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Соціальні зв'язки і неформальна економіка в Таїланді¹

*Роботу виконано на факультеті економіки
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Дослідження ґрунтується на даних, отриманих у ході проведення напівформалізованих інтерв'ю членів сільських та міських домашніх господарств у північно-східних областях Таїланду. Розглядається кореляція між зайнятістю у домашньому господарстві і вибором стратегії виживання в умовах ринкової економіки. Крім цього, неформальний сектор розглядається як зона економічної периферії, що здатна вирішити проблему домогосподарств.

Ключові слова: соціальний зв'язок, ринок, транзакційні витрати, соціальний капітал, неформальна економіка.

Chinasak Suwan-achariya. Social Networks and the Informal Economy in Thailand. The research is based on the data received during the semi formalized interviews to members of rural and urban households in northeastern areas of Thailand. The correlation between household's employment and the choice of survival strategy of in conditions of market economy is considered. Besides the informal sector is considered, how a zone of the periphery economy, capable of solving the problem households.

Key word: social network, market, transaction cost, social capital, informal economy.

The theme of informal economy studies in modern Thai village had been studied for 2–3 years ago because of the impossibility to explain the household function in conditions of market relations [2]. This study farm value of informal economy is not perceived by the majority of Thai scientists seriously because Thai scientists have the negative perception in any innovations. On the contrary, Thai scientists consider country facilities as a support of a community as the economic life exists at participation of community members in joint activity [1]. In Thai scientists opinion, the increase in migratory processes in city is caused by deficiency of household resources which influences easing of a community [7]. However, real studying has shown positions in household that the migration of labor promotes support and stability in household economic situation. Subjects to the household's migration estimates to the rational use of manpower and as an opportunity of an unlimited exchange and trade [3].

Thus discrepancies of the various phenomena arising in economic and social sphere of market relations, spoke insufficient development of the doctrine or an incorrectness of the initial data, stirring to achievement of adequacy of theoretical constructions to the actual phenomena. Their opinion do not consider the subject households and as object of research in ideological platform of movement in joint studying a country question. For activeness of household economic activities positive changes in their ability to live are necessary: first of all, a necessary adaptation of household to market conditions and maintenance of minimally necessary consumption level and reproduction of manpower. In this connection, their activity and informal work are without registration quantity of working hours and the size of the income in the given sector. House facilities are a platform where is developed and approved.

Therefore, the problems of the informal employment of steel last years are still steadfast attention, but they till now are insufficiently scientifically worked and it is correlative with 1) the character of the object is hidden from eyes of the researcher; 2) the fuzziness borders of sphere of informal employment; 3) the omplexity of definition.

Despite the growth in number of the employees, devoted to research on the Thai labour market informal employment, spent research works on studying informal economy in Thailand are not concentrated to studying of household adaptation mechanisms to the market. To understand the logic of occurrence and distribution of the labour market informal employment, and also its role at becoming market relations between the employer and the worker-rather uneasy and actual enough scientific problem. Considering scales of informal employment, there is a necessity of the analysis of its role, influence on economy of

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Thailand and a Thai society as a whole and on a labour market, in particular, than and the urgency of a theme is caused.

The research of informal employment is shown, how multilayered enough and inconsistent social and economic phenomenon which cannot be estimated unequivocally. On the one hand, the labour rights in informal employment are not protected in any way by the law. Workers are very vulnerable, not protected position and deprived many labour rights and all social privileges.

On the other hand, in informal employment, the workers like to use the social privileges as unemployment for both a society, and for workers because the social privileges as unemployment serve as the survival factor of the population in conditions of the decreased standard of living. In connection with increase in a partial employment of a labour, in a national economy the so-called defective or atypical forms of employment including the whole scale of various kinds of works under temporal contracts extend also: for the period of performance of the certain work, for the short-term period, on the basis of the agreement, for the incomplete working day and performance of single assignments, on the basis of an exchange between the enterprises and workers, on this or that season under a subcontract, including in different forms work at home [4]. The last, the getting great value for employment of women on the basic of subcontracts with the modern enterprises of formal sector in textile, furniture, the industries, trade and a number of other branches.

The informal sector in Thailand has kinds of special structure of activity and is consistent with activity. For employment, it is noticed from the high share of trade and services. The kinds of activity most typical for Thailand within the limits of informal sector are market and street trade, granting of various services to the population, such as repair and construction of habitation, transport services (private carrying), tutoring, cleaning of premises and offices, cooking, care of children and aged. The estimations of number of employment in informal sectors are made within the limits calculations of cumulative expenses of work with application of the combined methods based on integration of given inspections in the population on problems of employment and inspections of the organizations, and the calculations which are carried out with attraction of other the information sources .

