

4

Southeast Asia: The Economy

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Research on Southeast Asian Economies: 1945–1960

This article is a report on Japanese research into the economies of Southeast Asia undertaken by the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE), the purpose being to look at the types of research projects the institute has been engaged in, the sorts of results that it has produced, and the issues it will need to deal with in the future. In essence, this report is the institute's own evaluation of the role it has played in Japan's postwar research on the economies of Southeast Asia.

For a number of years after the war, Japanese research published on Southeast Asian economies was based on the work of European and American scholars that for the most part had been translated and published during the war. This indicates that for a time after the war, there was a general stagnation in Japanese research on Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, a few works dealing with parts of the region appeared during this time produced by scholars who had developed an interest in Southeast Asia during the war.

One such scholar is Yoichi Itagaki. He took up the research of Malaysia and Indonesia while working in association with the military administrations of these two occupied areas, and since the war he has written superb studies about the dramatic rise of nationalism in these two countries following the war. Besides his own notable work on Southeast Asian nationalism (1962), he edited a book (1963) which examined Indonesia's economic and social

structure. Another researcher who, like Itagaki, began his studies of Malaysia during the war, is Hideo Yamada. Since the war he has published a number of works on Southeast Asia's economy. In 1957 he wrote an article which looked at the history of rubber cultivation in Malaya (Yamada 1957). He later produced various works on former British colonies from the viewpoint of economic history through the reexamination of valuable sources on British imperialism.

Another scholar who did research before 1960 on the Southeast Asian economy is Shigetō Kawano. In 1957 he wrote an article on the social and economic significance of land reform in Southeast Asia which dealt primarily with land reform in the Philippines (the English version of this article was published in 1962). Soon thereafter Kawano's research was taken up by Tsutomu Takigawa,* and from then on an abundance of research on Southeast Asian land systems began to take place. Seven years earlier, in 1950, Kawano had published an article which critically examined the concept of "plural economy" as conceptualized by J.S. Furnivall. This became the pioneering work on the development of Southeast Asia's colonialistic dual economy, a thesis which Itagaki and others later took up.

In 1953 the Japan Association for Asian Political and Economic Studies (Ajia Seikei Gakkai) came into being. It is an academic society which has published research reports in its own journal, *Aziya kenkyū* [Asian studies]. The Institute of Oriental Culture at the University of Tokyo (Tokyo Daigaku, Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūsho) had started its own journal, *Tōyō bunka* [Oriental culture], in 1950. Yet another journal started around this time was the one published by the Society of Southern Asian Studies (Nanpōshi Kenkyūkai), *Nanpōshi kenkyū* [Southern Asian studies]. Also during the 1950s the National Research Institute of Agricultural Economics (Nōgyō Sōgō Kenkyūsho) published a number of studies on Southeast Asian economies.

During the 1950s the commentaries and research reports on Southeast Asia were directed primarily at such issues as reparations, technical cooperation, economic development policies, and regional economic cooperation. Numerous articles on these themes appeared in such magazines as *Kokusai shokuryō nōgyō* [International food and agriculture], which was the bulletin of the Japan FAO Association, *Ekafe tsūshin* [ECAFE journal] published by the Japan ECAFE Association, and *Ajia mondai* [Asian affairs] published by the Institute of Asian Affairs (Ajia Mondai Chōsakai: the Institute was established in 1951 and was integrated into the Ajia Kyōkai in 1954). But the number of studies that were devoted genuinely to research on Southeast Asia remained limited because of a lack of research facilities and other unsatisfactory conditions in both Japan and the Southeast Asian countries.

However, research pertaining to overseas Chinese was moving ahead, with such scholars as Naosaku Uchida, Taku Suyama, and Nobuchika Ichikawa publishing studies during this time.

Periodizing and Classifying Research Studies

Of the public organizations that have become involved in research on Southeast Asia in the postwar period, the IDE was the first to be established. It was set up in 1958 as a non-profit organization, then reorganized in 1960 as a statutory organization.

Since its establishment, the IDE has produced and published a great number of books and research reports. The 100th, 200th, and 300th issues of the institute's Japanese language journal, *Ajia keizai* [Asian economies] are all special issues containing comprehensive bibliographies of the IDE's research publications on developing countries. In this section I will undertake to classify by country and subject the books and research reports that deal with the economies of Southeast Asia listed in these three special issues.

