative study by Ochiai, Yamane, and Miyasaka suggested was that besides the expansion of feminism in East Asia and Southeast Asia, the entire Asian region had begun to experience common transformations in family-related matters. Yet, inter-hierarchical and international disparities are still clearly reflected in strategies to restore family life through education and diverse employment styles. For this reason, survey research is urgently needed to clarify the specific relations between family transformations and globalization in individual regions. After having done that, there are various issues that must be addressed regarding social security including gender-related issues (Osawa, 2004).

3-3 Race, Religion, and Culture

In the islands of Southeast Asia, during the period of Dutch and British colonial rule, when workers were brought in from China and India, different ethnic groups --- people of Chinese descent, the Tamil, and the native people --- coexisted. From the days of colonization till individual nations became independent nation states, there were resident Chinese, and various trading ethnic groups in Southeast Asia. In addition, they experienced wartime recruitment following the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia, the migration of Chinese Nationalist Party supporters in the wake of the Chinese Civil War,

and the migration of refugees after the establishment of the socialist government (Wang, 2004; Kataoka, 2006). Despite that, people have freely crossed between the Asian continent and the island area.

In ASEAN countries, the degree of freedom in civil rights and economic activity that should be given to people of Chinese descent, who accounted for 10% to 30% of the population, was a major issue in social and economic policy. Chinese-dominated Singapore achieved independence from the Federation of Malaya; In Thailand, Chinese residents assimilated into Thai culture and occupied the center of power in political and economic circles. The Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia, in the name of nationalism, treated Chinese residents badly. Meanwhile in river delta areas on the continental side, the ethnic majority conducted wet-rice cultivation. In the mountain area, there were ethnic minority groups who conducted slash-and-burn cultivation or trading. Under various government policies, such as the religious policy (from animism to Theravada Buddhism), the political-stability policy, the environmental conservation policy (conversion from the poppy and slash-and-burn cultivation), those minority and fringe groups, and the social welfare policy (state- and NGOs-supported), had no choice but to assimilate into the nation ruled by the ethnic majority (Hayami,1998). Now they are faced with the issues of poverty and HIV (Michinobu, 2005). From the perspective of religious research, there has been a detailed report on the process by which Theravada Buddhism, Catholicism, and Islam were blended with ethnic religions, and eventually into a practical religion, as well as its present condition (Hayashi, 2000; Nishii, 2001;Tanabe, 2003). Sakurai (2008) carefully analyzed varieties of regional development activities by monks in Northeast Thailand and considered the cultural and social condition under which socially engaged religion substantially contribute to social welfare.

Recent cultural studies show a strong tendency to view culture as something hybrid and dynamic. Cultures in Southeast Asia had strong blending elements consistent with the mixed housing of different ethnic groups. However, those cultures have been reorganized under various political pressures (the push for creating a nation state, authoritarian developmentalism, and identity politics by opposition forces). By focusing on culturally representative monuments, collective memories of the state and the culture those monuments may evoke, and the narratives of self and others, the constructive aspects of culture can be clarified (Kato, ed., 2004). If this viewpoint is applied, from the

expressed concern that globalization will Westernize (or Americanize) and homogenize ethnic cultures, we can detect a will to build an indigenous national culture while addressing cultural changes. What greatly contributed to the establishment of national culture was public education to edify the integration of the people.

Education not only contributes to personal development, but also has the aspect of bolstering the social system in helping to cultivate national identity. Among many ASEAN nations, new governments were launched based on certain specific groups that had opposed colonial forces; those countries were controlled by the government and the military. The goal of education was to culturally and politically integrate areas and ethnic groups surrounding the power. Papers on region and school (Onaka, 2002), national education and primary education (Nozu, 2005), and the expansion of civic education (Hirata, 2007) have been published by researchers in the field of comparative education.

