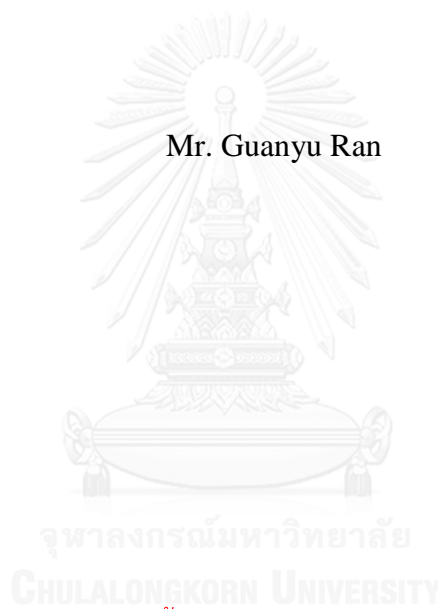


OUTSIDE THE OLD ENCLAVE:  
A NEW CHINESE IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD IN BANGKOK

Mr. Guanyu Ran



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นอกล้อมเมืองเก่าสำเพ็ง: ชุมชนจีนอพยพใหม่ในกรุงเทพ



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต  
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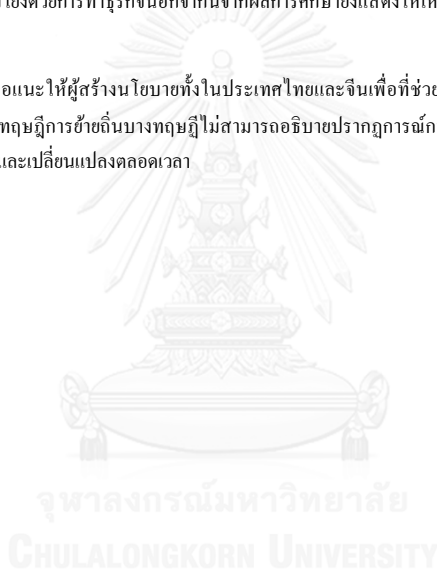
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กานยู รัน : นอกวงล้อมเมืองเก่าสำเพ็ง: ชุมชนจีนอพยพใหม่ในกรุงเทพฯ (OUTSIDE THE OLD ENCLAVE:A NEW CHINESE IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD IN BANGKOK) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ศ. ดร. สุภาวดี จันทวานิช, อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม: ศศ. ดร. วาสนา วงศ์สุรวัฒน์, 4 หน้า.

ชุมชนชาวจีนในกรุงเทพมหานครมีประวัติยาวนานถึง 233 ปี (ตั้งแต่ ปี พ.ศ. 2325)ถึงแม้ชุมชนนี้จะหยุดขยายออกแต่ก็เป็นชุมชนที่เต็มไปด้วยอารยธรรมและกิจกรรมทางธุรกิจ ในขณะที่ชุมชนชาวจีนเก่าหยุดเติบโตชุมชนชาวจีนใหม่ก็เกิดขึ้นในกรุงเทพมหานคร ในสถานที่อื่นในชุมชนใหม่มีหลักฐานต่างๆที่พบได้ง่ายเกี่ยวกับชาวจีนสำหรับชาวจีนที่พึ่งย้ายถิ่นฐานมาที่ประเทศไทยนั้นก็ตัดสินใจที่จะอาศัยอยู่ในชุมชนชาวจีนใหม่ เนื่องจากเป็นชุมชนที่น่าอยู่อาศัยตามที่พวกเขาต้องการอย่างไรก็ตามงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวกับผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวจีนและชุมชนที่อาศัยในกรุงเทพมหานครแทบจะไม่มีปรากฏให้เห็นเลย เพื่อที่จะศึกษาและมีความเข้าใจเพิ่มขึ้นเกี่ยวกับผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวจีนและชุมชนที่อยู่ของพวกเขาในกรุงเทพมหานครทั้งเพื่อหาความแตกต่างระหว่างชุมชนชาวจีนใหม่และเก่าจึงเป็นจุดมุ่งหมายของงานวิจัยนี้ที่ทฤษฎีการย้ายถิ่น 2 ทฤษฎีได้นำมาประกอบแนวคิดของงานวิจัยนี้: (i) ปัจจัยดึงดูดและผลักดัน (Push-pull factors) เพื่อนำมาวิเคราะห์เหตุผลในการตั้งชุมชนของชาวจีนและ (ii) โมเดล 4 ขั้นตอน (4-stage model) เพื่อวิเคราะห์ขั้นตอนการตั้งชุมชนการเริ่มตั้ง การใช้ประโยชน์และการคงอยู่