According to statistics on employment in the informal sector has made 23 million persons (73 %) from them 8,4 million persons are employment by production of an agriculture. The employment in informal economy can solve a problem of unemployment during financial crisis of 1998. According to data of interrogation of the lead bureau of national statistics in 1999 and 2001, the share household employment has increased for 90 %, and passenger and freight traffic and in imported trade 31.4 % have been employment. Appreciable influence on a degree of a manpower employment was rendered with rather high share of an agriculture is branches of national economy structure [6].

The majority of workplaces are created in informal economy, that, in turn, influences decrease in unemployment and guarantees reception of the necessary income for the maintenance of family. Presence of the informal markets in the city, allows needy layers of the population to buy essential commodities under the low prices. Thus the effect of expansion is observed - the national economy starts to develop, social decreases of intensity and the crime rate in the country decreases [5]. The research works on studying informal economy in Thailand is still lackluster. In my opinion, the mechanism of behaviour and adaptation of rural households in given area does not reveal; as the subject of household spends an estimation of resources and solves problems of a daily survival; what socio-economic factors play a main role in a choice for this kind of employment in family and as there is a charge distribution in the family. What level of interrelation between formal and informal economy in household. Necessity to open essence of these questions, also is very important in present day as the family network promotes improvement of a situation with unemployment, mobilization of a manpower, that is has the general social importance.

Besides the gain rate from national economy depends on a level of informal employment in agricultural branches, construction, in sphere of public catering and others. Carried out researches assume different methods is according to the purposes of research. All can be divided methods on two groups: quantitative and qualitative. By means of quantitative methods scales of informal economy and its elements are estimated. Qualitative methods are aimed, first of all, at finding-out of internal mechanisms of informal economy hence, studying of informal economy to become a subject of scientific discussion of economists and sociologists.

Social aspects of informal economy

At present, the studying of informal economy steps to a new step. The country has faced a problem of necessity of data gathering about a plenty of rural household, especially pay attention in northeastern areas of Thailand. The result of research on household living standard has shown that it is more than 90 percent of the income are not received registered activity of labour. Basically it is monetary resources are received as a result of work spent on own field. Work on a floor only promotes a household survival and is from the basic kinds of seasonal employment.

Table 1

The share of the incomes received in an agriculture (August 2005 – March 2006)

Month	The share of in the income (%)	
	Urban population	Agricultural population
August	15,6	30
September	1,9	21,1
October	21,7	9,3
November	13,9	36,4
December	18,8	26,1
January	19	24
February	17,4	26,9
March	13,0	29,2

Source: Chinasak Suwan-achariya. Nirat Rattanasupha (2006): *The market and social network in cultural space*. Bangkok: TRF. (in Thai). P. 455.

The given tables shows that share of the family income of an agriculture sector has rather small of urban population. It explains that low profitability of the given branch and the slowed growth in household incomes in comparison with sphere of service and trade. Unlike urban population in an animal agriculture is the main source of the income for agricultural population. The population by natural income category developing in natural receipts of food stuffs from a personal part-time farm has essential support. According to inspections of house facilities the cost share of receipts from personal part-time farms in structure of the natural income of the population averages about 30 percent. Scales distribution of informal economy are connected with presence of inefficient formal institutes, and also that the state has counted that such form of activity of country facilities promotes maintenance of reproduction of a life and preservation transfer experience from generation to generation. Actually, leaving in informal sector is the survival factor conditions of a low standard population of living at absence of real state support. Thus it is possible to consider informal economy as set of norms of a society, as a regulator of household economic behaviour.

One of preconditions for inclusion of migratory process of subjects' country household is the seasonal nature of employment in agricultural works. Defining value here, it shows ability of the individual to quickly adapt during socialization, presence of experience and importance of participation in business. Major factors of migration became also various short-term moving inside of the country between the next regions with the purpose of an exchange (barter transactions) that creating a zone of informal labour market. Modern economic conditions were strengthened with the informal experts existed in economy of Thailand. The traditional values of family and related communications have increased owing to the increasing in the importance of relatives economic support. For example, through related networks idle members of family get a job also financial support. At a micro level related attitudes bring the serious contribution to economy in the form of the transfers which are carried out by emigrant's families. Different data sources confirm, that social networks take an essential place in formation of informal economy in modern Thailand, the same as and in legal economic transaction. Household can form a social network, the behaviour within the limits of which will possess the certain attributes. In such networks often attitudes are under construction on a principle of reciprocity which assumes, that at attitudes between people there is a reciprocity, which is attitudes are not under construction on strict principles of a formal exchange. Reciprocity during an individuals exchange do not register precise rules and obligations, often this exchange does not assume use of money. Than is more close to each other people feel, construction of relations on a principle of reciprocity is especially probable. Reciprocity does not pursue the purpose of profit maximization. The sense of this type of social attitudes consists in protection of close people against an environment,

opposition to adverse circumstances the general forces, alignment of vital chances of participants of a network.