3-4 Disparities in region and class and Civil Society

Among ASEAN nations, the larger the area of agricultural, mountain, and fishing villages a country has, the greater its class disparities. However, as economies have improved, one can increasingly see movements of people who seek free speech and economic opportunity, and who detest restrictions imposed by authoritarian governments.

Looking at the political awareness of the urban middle class from statements by newspapers and intellectuals, and anti-government street demonstrations, it is certainly true that beginning in the 1990s, the movement towards democratization has accelerated in Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Asami, 1999). Still, in Thailand, the soft landing of the authoritarian system is considered to have been prepared from the 1980s; the roles and the political awareness of the new middle class remain unclear (Tamada, 2003). Found among the people with lifestyles that promote an information-oriented and consumer society are many white-collar workers who work for corporations owned by ethnic and Chinese conglomerates, influential politicians, bureaucrats, or soldiers. The relationship between them and the people power of the working class, who have nothing to lose, is subtle. Needless to say, NGOs, which have been working to play a leading role in social movements to establish civil society, are still active. However, the organization of the labor movement is incomplete and the momentum for citizens' movement and

anti-discrimination movement to spread to the general public beyond stakeholders remains weak.

In Thailand, following bloody pro-democracy conflicts, a new Constitution was introduced in 1997. The eligibility to run for parliamentary election was restricted to college graduates or higher. Whatever the realistic reasons were, some 80% of the people lost their eligibility. Thaksin Shinawatra, the head of the Thai Rak Thai Party who won the general election of 2001 in a landslide, received overwhelming support from farmers in the North and Northeast regions; he adopted the populist policy of promising farmers debt reduction, a 30-baht medical care program, and one million baht for a district (Tambon) revitalization fund. Although the rising Thai economy initially supported his CEO-like political style, his autocratic approach (conflict with Muslims in southern Thailand; 2,637 drug dealers shot to death in 2003 alone), cronyism and nepotism (promotions for family members and peers, and favoritism for his own firms), and opaque asset management (tax breaks and stock sales) came under severe criticism. Prime Minister Thaksin dissolved the National Assembly in March, 2006, and held a general election on April 2nd.

The opposition party, however, expressed protest by boycotting the election. Only candidates from the Thai Rak Thai Party and several minority parties ran. This election became a virtual vote of confidence for the ruling party. The Thai Rak Thai Party won 359 seats in 400-seat single electoral districts (with one seat going to the opposition party and 40 seats to be re-voted), and all seats in 100 proportional representation districts (votes obtained: 56.5%). But due to the two-month-long anti-Thaksin demonstration and at the behest of the King of Thailand, the prime minister was forced to release a transfer-of-power statement. One Thai English-language paper called it “a victory for democracy” (editorial in *The Nation*, April 5, 2006), while one Japanese newspaper reported it was “led by the middle class in the capital area” (*Asahi Shimbun*, April 6, 2006). Due to the reelection, the opening of the National Assembly has been delayed, and Thai politics continues to be in disarray, yet fundamental issues have yet to be discussed.

There is a difference in political awareness between regions and classes. Looking at region-by-region voting patterns, that is share of the votes by the Thai Rak Thai Party and the percentage of blank votes in the single-seat electoral districts, they were North

(58%,26%), Northeast (70%, 16%), Central (49%, 36%), South (18%, 63%), Bangkok (45%,50%); in the proportional representation districts, they were North (62%, 23%),Northeast (75%, 13%), Central (51%, 29%), South (17%, 67%), Bangkok (48%, 48%)(The Report of the Election Results in Thailand on April 2, 2006 by the Ministry of the Interior, Thailand). The capital city of Bangkok is the region where the middle class is most dominant. In Southern Thailand, there are conflicts between some Muslims and the Thai government, which shall be discussed later.