As can be seen from Table 1, which shows the number of books and research reports done on each country, each of the special issues lists around eighty to ninety publications pertaining to the economies in Southeast Asia. Table 2 shows these books and research reports listed by subject. A point to be noted is that there can be a great difference in the number of publications under each subject depending on the criteria one uses to classify subjects. For

Table 1
Books and Studies on the Economies of Southeast Asia Published by the IDE
(Classified by Country)

	100th Issue 1960-1969	200th Issue 1969-1977	300th Issue 1978-1986
Philippines	14	28	24
Malaysia, Singapore	27	20	22
Indonesia	10	10	22
Burma	1	6	6
Thailand	18	18	16
Vietnam	6	3	2
Cambodia	4	5	1
Laos	2	1	0
Total	82	91	93

Sources: *Ajia keizai* (IDE), no. 100 (June/July 1969); no. 200 (January/February 1978); no. 300 (September/October 1986).

Table 2

Books and Studies on the Economies of Southeast Asia Published by the IDE
(Classified by Subject)

	100th Issue 1960–1969	200th Issue 1969–1977	300th Issue 1978–1986
Economic development/planning, industrialization (industrial policy)	11	15	7
Agriculture, rural society	36	38	39
Finances, financing/funding	2	4	4
Population, labor	10	2	3
Enterprises, management	7	8	14
Industries, industrial conditions	2	3	10
Overseas Chinese, overseas Indians	7	6	2
Income distribution	1	2	1
Foreign investment, trade (balance of payments)	4	4	0
Statistics, input-output tables	0	2	0
Economic history	1	5	8
Economic/social structure	1	2	0
Economic law	0	0	3
Urban economies (slums)	0	0	2
Total	82	91	93

Note: The data includes mimeographed papers.

Source: Same as Table 1.

example, classifying economic planning and economic development together with industrialization would certainly cause problems. Industrial policy and the analysis of industrialization in the strict sense should probably be dealt with separately from works on economic development in general or from those concerned with economic planning. But by using broad categories of classification, it is easier to see how the subject matter of research has changed over time, and I have therefore classified these various industrial and economic fields together in one group. Another problem is the numerous cases where a number of topics are dealt with in one study. Despite these problems however, from Table 2 one can perceive the shift that has been taking place in the subject matter of research studies.

The first noteworthy point is that the overwhelming majority are concerned with agriculture and rural society. In all three of the special issues, 40–45 per cent of the publications deal with these subjects. This is because agriculture continues to be a central concern for the developing countries of Southeast Asia and is a reflection of the importance that the village and agriculture play in the economic affairs of these countries.

A second point is that the first two special issues show a large number of publications concerned with economic development, economic planning, and industrialization. The number of such publications declines in the third issue, but there is a twofold rise in the number of studies analyzing enterprise-level economics and business management. This can be taken as indicating that sufficient statistical sources have begun to be accumulated which has made it possible for research to move from analysis at the macroeconomic level down to microeconomic analysis at the enterprise level. This shift is also apparent from the rapid increase in the number of studies analyzing industrial sectors shown in the third issue over the number of such studies given in the first two. However, the great increase shown in the third issue could also be due to the fact that changes were carried out in the institute's research structure and organization, and researchers changed the emphasis of their research in response.

A third point is that works on the economic history of Southeast Asia rose steadily from only one in the first issue to five in the second then to eight in the third.

A fourth point is the appearance of publications dealing with economic law from around 1980 (for example Nobuyuki Yasuda* 1979). While the IDE had been pursuing the study of economic law in the developing countries since the early 1960s, it was in the 1970s that it actively started to compile and translate corporate and tax laws in Southeast Asia in response to increasing Japanese direct investment.

Looking at all of the above points, we can see that over the years there has been a steady output of works on agricultural and rural concerns. At the same time the number of books and studies dealing with industrialization where foreign investment has played a major role has gradually increased until it now makes up a significant amount of the IDE's published output. (I include publications on economic law with these latter.) This growing interest in industrialization is a reflection of the rapid increase in Japanese foreign investment in the countries of Southeast Asia. As a result, there has been a relative decrease in the proportion of studies on agriculture and rural issues, particularly fact-finding surveys and similar studies.

Studies on Agriculture and Rural Society

The pioneer of rural studies at the IDE is Akira Takahashi.* His *Land and Peasants in Central Luzon: Socio-Economic Structure of a Bulacan Village (1969)* was published as a monograph. He has also produced an article which dealt with land reform in the Philippines (1962) along with numerous other

articles. Takahashi's research is characterized by his examination of a single village from which he endeavors to draw generalized conclusions about rural society in the Philippines.