The nature plays a huge role in formation of type households, all system of activity's lives of people, labour skills, skills and others and the better results of experience were fixed. The ethnic traditions of development of territory and labour activity were formed. Version of a geographical determinism is the determinism technological within the limits of which socio-cultural samples appear derivatives of technological specificity of a society. The significant part agricultural ground is in a zone of risky agriculture that causes high probability of poor harvests. Suffered from poor harvests hoped not to the aid from the central authority, but participation of neighbours, relatives and friends that did the nearest environment by more reliable, than the central authority, the guarantor of their survival. The impossibility to survive alone has generated a steady basis of economic outlook practice as poorly regulated the norms state that creates all chances for development of informal economy. The informal economy is treated as integral characteristics of consciousness of the Thai society, caused by heavy climatic conditions.

Table 2

A share of products, monetary, labour transfers in rural and city networks (%)

Kinds of transfers	Share in total (%)	Share in cumulative cost (%)	Share in total	Share in cumulative cost (%)
Products	82,70	32,10	3,2	9,6
Money (gratuitously)	29,10	52,88	28,2	50,06
Labour	14,31	14,97	68,5	40,2
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Chinasak Suwan-achariya.Nirat Rattanasupha (2006) :*The market and social network in cultural space*. Bangkok: TRF. (in Thai). P. 145.

The culture of informal market relations influences processes of person's socialization , on preservation certain specificity practice and practice of the social representations, forcing to perceive informal as the socio-legitimate form of survival and self-maintenance of the individual and family. Practically everyone household combines feature in the daily activity of commodity, naturally-consumer and traditional household by kinds of employment and receipt of incomes sources and will involve all the resources having at its order, enabling to avoid an abject poverty. Besides the significant part of resources acts in the form of gratuitous material aid, barter as for rural community the branched out network of related and neighbours mutual aid was always characteristic, friendly support. Results of interrogation have shown wide scales of an involvement of rural families in this informal network. Traditionally in Thai families, especially in village was considered as the standard practice the help of parents by the oldest child even if he/she got married. His/her assistance was the first thing to produce the products, joint performance of works on the house and on a personal plot, to care of juvenile children more often. Recently, the character of intergenerational mutual aid has got new features – parents became a source not only food, but also monetary receipts.

Monetary loans from parents have gratuitous character more often, adult children “pay off” with services – work on a parental kitchen garden, for cattle and birds, etc. Thus work as preparations of forages intergenerational reciprocally crossed streams of moving material and monetary resources, services. Unlike city families, on village neighbor's mutual relations are very close not only related, but also. Thus, and data of official statistics, and speak results of our research that the majority rural household, adapting to new conditions of managing, aspire all accessible ways to provide to itself a comprehensible level of existence, the personal part-time farm thus becomes the center of business activity. Existence informal “a network resource” allows to understand, how the rural family survives. In the general balance of network exchanges city household product transfers borrow the greatest part and make 32,1 % and in rural networks this parameter rather small. In network space of city and village attitudes dominate over relatives. The most dense and intensive exchange occurs between parents and children; the exchange with other relatives is less than active.

Participation of neighbours in network exchanges almost become symbolical products and monetary transfers with neighbours, friends and colleagues are less widespread than with relatives. On channels of rural and urban networks rather significant volumes of resources ply, redistributions of functions carrying out among families of a different prosperity. Networks participants are not maximization tool of profit. It is the mechanism for alignment of vital opportunities in a network participant, system of versatile operative mutual aid. In work we consider a family household as mainly a subsistence economy involved in process of a market exchange with the purpose of sale of surpluses and the best satisfaction of own needs. Such type of economic contribution to security of reproduction of a life and preservation experience transfer of experience from generation to generation. As we see the most part of the family income of 18–30 % make natural receipts of food stuffs.

However, rural household is on the whole unproductive and low goods. The share of the network help makes 0,9–3,4 % of the family income. Thus, the informal economy is not reduced to economy of informal sector and represents more complex and branched out concept including and special type of managing, and specific character of social attitudes, and the latent mechanism for updating of formal norms.