That the transfer of power was realized by people power and there was a successful political movement with the mobilization of citizens --- those facts are still discussed in the context of democratization. Meanwhile, the will of the constituents, so called “local farm votes” that had gone through a democratic process was regarded as an inconsequential fact. . Media outlets, which are mainly led by intellectuals and turn the urban middle class into avid readers, consider those facts to be less important. This kind of divided civil society is characteristic of not just Thailand, but of Southeast Asian society in general, where interregional and inter-class disparities are conspicuous. The argument that the new middle class will promote democratization and become a primary actor in the formation of civil society has some validity, particularly in advanced countries where the middle class is the majority. However, in a society where representative democracy has been adopted despite a small middle class, the ideals of the middle class and intellectuals may not always agree with the will of the majority. Populist politics in Thailand undoubtedly amplified this schism.

“The Structural Transformation of Asian Communities and the Formation of the New Middle Class” compiled by the Asian Sociological Society (Koyano, Kitagawa, Kano, ed., 2000) featured discussions about this. Yet, understanding the new middle class partially and specifically through class categories and actors (NGOs and self-governing groups) does not necessarily demonstrate a political awareness of the middle class. Contributing author, Hirotsugu Ohata, questioned a certain cultural foundation of civil society – that of nepotism – in one case example of South Korea. In the case of Southeast Asia, it is cronyism that reaches into rural villages and political and economical communities, which can be corruption if exposed. For good or ill, cronyism is social capital in Southeast Asian society, and the range of trust and cooperation does not extend beyond such relationships. The logic of this living world, which supports political and economic

transactions and negotiations as well as daily lives, conflicts with Western civil society, whose basic rule is problem solving and profit sharing based on debates and rules. This aspect, conventionally viewed as a Southeast Asian cultural one that is difficult to change, must be analyzed sociologically as a social relationship theory in the formation of civil society, as an issue to be overcome. Kitahara (2002) also pointed out the undesirable social capital on regional election campaign in Thailand, which calls on populists to reflect on their thought that regards all of traditional social relations in rural community as social capital of villagers. He furthermore considers the corporation between advocacy on community thoughts by those populists and civil society theory by liberalists, and hopes the establishment of welfare society that close the gap between rural areas and cities, upper class and lower class, by redistribution policy.

There are also arguments that envision leaders in the formation of civil society other than the new middle class. Alternative development theories were presented by intellectuals, religious personnel, and NGO members and researchers from industrialized nations expressed their support (Nishikawa, ed., 2001; Nishikawa and Noda, ed., 2001; Komai, 2001). The social development theory was proposed by international aid organizations as well (Onda, 2001). It is certainly appealing to have a cultural composition that presents an antithesis to the capitalism and modernism of a hegemonic state while placing its developmental ideal on Theravada Buddhism and agricultural fundamentalism. Religious personnel, the key to endogenous development and the activity of practical and efficient farming are all very fascinating, yet those studies left me with the impression that the role of NGOs/NPOs in regional development and the role of religion in making a social contribution were both overrated. It is true that there are many cases one needs to learn from, but without coordination with social policies, it will be difficult to overcome class and regional disparities (Kitahara, 1996). The essence of the discussion to explore the social development theory with traditional cultures, customary practices in communities, and religious culture as social capital consists of two points: 1) social capital may or may not contribute to economic progress, thus, what is crucial is to examine the conditions for social development, 2) since social capital was historically established, it will be difficult to artificially re-create it in a short time; therefore, it is essential to discuss the social process when incorporating social capital into the development theory.

Whether it is the new middle class or a new social movement, it is not easy to describe the process of civil society formation from just one social force as a blueprint. For this reason, the tasks of linking the transformation of regional society to macro political and social changes and connecting the discussion on the formation of civil society that has been extracted from an analysis on the existing state of Southeast Asian society to the theory of Western civil society remain unresolved for many researchers (Funatsu, 2005).