Prior to Takahashi's work, Tsutomu Takigawa* also began delving into Philippine agricultural questions, looking at them from the aspect of landownership. Takigawa's work differs from that of Takahashi's in that he does not assiduously survey a single village; instead he relies on an abundance of sources which he applies from a Marxist economic standpoint to rigorously examine land reform and other land issues in the Philippines. He had published numerous studies.

Takigawa has organized many research groups. The results of these groups have been published in books edited by Takigawa and are of high value. His own studies on postwar land reform in the Philippines were brought together in a volume and published in 1976. Takigawa sees the realization of a revolution in agriculture as coming about through the success of two aspects. One is agricultural land reform, and the other is technological innovation in agricultural management. A genuine agricultural revolution in the Philippines will take place only after land reform has been realized and technological innovation and managerial improvement have been brought about through the green revolution. Takigawa stresses that these two aspects are necessary as well for revolutionizing agriculture throughout Southeast Asia.

Many scholars have written on the green revolution. Among these, Hiromitsu Umehara* and Yukinori Miyahara* (1969) have accurately grasped the difficulties with high yielding rice that have arisen in the Philippines which was the first country in Southeast Asia to experience the introduction of these rice varieties. Umehara in particular poignantly indicates in his work, *A Hacienda Barrio in Central Luzon: Case Study of a Philippine Village* (1974), the reality of the commercialization of rice production in the villages and the growing dependence on commercial capital brought on by the green revolution. Unlike research on land systems (such as landlord-tenant relations or landownership systems), research and evaluation of the green revolution is closely involved with questions of agricultural technology, making analysis much more difficult. A researcher needs to be knowledgeable in agronomy, agricultural engineering, insect-pest control, livestock breeding, or some other relevant natural sciences in order to evaluate the economic effects of the green revolution.

Another researcher to note is Akira Tamaki. He has approached his research through the examination of irrigation and water utilization, and his studies have been relevant not only for Southeast Asia but for the agricultural issues in developing countries generally. His research methods have been no less

influential on the work of other researchers at the IDE than single-village research methods and documentary research on landownership. All three of these scholars began as researchers on Japanese agriculture, and Tamaki in particular has brought out a new approach to rural study combining water usage and irrigation systems in rice cultivation with village social structure as well as with distinctive features of Japanese society. His unique methodology and the broad span of his work has greatly influenced younger researchers at the IDE who are studying agricultural questions in developing countries. He has produced and edited numerous studies. Of particular importance is his book published in 1979 in which Tamaki carefully examined the various forms of rural society centered on irrigated agriculture. Tamaki has pointed out that a rice-growing village which does not have control over its water as well as its land will have difficulties in sustaining its economy. His research also shows that it is extremely important to examine how the utilization of water is controlled when looking at the characteristics of a village social structure.

As a group, researchers at the IDE studying Southeast Asian agriculture recognize that they need to have an interest in and an understanding of Japanese agriculture if they are to have a deep understanding of agricultural issues in developing countries. The importance of this comparative view was gained through the cooperation of researchers trained in Japanese agriculture, and there can be no doubt that their cooperation has been greatly valued. One example of a work representing this comparative research approach is the book edited by Hitoshi Saitō (1976) which studied agrarian land policies in Asia.

Rural studies have greatly advanced our knowledge about the agriculture of Southeast Asian countries, and these have uncovered many changes taking place in agriculture and rural society. One such example which has been brought to light in many recent studies has been found in Java, Indonesia where the traditional practices of *derep* and *bawon*, whereby villagers assist one another through labor exchange, are being replaced by the *tebasan* system. This latter is a new system where a middleman, known as a *penebas*, buys the standing rice crop from the villagers just before harvest time, and then harvests the rice using hired labor. The change is gradually breaking down reliance on the traditional practice of providing assistance through labor exchange within village society.

Applying the techniques and methods of modern economic analysis to try to understand the transition from the traditional to the modern now occurring in the villages has become a major methodological approach seen in the work of present-day economists. A leading figure in this approach has been

Yōnosuke Hara (1985). His work on the traditional economy of rural Java and the changes it is undergoing has been carried out through rigorous factual analysis. His studies have had a great impact on younger scholars in the field, and have also earned him high praise as a pioneer in the study and analysis of agriculture and rural society in developing countries. The range of his work extended beyond Indonesia, taking in Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines as well.