Table 3

Employment in informal sector on branches of economy (%)

Sources of the income		Urban population		Agricultural population	
		Baht	%	Baht	%
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Trade and public catering	99,7830	42	159,800	20,5
2	Construction	496,520	20,9	51,500	6,6
3	Housing-and-municipal and consumer services	62,180	2,6	88,500	11,4
4	Transport and communication	13,110	0,6	0	0
5	Agriculture and a forestry	433,193	18,2	227,200	29,1
6	Employment on seasonal works	22,000	0,9	77,400	9,9
7	Tailoring and repair of clothes	27,000	1,1	2,000	0,3
8	The state and administrative sector	10,000	0,4	87,100	11,2

1	2	3	4	5	6
9	The help of children	245,500	10,3	0	0
10	The income from sale of wild products	65,700	2,8	32,500	4,1
11	Dividends	0	0	4,000	0,5
12	Other incomes: lottery prizes, gifts, the organization of holidays and others	3,370	0,2	50,000	6,4
	Total	2,376,403	100	780,000	100

Source: Chinasak Suwan-achariya.Nirat Rattanasupha(2006) :*The market and social network in cultural space*. Bangkok: TRF. (in Thai). P. 452–453.

Low incomes in agriculture (18,2–29,1 %) compel households to search for additional earnings on seasonal works. Given the structure of the household budget shows that the share borrowed on seasonal works makes 1–10 %. Such kind of informal employment reflects household strategy in the decision to budget problems of deficiency.

Researches structure of rural households incomes (as in agricultural areas, and, especially, in not agricultural) shows that the agricultural population the basic sources of incomes are employment in sphere of trade and public catering. A personal part-time farm as a source of the income families and only there where there is an access to industrial resources and opportunities of selling use far not all. Those who conduct a personal part-time farm as simple small-scale manufacture, cannot use advantage of the status of the farmer, such as access to administratively distributed resources. For indemnification of low or absent wages countrymen are compelled to resort not only to personal part-time farms, but also to the most different ways diversity sources of incomes – easier speaking, to all possible ways of a survival: leaving for work in cities, gathering and sale.

Not registered employment is widely widespread and takes the important place in a life-support system of countrymen. Seasonal labour at farmers is widespread especially, the jobless women find the job in seasonal labour. The following forms of extra earnings are less widespread; fishing and sale fish, hunting, sewing and other craft, household services-repair of footwear, techniques, hairdresser's services and other. Essential source of the income for painfully most part of the population is illegal trade. As appears from the stated, that such kinds of informal employment are unique sources of family maintenance and can solve problems without the help of the state, despite of a carried out credit policy of the state directed on maintenance of a fine commodity producer.

Informal economy and the network organization of space

Estimating the general tendencies of development of informal employment in Thailand, the assumption has been made that it is shown more likely not as process dysfunction of market transformation, and as the mechanism which amortize this transient and promoting active inclusion of the population in market relations. The given hypothesis is considered the dependence confirmed at an establishment between a parameter of participation in informal employment on a labour market and parameters of a market exchange between the employer and the worker.

It is revealed that informal employment promotes inclusion of the population in market relations. In regular basis working without the labour contract are much less inclined to leave a question of payment and operating conditions at the discretion of the employer, greater activity is peculiar to them at discussion in the future labour activity conditions with the employer. The employees often work in formal employment. By starting with alternativeness of a choice, in a greater degree range requirements to a place of work. The market tender and alternativeness of a choice as components of a market exchange are more characteristic for informally employee. In sphere of informal employment arrangement between the employer and to hired workers have informal character and cannot give any guarantees, being under construction exclusively on mutual trust of the parties, it is possible to expect, that frequency of informal employment will render some influence on character of relations between the worker and the employer. First of all, the output on a labour market and an establishment of attitudes the employer – the workers search the beginning process of work. And at the stage of searching and employment informal experts are widespread. Thus informal ways (use of personal communications and acquaintances) are actively used both at official and informal employment. As a whole, for all groups the most widespread way to work search are acquaintances, communications.

The positive party of employment in informal sector is increase in rate of a gain in the basic branches of economy as an agriculture (manufacture of a sugar cane). The employment in manufacturing of a sugar cane works very well owing to household employment without contract in labour market. Informal employment promotes a gain of economy as a whole, but in fact the standard of living for a majority of the population is on the verge of a survival. For normal existence modern conditions, the family income should average 4,500-6,000 baht per month. The special form of informal attitudes is also subcontracting. Such kind of cooperation renders significant support of the rural manufacturer (manufacture of a potato). As manufacture of a potato continues to develop on extensive ways, household test significant lack of financial resources and means of production. Here also it turns out, that for products of large quantity of goods and services it is necessary to take the credit in the state bank or from the private person. As the credit rate at the private person above, than in the state bank, the basic part of loans is necessary on this source of reception of the credit. It is under such circumstances established nonequivalent attitudes between the borrower of means and the physical person as in exchange on receive the credit, the businessman agrees on enslaving conditions of creditors.