References

- Akagi, Osamu, Kitahara, Atsushi, and Takeuchi, Takao ed., 2000, *Zoku Tai noson shakaino kouzou to hendo 15 nen no kiseki (The Structure and Transformation of Thai Farm Villages, Second Series)*, 「続 タイ農村の構造と変動—15年の軌跡」 Keiso Shobo.
- Asami, Yasuhito, 1999, 'Tonan asia niokeru 3 tsu no minshuka no nami (The Three Waves of Democratization in Southeast Asia)', 「東南アジアにおける三つの民主化の波」Furuta, Motoo, ed., *Southeast Asia, South Asia* 「東南アジア、東アジア」, Otsukishoten.
- Funatsu, Tsuruyo, 2005, 'Book Review: Sakurai, Yoshihide, and Somsak Srisontisuk, Regional Development in Northeast Thailand and Formation of Thai Civil Society, Khon Kaen University Press, p.349, 2003,' *International Japanese Journal of Sociology* 13
- Hayashi, Yukio, 2000, *Rao jin shakai no shukyo to bunka henyō: tohoku tai no chiiki/shukyo shakai shi* 「ラオ人社会の宗教と文化変容—東北タイの地域・宗教社会誌—」 (*The Religion and Cultural Transformation of Laotian Society: Social History of Religion and Communities in Northeast Thailand*), University of Kyoto Press.
- Hata, Tatsuya, 2005, *Tai toshi suramu no sankagata machizukuri kenkyū: kodomo to jūmin niyoru jizokukanouna kyōjyū kankyō kaizensaku* 「タイ都市スラムの参加型まちづくり研究—子どもと住民による持続可能な居住環境改善策」 (*Research on the Participatory Urban Development in Thai Urban Slums: a Sustainable Policy of Improvement on Housing Environment by Children and Residents*), Akashishoten.
- Hattori, Tamio, Torii, Takashi and Funatsu, Tsuruyo, ed., 2002, *Asia chūkansō no seisei to tokushitsu* 「アジア中間層の生成と特質」 (*The Emergence of Asian Middle Classes and Their Characteristics*), Institute of Developing Economies.
- Hayami, Yoko 1998, 'Minzoku to gender no minzokushi' 「『民族』とジェンダーの民族誌」 (*Ethnic Groups" and the Ethnography of Gender*), *Southeast Asia Studies* 「東南アジア研究」, 35-4:246-873.
- Hirada, Toshifumi, ed., 2007, *Shimin sei kyoiku no kenkyū: nihon to tai no hikaku* 「市民性教育の研究—日本とタイの比較」 (*Research on Civic Sex Education: A Comparison Between Japan and Thailand*), Toshindo.
- Ikeda, Kanji, 2000, 'Tonan asia no shakai hendo to shakaigaku 「東南アジアの社会変動と社会学」 (*Social Transformations and Sociology in Southeast Asia*), *Circumstances* 「状況」, 272-290.