I would now like to touch on some of the major works dealing with agriculture and rural society. Beginning with Indonesia, there are the many village fact-finding studies done by Hiroyoshi Kanō.* Among these, his article “The Economic History of Javanese Rural Society: A Reinterpretation” (1980) is a critical reevaluation of Clifford Geertz’s theory of agricultural involution in Java. In contrast to Geertz’s argument of “shared poverty,” Kanō points out the disparity in wealth and poverty found in the village and argues that an analysis of rural society has to be done from the standpoint of class and social stratum. Kanō supports his criticism of Geertz using the results of his own research of Javanese rural society. Kanō has produced a number of studies dealing with rural economic history and the analysis of landownership, population, and land use. These have been assembled and published as a book (Kanō 1988).

Other works that examine rural Indonesian society include Hitoshi Yonekura’s* article on the characteristics and social structure of *suku* peasantry in western Sumatra (1985), and Kōsuke Mizuno’s* paper on the landownership in western Java which surveyed the situation of the possession of documents certifying land rights (1991). Until recently most of the rural studies on Indonesia were of the Javanese speaking region of central and eastern Java. But new ground has been broken with Yonekura’s study of the matrilineal social system of the Minangkabau people in Sumatra, and Mizuno’s study of rural conditions in the Sundanese speaking region of western Java.

Concerning the Philippines, I have already mentioned the monographs by Akira Takahashi* and Hiromitsu Umehara.* Umehara’s monograph (1974) looks at an hacienda barrio (the village belonging to the hacienda owning the land) in Central Luzon and described the system of subtenancy (the subleasing of leased land to other farmers) and other multi-level relationships of landownership and tenancy.

Concerning Thailand, Yoshihiko Hasegawa (1962) conducted a comprehensive study on the rice industry including rice milling and the distribution system, and his work is still the most important contribution to the study of Thai agriculture in the 1950s.

Researchers at the IDE who have examined rural Thai society and have dealt with a broad range of Thai agricultural issues include such names as Takashi Tomosugi,* Kōichi Nonaka,* and Atsushi Kitahara.* Tomosugi in his early studies applied an analytical method of recording the daily life of villagers and the conditions of the sites where agricultural production took place. An example of one such study is "The Land System in Central Thailand: A Methodological Inquiry Aimed at a Dynamic Grasp of Social Change in a Thai Village" (1969). He gradually took up a structuralist analytical technique, and now has moved towards a cultural anthropological approach in his studies (Tomosugi 1980, 1995). Nonaka in recent years has turned most of his activity away from research writing and towards Japanese translating of Thai documents dealing with Thai agricultural development, village society, and farmers. His translation (1983) of Thai-language short stories written by Nimit Phumitawon was awarded the Japanese Translation Cultural Award in 1983 by the Japan Society of Translators (Nihon Honyakuka Kyōkai). With its examination of traditional Thai values, this book played an important role as a starting point in the introduction of traditional values of peoples in developing countries. Kitahara's background is in economic history, and along with Tomosugi, he has produced some outstanding historical and sociological research on Thai agricultural affairs (1976, 1990).

People who have published studies on rural Malaysia include Kenzō Horii* of the IDE, Akimi Fujimoto of the Tokyo University of Agriculture (Tokyo Nōgyō Daigaku), Masuo Kuchiba, Yoshihiro Tsubouchi, and Narifumi Maeda of Kyoto University's Center for Southeast Asian Studies (Kyoto Daigaku, Tōnan Ajia Kenkyū Sentā), and Shigeo Yashima and Masanobu Yamashita of the Tropical Agriculture Research Center (Nettai Nōgyō Kenkyū Sentā: the Center was renamed the Japan International Research Center for Agricultural Sciences [Kokusai Nōrin Suisangyō Kenkyū Sentā] in 1993.) A series of studies published by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies has been characterized by its combination of research by social and natural scientists. But the center's research on rural Malaysian society has largely been carried on by sociologists and anthropologists, and the amount of its work on economic issues has been limited. Horii and Fujimoto, on the other hand, have taken a socioeconomic approach, and they have perceived the structural characteristics of Malaysia's rural rice-producing economy as lying in kinship landownership and tenancy relationships (Horii 1981; Fujimoto 1981). Horii has also written an article, "Bumiputera Policy and Structural Changes in the Smallholder Economy: From Traditional to Organized Smallholder" (1991), which examines the country's land settlement policy.