Table 4

Credit of household and kind of subcontracting.

Kinds of the credit	Share on credit (%)	Conditions	Purpose
Private	34,28	24 % annual with barter transactions	Purchase of fertilizers, repair of agricultural machinery
State	56,66	7 % annual	Purchase of means of production, for own needs of family, payment of formation
Community	9,09	12 % annual	For the deficiency decision of monetary turn

Source: Chinasak Suwan-achariya.Nirat Rattanasupha(2006): *The market and social network in cultural space*. Bangkok: TRF. (in Thai). P. 131.

In general, use of informal social channels, in my opinion, is one of the most widespread strategies of survival in modern conditions. In fact frequently a level of household security, preservation of its social and economic status depend not on the income, and of density of informal social networks in which the individual is included, and, in particular, from an opportunity to take money in a duty or to receive free aid.

In frontier area with Laos household members are employed by fishing or working as hired workers in farm, but such kinds of the income are not constant. Therefore many leave in shuttle business which became the basic way of earnings. Shuttle trade means purchase of the goods in Laos with its subsequent resale in Thailand. Shuttle business for today brings household not registered income 4,500–6,000 baht per month. Taxes from incomes of such activity are not paid, as here there are features. The order to import goods through customs precisely does not define what quantity of duty-free goods and is intended for self-consumption, and what for resale. Shuttle business is promoted by the interstate agreement on expansion of trade, and also presence of communications in customs bodies. Therefore shuttle business brings essential advantage to the state, in the form of the tax to the added cost of the goods. Besides the arrangement for household near the central area enables more quickly to adapt owing to illegitimate ways of activity and employment in informal economy.

It means that each family carefully weighs where and as it is more favourable to put the work in cultivation of rice on own floor or employment in sphere of trade. The kinds of Tradition and activity for women are trade in the markets and at street stalls, and the majority of men are employed by transportation of the goods between areas. All the listed kinds of employment enable family to get the monthly income that certainly is more favourably than traditional cultivation of fig. Informal economy is survival strategy of rural households. It reflects logic of a survival in sense of realization for the wide social purposes and the purposes of a daily life. The policy of the state promoted the growth of informal economy. It constructs the

new markets increase and to these private traders workplaces having provided. Thus the dealer is released from payment of taxes as the state considers that the income received by it of realization of production of a personal part-time farm is not to constants. Hence, each employment in marketing receives the family income from 5,000–20,000 baths per month. Obviously, today household continue to keep the old form of labour employment-work on a floor. Though such traditional kind of work does not bring essential incomes, but it allows to provide the minimal needs of household. To get an additional source of the household income use own ways and means of an output for the market.

Each area has various forms of informal employment as depends on an environment, the infrastructure of market where its participants create the informal institutes adjusting economic behaviour in which its each participant possesses the certain status and carries out a corresponding role. Besides the household creates an opportunity for mobilization of resources and realizations of those opportunities which are at private business by means to use family of a social network.

Conclusion

The informal economy become a specific kind of economic activity in rural household. In the decision for deficiency incomes and supports of ability to live as in the state there is no development strategy of agrarian reform. First of all, the state should care of creation of an opportunity and ability to a competition of the goods because now commodity-money attitudes exist on the basis of mercantilism when the economic policy of capital accumulation is spent in interests of large manufacturers, than in favour of small commodity manufacture, such as household.

Therefore the increment of the rate of a gain in agriculture is reached as result of share employment growth in informal sector of economy. The trading profit is carried out mainly on the basis of a nonequivalent exchange owing to relative backwardness of the commodity reference, it, in turn, conducts to stagnation when the person, household not in a condition to carry out socially – status, property changes in the best party by virtue of existing restrictions. Informal employment is first of all reduction of actual unemployment and decrease in intensity on labour market. It enables the population not only to earn additionally, but also to earn, and for many(in particular, for persons with the lowered competitiveness on labour market). It is quite often unique opportunity to survive in difficult conditions. Informal employment besides opens ample opportunities of flexible use of labour that is of interest not only for employers, but also for many categories of workers. And earnings informal in turn, conduct to increase in demand at the goods and services, stimulating that their manufacture. Despite of a wide circulation of informal employment and heightened interest of researchers to the given problem, informal employment remains still poorly studied. It is connected with specificity of the given phenomenon that complicates carrying out of its objective and authentic estimation. Till now there is no uniform concept, uniform understanding of a problem in informal employment.

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