- Imada, Takatoshi and Sonoda, Shigeto, ed., 1995, *Asia karano shisen* 「アジアからの視線」(A Perspective from Asia), University of Tokyo Press.
- Iwasaki, Ikuo, ed., 1998, *Asia to shimin shakai: kokka to shakai no seiji rikigaku* 「アジアと市民社会—国家と社会の政治力学」(Asia and Civil Society: Political Dynamics between State and Society), Institute of Developing Economies.
- Japan Rural Communities Sociological Society, ed., 2004, *Higashi asia nouson no kengyoka: sono jizokusei heno tenbo* 「東アジア農村の兼業化—その持続性への展望」(Dual Employment in East Asian Rural Communities: an Outlook of its Continuity), Nobunkyo.
- Kataoka, Tatsuki, 2006, 'Tai sanchi issinkyoto no minzokushi: kirisuto kyoto rahu no kokka minzoku bunka' 「タイ山地—神教徒の民族誌—キリスト教徒ラフの国家・民族・文化」(Ethnography of monotheistic believers in Thai mountainous region: Nation, Ethnicity, and Culture of Christian Lahu) Hukyo sha.
- Kato, Tsuyoshi, 2004, *Henyo suru tonan asia shakai: minzoku shukyo bunka no dotai* 「変容する東南アジア社会—民族・宗教・文化の動態」(Transforming Societies in Southeast Asia: Dynamics of Race, Religion, and Culture), Mekon.
- Kitahara, Atsushi, 1996, *Kyodotai no shiso* 「共同体の思想」(Ideas of Community), Sekaishissha.
- Kitahara, Atsushi, 1996, *The Thai Rural Community Reconsidered: Historical Community Formation and the Contemporary Development Movement*, The Political Economy Centre, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University.
- Kitahara, Atsushi, 1997, 'The Sociological Approach to Southeast Asian Countries,' *International Japanese Journal of Sociology*, 6:61-78.
- Kitahara, Atsushi, 1999, 'Sustainable Part-Time Farming Beyond the Crisis of Asian Agriculture,' *Asian Rural Sociology* 1:135-148
- Kitahara, Atsushi, 2002, 'Nougyo to nouson shakai: datunouka to kyodotai' 「農業と農村社会—脱農化と共同体」(Agriculture and Rural Community: Post-Agrarian Society and Community), *History of Southeast Asia* 「講座 東南アジア史」 vol.9:283-310, Iwanamishoten.
- Kitahara, Atsushi, 2004, 'Theory and Reality of Asian Rural Change and Diversity,' *Asian Rural Sociology* 2:47-59
- Kitahara, Atsushi, 2004, 'Agrarian Transformation and Rural Diversity in Globalizing East Asia,' *IJJS* 13:7-21.

- Kitahara, Atsushi, 2005, *Higashi asia no kazoku chiiki ethnicity* 「東アジアの家族・地域・エスニシティ」 (*Family, Region, and Ethnicity in East Asia*), Toshindo.
- Koyano, Shogo, Kitagawa, Takayoshi, and Kano, Hirokatsu, 2000, *Asia shakai no kozo hendo to shin chukanso no keisei* 「アジア社会の構造変動と新中間層の形成」 (*Structural Transformations of Asian Societies and the Formation of the New Middle Class*), Kochi Shobo.
- Komai, Hiroshi, 2001, *Sinsei Cambodia* 「新生カンボジア」 (*The New Cambodia*), Akashi Shoten.
- Michinobu, Ryoko, 2005, *Lives in Transition*, KLED THAI-C.
- Nishii Ryoko, 2001, *Shi wo meguru jissen shukyo* 「死をめぐる実践宗教」 (*Practical Religion Over Death*), Sekaishissha.
- Nishikawa, Jun, ed., 2001, *Asia no naihatsuteki hatten* 「アジアの内発的発展」 (*Endogenous Development in Asia*), Fujiwarashoten.
- Nishikawa, Jun and Noda, Masato, ed., 2001, *Bukkyo kaihatsu NGO: tai kaihatsu so ni manabu kyousei no chie* 「仏教・開発・NGO—タイ開発僧に学ぶ共生の智慧」 (*Buddhism, Development, and NGOs: the Wisdom of Coexistence We Can Learn from Development Buddhist Monks in Thailand*), Shinhyoron.
- Nozu, Takashi, 2005, *Kokumin no keisei: tai tohoku shogakko ni okeru kokumin bunka keisei no ethnography* 「国民の形成—タイ東北小学校における国民文化形成のエスノグラフィー」 (*Formation of the People: the Ethnography of National Culture Formation in Elementary Schools in Northeast Thailand*), Akashishoten.
- Ochiai, Emiko, Yamane, Mari, and Yasuko Miyasaka, eds., 2007, *Asia no kazoku to gender* 「アジアの家族とジェンダー」 (*Asian Families and Gender*), Keiso Shobo.
- Onaka, Fumiya, 2002, *Chiiki bunka to gakko: 3 tsuno tai nouson ni okeru shingaku no hikaku shakaigaku* 「地域文化と学校—三つのタイ農村における「進学」の比較社会学」 (*Regional Culture and School: Comparative Sociology on "Advancement" in Three Rural Communities in Thailand*), Hokuju Shuppan.
- Onda, Morio, 2001, *Kaihatsu shakaigaku: riron to jissen* 「開発社会学—理論と実践」 (*Development Sociology: Theory and Practice*), Minerva Publishing.
- Osawa, Mari, ed., 2004, *Asia shokoku no hukushi senryaku* 「アジア諸国の福祉戦略」 (*Welfare Strategies of Asian Countries*), Minerva Shobo.
- Sakurai, Yoshihide, 1996, 'Jissen shukyo no kousei to shakai henyō: tohoku tai nouson shakai wo jirei ni 「実践宗教の構成と社会変容—東北タイ農村社会を事例に—」 (The