Regarding Burma, of particular notes are works of two researchers: Teruko

Saitō's* "Farm Household Economy under the Paddy Delivery System in Contemporary Burma" (1981), and Akio Takahashi's* book written in 1992. Takahashi made a comparative analysis of irrigated villages, one located in upper Burma and the other in lower Burma, which were under different landholding systems, and tried to figure out the extent to which the commercialization of agricultural products has progressed in these villages. Saitō studied rural Burmese society during the latter half of the 1970s. Takahashi did likewise during the latter half of the 1980s. Both analyzed how the various government agricultural policies functioned within the framework of the "Burmese way to socialism" and how these policies came to terms with rural traditions and practices. Both researchers have also produced detailed reports on Burma's land system.

Research on Industrial Policy and Business Management

From the 1960s until around the mid-1970s, much of the research on industrial policy and business was directed toward comparative studies of Asian countries and concentrated on import substitution industrial policy, export-oriented industrial policy, and trade and foreign investment policy. Rather than conducting area studies, researchers simply applied established notions of economic analysis (derived from research on developed countries) to the developing countries, and their studies by and large concentrated on verifying the appropriateness of the above-mentioned policies for the countries under study. One such work of this period is the 1974 publication edited by Nagatoshi Suzuki* which examined Asia's economic development and export-oriented industrialization. Suzuki started out as an area researcher working on Indonesia, but this work is a generalized discussion of problems concerning industrialization in developing countries.

By moving from policies of import substitution to those of export-oriented industrialization, the countries of Southeast Asia were able to organize a free trade zone as well as attract companies from developed countries and promote exports. A work edited by Hideo Fujimori* (1978) presents a detailed discussion of these free trade zones or export processing zones. In another work on industrialization, Fujimori (1972) deals with public enterprises in the Philippines. A study that looks at these enterprises in Asia, edited by Kenji Koike* (1982), says the following about the establishment of public enterprises in Malaysia. In 1971 Malaysia inaugurated its New Economic Policy which set out to foster Bumiputra managers and industrialize the country. At the time Malaysian officials made references to the Japanese Meiji government's sale of state-run factories to private entrepreneurs. Vast

amounts of state funds were lent to public enterprises interest free and with no time limits on repayment. Chinese companies and British-controlled enterprises with roots back into the colonial period were bought up.

A large number of theoretical, analytical, and fact-finding studies have come out of the IDE dealing with the role of foreign capital and foreign direct investment in the industrialization of developing countries. By far the largest number of these studies has analyzed the effects and ramifications of direct investment from the side of the capital-providing investors. A notable exception among these has been the studies by Teiichi Itō* (1977) which have analyzed direct investment in the form of joint ventures in Thailand, looking at these investments from the Thai side of the ventures. Also Hideo Fujimori* (1987) has edited a book on the significance of Southeast Asian government policies to localize foreign enterprises. Jun Onozawa (1990) has published studies on the movement of Japanese enterprises into Malaysia, while Norio Mihira (1990) has edited a well-organized work on Indonesia's export-led growth which examines the various problem of industrialization in that country.

Since 1985 the Economic Cooperation Department of the IDE has undertaken the Asian Industrial Development Project. The results of this project have been published in the Asian Industrialization Series which is a valuable primary source for comparing the history and present-day situation of industrialization in the countries of Southeast Asia. This series describes the present state of government policies and of selected major industries and discusses the promoters of industrialization such as public enterprises, local business groups, and foreign enterprises in each of the countries. Altogether fifteen volumes have been published including ones on Singapore (edited by Toshiaki Hayashi* 1990), the Philippines (edited by Mitsuo Fukushima* 1989), Thailand (edited by Akira Suehiro* and Osamu Yasuda 1987), Malaysia (edited by Kenzō Horii* 1990), and Indonesia (edited by Norio Mihira* and Yuri Satō* 1991).

Research on indigenous capital has become a major focus of attention, and there has been a large outpouring of studies on the topic in recent years. Kenji Koike* has produced a number of studies on conglomerate groups in the Philippines, research which appears to be an extension of his studies on the "managing agency system" in India. Another scholar who has produced outstanding studies on indigenous capital is Akira Suehiro.* Of particular note is his book, *Capital Accumulation in Thailand, 1855–1985* (1989), which made full use of abundant and detailed Thai language sources to trace the formation and historical development of domestic capital including ethnic Chinese groups in Thailand. Ikuo Iwasaki* (1990) focussed on the same topic

in dealing with Singaporean business groups and produced an informative study of Chinese financial conglomerates in historical perspective.

Research on Economic History

Japanese research on the economic history of Southeast Asia has been rather haphazard, and until recently the output has been small. By far the largest number of studies has been on Indonesia. These have been of a high caliber and have been the most polemical of the economic histories dealing with Southeast Asia. Hiroyoshi Kanō* has published the most studies on Indonesia's economic history. He has carried out studies of indigenous landholding and the *desa* community, and also has organized and analyzed the Dutch colonial government publication, *Eindresumé van het bij Goevernements Besluit dd. 10 Juli 1867 No. 2*, a compendium of a survey on native land rights (Kanō 1976).

Research on economic history has also been directed at Sumatra. The pioneer in this research has been Akira Ōki. He has studied the issue of village land rights in western Sumatra, and has also analyzed the decline of Sumatra's indigenous mining and manufacturing industries (Ōki 1982).

Work on the Philippine economic history has been done by Setsuho Ikehata. She argues that the opening of the port of Manila was the direct cause for the formation of the country's monocultural economy. Ikehata has shown that the liberal economic policies under the Spanish colonial government and the domination of trade by the British capital inevitably transformed traditional self-sufficient production to commercial agricultural production and this was closely linked with the formation of the country's monoculture (Ikehata 1970). Ikehata has also made a thorough study of a wide range of sources on the political, economic, and social characteristics of the *barangay* community which was the basis of the Philippine village society before the arrival of the Spanish (Ikehata 1971). Another researcher of Philippine economic history is Yoshiko Nagano. The major results of her research have been brought together in her book (1986) in which she points out the close historical linkage between the sugar industry and the landownership system.

Studies on the economic history of Malaysia are surprisingly few, and most of these have been the work of Hideo Yamada which has made him the most prominent in the field. He has examined how the British imperial rule over peninsular Malaya was linked to the rise of the rubber and tin industries (Yamada 1957).

For studies on Thailand, three names can be mentioned: Shigeharu Tanabe, Akira Suehiro,* and Atsushi Kitahara.* Tanabe (1973) has used primary

sources to study the effects of canal development in the Chao Phraya delta on urban and agricultural development and the transformation of the late nineteenth century Thai society. Suehiro (1989) has relied on primary sources to show conclusively how domestic capital was able to press ahead with capital accumulation in the face of growing European capital penetration and control.

Kitahara's works (1976, 1990) on landownership systems in Thailand examines historical background to the establishment of the right to the private ownership of land. The right of exclusive individual ownership to land as seen in Western Europe was set down for the first time in Southeast Asia during the colonial period, and Thailand was also affected. Though never falling under direct colonial control, the country came under the semi-colonial influence of the British, and it was during this time that the right to the private ownership of land came into existence. Kitahara looks at how the traditional society's acknowledged right to occupy land shifted to that of landownership; he examines how this shift came to be socially recognized and accepted, and what social problems have resulted. Another important study of Thailand's land system and required reading for anyone concerned with the subject is the article by Takashi Tomosugi* (1969), "The Land System in Central Thailand: A Methodological Inquiry Aimed at a Dynamic Grasp of Social Change in a Thai Village." In this study Tomosugi examines the sorts of landownership relationships the peasants were placed under during the early Ayutthayan period (fourteenth century), the late Ayutthayan period (seventeenth century), and the Rattanakosin period (nineteenth century).

A similar type of study has been done for the Philippines by Hiromitsu Umehara.* Having been under the colonial rule of both Spain and the United States, the land system in the Philippines is by far the most distorted in Southeast Asia. Umehara examines the ways by which landownership rights were established and the governing authority under which this was done; he then looks at how this process has been connected with the rise of the haciendas (Umehara 1976a, 1976b).

Among the works on the economic history of Vietnam, those by Yumio Sakurai have been prominent. One of the central themes of Vietnamese economic history has been the historical development of the *xa* or village community and the actual makeup of this community. This has been connected with the shift from *quan dien* (the apportionment of parcels of paddy field by the central authority on a per head basis) to *cong dien* (the communal or public ownership of paddy fields), which in effect has entailed a change in the nature of landownership. In his book (1987) which delves into the formation of the Vietnamese village, Sakurai makes use of late fifteenth

century documents to study the relationship between the Vietnamese state and the village, and to examine the *quan dien* system and its transformation. In the same book Sakurai also analyzes the nature of landholding in the village in early nineteenth century Vietnam, delving into such aspects as the process by which privately owned paddy fields arose from the *cong dien* system, the relationship between state authority and the administrative village (a village constituted as an administrative unit as opposed to a naturally formed hamlet), and genesis of the landlord system.