- Composition of Practical Religions and Social Changes: Agrarian Rural Communities in Southeast Thailand as Examples),' *Japanese Sociological Review*, 46-3: 327-347.
- Sakurai, Yoshihide, 1999, 'Zai tai nikkei enpitsu seizo kigyo ni okeru rodosha no identity keisei to seikatsu kozo 「在タイ日系鉛筆製造企業における労働者のアイデンティティ形成と生活構造」 (The Identity Formation of Workers at a Japanese Pencil Manufacturer in Thailand),' *Japanese Sociological Review*, 49-4: 549-567.
- Sakurai, Yoshihide, 2005, *Tohoku tai to bunka saihei* 「東北タイの開発と文化再編」 (*Development in Southeast Thailand and Formulation of Culture*), Hokkaido University Press.
- Sakurai, Yoshihide, 2008, *Tohoku tai no kaihatu so: shukyo to shakai kouken* 「東北タイの開発僧—宗教と社会貢献」 (*Development Monks in Northeast Thailand: Religion and Social Engagement*), Azusa shuppan.
- Sato, Jin, 2002, *Kisho shigen no politics: tai nouson ni miru kaihatu to kankyo no hazama* 「稀少資源のポリテックステータイ農村に見る開発と環境のはざま」 (*Politics of Scarce Resources: Thai Rural Communities Torn Between Development and the Environment*), University of Tokyo Press.
- Sato, Yasuyuki, 2005, *The Thai-Khmer Village: Community, Family, Ritual and Civil Society in Northeast Thailand*, Graduate School of Modern Society and Culture, Niigata University.
- Shigetomi, Shin'ichi, 1996, *Tai noson no kaihatu to jumin soshiki* 「タイ農村の開発と住民組織」 (*Development of Thai Rural Communities and Community Associations*), Institute of Developing Economies.
- Shigetomi, Shin'ichi, 2001, *Asia no kokka to NGO: 15kakoku no hikaku kenkyu* 「アジアの国家とNGO—15カ国の比較研究」 (*Asian States and NGOs: A Comparative Study of 15 Nations*), Akashishoten.
- Suehiro, Akira, 2000, *Catch Up gata kogyoka ron: asia keizai no kiseki to tenbo* 「キャッチアップ型工業化論—アジア経済の軌跡と展望」 (*The Catch-up Type Industrialization: the History and Outlook of the Asian Economy*), University of Nagoya Press.
- Suzuki, Noriyuki, 1996, 'Society,' ed., Kitahara, Atsushi, and Akagi, Osamu, *The State of Thai Studies in Japan*, The Thai Seminar of Japan.
- Suzuki, Noriyuki, 2006, 'Global ka no nakadeno toshi to noson: kaihatu to siminshakaika, bunka henyo tonou kousa 「グローバル化の中での都市と農村—開発と市民社会化、文化変容との交差」 The City and Rural Community in Globalization: the Crossings Between