Studies on Burma's economic history have been done by Teruko Saitō* and Masako Takemura. Saitō has produced very valuable works dealing with systems of landownership and with irrigation (Saitō 1976, 1989). Takemura's works (1976) dealing with the problems of peasant indebtedness and land concentration in the delta region of lower Burma during the 1920s and 1930s have attracted attention. She has also studied the effects of the Great Depression on rice farming in the delta of lower Burma (1979).

Looking at the economic history studies on the countries of Southeast Asia, those on Indonesia and Vietnam are the most numerous. Without doubt this is due to the availability of sources. Nevertheless, the number of the studies that have come out of the IDE is still small, and one can expect this number to grow. The patterns of international relations have changed, and the memory of the colonial period is fading away. But this makes the need all the greater for studies that tie the present to the past, and which can infuse into present-day economic analyses the impact that colonial rule did have on the traditional society.

Conclusion

Looking into the future of the IDE and its efforts to further improve its area studies research, there are several problems that need attention. One is the direction of research. It has been moving away from studies based on the daily life and livelihood of farmers, fishermen, hill peoples, and urban slum dwellers toward a growing amount of research centering on analyses of the capitalist economic system. This is a reflection of the rapid change over the past twenty to thirty years in the economic systems of developing countries in general, and Asian countries in particular. The government policies of these countries have come to place greatest importance on industrialization, and research at the IDE has pursued this change to the point where it has now become the primary theme of study at the institute. One has to wonder, however, if this is a good thing. The institute needs to take another look at the objectives it wishes to pursue in its research programs.

A second problem is small amount of research on economic history. Several of the countries in Southeast Asia have been the object of a number of studies. But compared with that of other research centers, the output of the IDE on economic history has been exceedingly small. Topics of research have also been quite limited, and provide meager coverage of the diversity of the countries. Many of the studies that have been produced have dealt with land systems which is commendable, but there has been little research that deals directly with the issues of colonial economic control. Elucidating the facts of this economic control during the colonial period is certain to be a major concern for the countries of Southeast Asia.

When delving into present-day economic issues, researchers have to examine these from the standpoint of development policies, industrialization, and trade and balance of payments. With the exception of Thailand, however, all of the countries in Southeast Asia have a history of colonial rule, and the results of research on present-day economic issues have to be reexamined and cross-checked with the past colonial experiences of these countries.

A third problem is that of methodology. When discussing development policies and industrialization in developing countries, a researcher has to begin by clearly identifying the issue he intends to deal with. But once having done this, it is frequently the case that in the process of searching after a solution, the researcher will fall back on methods that conform with general theories and universal standards of measurement. This simply means analyzing the issue in accordance with the universal socio-scientific theories that have originated in the West and applying a westernized prescription. What is needed, however, is the fostering of insights into the social and political systems and organizations of developing countries, each of which has its own individual culture and value system, and also the searching out of solutions that conform with each country's specific character. With this approach, the IDE will benefit most from its program of sending researchers to developing countries, thus realizing its potential for creating unique research works.

(Kenzō Horii)

Research on Southeast Asia during the 1990s[†]

Since the end of the 1980s, research on Asia at the IDE has moved in a number of new directions. These new directions can be clearly seen in the

[†] Editors' note: Kenzō Horii, the author of Chapter 4, had originally intended to write this brief description of recent research on Southeast Asia. Unfortunately he passed away in 1995, and this writing was undertaken by Akira Suehiro.

research that has been conducted on Southeast Asia. Two factors lay behind these new trends. One has been the breakdown of the old cold war system, and there has been a shift of interest away from issues of Asian political systems and the role of the region in international politics to issues of economic development and industrialization. The second factor has been the rapid expansion of Japanese foreign direct investment in Southeast Asia due to international monetary adjustment and the high value of the yen which have increased the importance of studying the economic integration and cooperation within Southeast Asia as a region rather than studying individual countries as economic units. Below is a brief discussion of IDE research on Southeast Asia since the end of the 1980s as seen from the aspects of (1) economic globalization, and (2) individual countries.