- Development and the Formation of Civil Society or Cultural Transformations,' Yamaguchi Hirokazu, et al., ed., *Problems and Methods in Regional Studies: An Introduction to Social Research of Asia and Africa --- the Theories*, Bunka Shobo Hakubunsha, pp. 177-203.
- Suzuki, Noriyuki, and Wangpokakul Peeriya, 2006, 'The Process of Japanization of Thailand: The Impact of Japanese Products, Thai Consumers' Absorption of Japanese Culture,' *Ryudai Asian Studies* [琉大アジア研究], No.6, p47-66.
- Suzuki, Noriyuki, and Keeratiporn Sritanyarat, 2006, 'Studying Village Civil Society (Prachakhom) in North-Eastern Thailand for the Development of Communities toward Establishment of Civil Society (Prachasangkhom),' *Ryudai Asian Studies*, No.6, p3-46.
- Tachimoto, Narifumi, 1996, *Chiiki kenkyu no mondai to houho: shakai bunka seitai gaku no kokoromi* 「地域研究の問題と方法－社会文化生態学の試み」 (*Problems and Methods in Regional Research: Endeavors of Social and Cultural Ecology*), University of Kyoto Press.
- Tamaki, Matsuo, 2005, 'Higashi tonan asia niokeru higoho imin 「東・東南アジアにおける非合法移民」 Illegal Immigrants in South and Southeast Asia,' *Japanese Sociological Review* [社会学評論], 56-2:363-380.
- Tamada, Yoshifumi, 2003, *Minshuka no kyozo to jitsuzo: tai gendai seiji hendo no mechanism* 「民主化の虚像と実像－タイ現代政治変動のメカニズム－」 (*The Mechanism of Political Transformations in Thailand Today*), University of Kyoto Press.
- Tanabe, Shigeharu, 2003, *Ikikata no jinruigaku : jissen towa nanika* 「生き方の人類学:実践とは何か」 *Anthropology of Way of Life: What is the practice?*, Kodansha.
- Tanada, Hirofumi, ed., 2005, *Asia no shoshi koreika to shakai keizai hatten* 「アジアの少子高齢化と社会・経済発展」 (*Falling Birthrates, Aging Populations and Social and Economic Growth in Asia*), Waseda University Press.
- Tasaka, Toshio, ed., 1998, *Asia no kyodai toshi bangkok* 「アジアの大都市[1]バンコク」 (*Bangkok, Major Asian Cities [1]*), Nihon Hyoronsha.
- Totani, Osamu, 1999, *Asia shochiiki no shakai hendo: Okinawa to tonan asia* 「アジア諸地域の社会変動－沖縄と東南アジア」 (*Social Transformations in Various Asian Regions: Okinawa and Southeast Asia*), Ochanomizu Shobo.
- Tsubouchi, Yoshihiro, 1998, *Sho jinko sekai no jinko shi: tonan asia no hudo to shakai* 「小人口世界の人口誌－東南アジアの風土と社会」 (*The Population Journal of Small-Populations: the Climate and Society of Southeast Asia*), University of Kyoto Press.

- Tsubouchi, Yoshihiro, ed., 1999, *Sougoteki chiiki kenkyu wo motomete: tonan asia zou wo tegakarini* 「『総合的地域研究』を求めて—東南アジア像を手がかりに」 In *Pursuit of "Comprehensive Regional Research: Images of Southeast Asia as Clues*, University of Kyoto Press.
- Tsubouchi, Yoshihiro, ed., 2000, *Chiiki keisei no ronri* 「地域形成の論理」(The Logic of Regional Formation), University of Kyoto Press.
- Wang, Liulan, 2004, 'Kokkyo wo koeru unnan jin 「国境を越える『雲南人』」The Yunnanese Who Go Over National Boundaries,' *Research for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa*, 67:211-262.
- Yamamoto, Hirofumi, 1999, *Asia no kogyoka to nogyo shokuryo kankyo no henka: taikeizai no hatten to nougyo noukyo mondai ni manabu* 「アジアの工業化と農業・食糧・環境の変化—タイ経済の発展と農業・農協問題に学ぶ」(The Industrialization of Asia and Changes in Agriculture, Food Supplies, and the Environment: Learning from the Progress of the Thai Economy and the Issue of Agriculture and Co-ops), Tsukuba Shobo.