Economic globalization in Asia has been progressing as the mutual dependence between the countries of Asia in trade, investment, and human resources has grown stronger. This has been reflected in the wealth of research that has been produced by the IDE about APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) and AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area), and about the development of Southeast Asia's trade relations with Japan and with China. One of the important results to come out of the abundance of data produced by this research has been the *International Trade Matrix for the Asia-Pacific Region* compiled by the IDE's Statistical Research Department (1995). Published in 1995 and covering the years from 1975 to 1992, this three-volume work was a follow-up of the earlier *International Trade Matrix for the Asia-Pacific Region by Industry: 1965–1983* which had been published in 1987. Another work to come out has been the study edited by Katsumi Andō* (1994) which was a cooperative research effort analyzing such matters as human rights, the movement of labor, and trade agreements within the region from a legal perspective. Other works in this category include the study by Shigeru Itoga* (1994) of a regional economic sphere within the Southeast Asian region, and the study edited by Tōru Yanagihara* (1992) which looks at the possibility for industrial and financial adjustment within Asia-Pacific region.

A unique study historically analyzing the relationship of the overseas Chinese with the countries of Southeast Asia and with China was edited by Fujio Hara* (1993). The abundant use of primary sources in Chinese and local Southeast Asian languages and the scholarly analysis of this work set it far above the mediocre books on the overseas Chinese that are so often published in Japan. The excellent research works done earlier by Hajime Shimizu* (1986) and Fujio Hara* (1986) on Japanese relations with Southeast Asia before World War II also need to be mentioned.

Looking at research done on each of the countries, four approaches have been particularly important. One is the “general studies” approach which brings together scholars from different disciplines to undertake a multi-faceted analysis of a single country. The second is the comparative research approach which compares the different countries in Southeast Asia by examining the relationship between politics and the economy in each of the countries from the common perspective of economic development and the formation of a system for development. The third is the “promoters of industrialization” approach which analyzes the state of industrialization in each of the countries paying particular attention to business groups. The fourth is the rural survey approach which studies the relationship between industrialization and changes in agriculture and rural society. All of these approaches can effectively use the wealth of data amassed by the IDE using the earlier “single-country study” approach and make this data relevant to economic globalization and the progress of regional cooperation.

Studies falling under the first approach include one produced by the cooperative efforts of the Malaysia study group and edited by Kenzō Horii* and Yoshiyuki Hagiwara* (1988) which undertook a complete study of Malaysia’s new economic policy or Bumiputra policy. Takashi Torii* (1991) who belonged to the Malaysia study group, conducted an intensive field study of the automobile industry in Malaysia. Another work is a recent study by the Indonesia study group and edited by Akio Yasunaka* and Norio Mihira* (1995) which undertook an analysis of politico-economic transformation under the Suharto regime.

A work falling under the second approach is a study edited by Ikuo Iwasaki* (1994) which compared the political systems of Southeast Asia dealing in particular with the key concepts of “developmental state” and “developmentalist regime.”

Works that fall within the third approach include a study edited by Kenji Koike* (1993) which compares the development patterns of business groups in Southeast Asia, East Asia, and Latin America. Akira Suehiro* (1993) in a piece contained in this study undertook a reexamination of the concept of “family business” using Thailand as his example. Another work of this approach is that by Yuri Satō (1996) which analyzed management reform taking the example of the Astra Group, Indonesia’s second largest business group.

Examples of studies within the fourth approach are two, using different methodologies. One is a study edited by Hiromitsu Umehara* and Kōsuke Mizuno* (1993) which analyzes landownership systems and social class structures within rural communities; the other is a special issue of the

Developing Economies (IDE) edited by Hitoshi Yonekura* (1995) which applies the theory of the incompleteness of the market force to show the changes in the distribution system for agricultural products and in market organizations. Common to both methodologies however is the strong sense of unavoidable change in traditional distribution and financial systems under the impact of rapid industrialization. It must be added that Kōsuke Mizuno* (1996) discussed the community-based weaving industry in rural Indonesia.

Besides the studies falling under these four approaches, there is also Yukio Ikemoto's* noteworthy work (1991) on income distribution in Thailand between 1962 and 1987.

In recent years research at the IDE has begun to produce carefully done studies of the major industries in the countries of Southeast Asia, particularly the automobile and electrical products industries. But genuine research on education systems, on labor-management relations, and on the environment have yet to be started despite the importance of these three subjects. These issues will need to be dealt with, and they need to be studied using area studies methodologies.

(Akira Suehiro)

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