จากการวิเคราะห์โดยใช้เทคนิคเก็บข้อมูลแบบวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพจากการสัมภาษณ์ (ทั้งในรูปแบบการสัมภาษณ์แบบกึ่งโครงสร้างและการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึก) การสำรวจแบบไม่มีส่วนร่วมการวางแผนและการวิจัยจากเอกสารผลการศึกษาคือผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวจีนกลุ่มใหม่ย้ายมาอาศัยในกรุงเทพมหานคร เพื่อการพัฒนาชีวิตในด้านวัฒนธรรมและความเชื่อพวกเขามีหัวสมัยใหม่และไม่นับถือศาสนาใดๆชุมชนใหม่นี้มีหน้าที่เป็นทั้งแหล่งทำมาหากินและที่อยู่อาศัย สิ่งที่สำคัญที่สุดคือการที่ชุมชนใหม่เชื่อมโยงด้วยการทำธุรกิจนอกจากนี้จากผลการศึกษาข้างแสดงให้เห็นอีกว่าชุมชนใหม่และชุมชนเก่ามีความแตกต่างกันในหลายด้าน

สรุปงานวิจัยนี้มีข้อเสนอแนะให้ผู้สร้างนโยบายทั้งในประเทศไทยและจีนเพื่อช่วยให้ผู้ย้ายถิ่นมีชีวิตความเป็นอยู่ร่วมกันได้ดีกับคนของประเทศปลายทางงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้จะได้ว่าทฤษฎีการย้ายถิ่นบางทฤษฎีไม่สามารถอธิบายปรากฏการณ์การย้ายถิ่นในปัจจุบันได้เนื่องจากลักษณะและธรรมชาติของการย้ายถิ่นที่ต่างออกไปจากเดิมมากและเปลี่ยนแปลงตลอดเวลา



สาขาวิชา การพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ

ปีการศึกษา 2557

ลายมือชื่อนิติกร .....

ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก .....

ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาร่วม .....

# # 5781201124 : MAJOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

KEYWORDS: NEW CHINESE IMMIGRANT / OVERSEAS CHINESE / IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD / IMMIGRANT TRANSITION

GUANYU RAN: OUTSIDE THE OLD ENCLAVE:A NEW CHINESE IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD IN BANGKOK. ADVISOR: PROF. SUPANG CHANTAVANICH, Ph.D., CO-ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. WASANA WONGSURAWAT, Ph.D., 4 pp.

Bangkok's Chinatown has a history of over 233 years, since 1782. Though its geographical spread has stopped, it is still a community filled with vibrant economic and cultural activities. As Chinatown's expansion slows, a new Chinese immigrant neighborhood emerges in a different location. Here you can easily find evidence of Chinese presence. For the Chinese newcomers who decide to stay longer in Bangkok, this new neighborhood is an ideal living area. This research was conducted in order to gain a better understanding of new Chinese immigrants and their neighborhood in Bangkok. Two main international migration theories were adopted for the conceptual framework: "Push-pull" factors theory analyzes the reasons for coming to the neighborhood, and 4-stage model of immigrant settlement theory evaluates the formation, function and maintaining of the new immigrant neighborhood.

Qualitative methods of interview (semi-structured and in-depth), non-participate observation, community mapping and document reviewing revealed that most new Chinese immigrants in Bangkok today come for better development. The new neighborhood mainly functions as a residential and business zone; the most important way to maintain their new neighborhood is business nexus. Findings show that the newcomers are very different to the old Chinese immigrants. This research also provides some recommendations for relevant policy makers both in Thailand and China in order to help new immigrants integrate better into the host country. It proves that some classical international immigrant theories are not suitable for analyzing the current international immigration trends because of the ever-changing characteristics of international immigrants and the global environment.

Field of Study: International Development  
Studies

Academic Year: 2014

Student's Signature .....

Advisor's Signature .....

Co-Advisor's Signature .....

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
MRT	Bangkok Metropolitan Rapid Transit
BMCL	Bangkok Metro Public Company Limited
MRTA	Mass Rapid Transit Authority of Thailand



# CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

As one of the most popular immigrant enclaves, Chinatown has attracted a lot of interest from public. From the movies to fictions, the images of Chinatown about lively restaurants, convenient groceries, crowded population, and any other vibrant scenes within it are much impressive and familiar to almost everyone around the world. Bangkok, one of the most important center cities in ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), still one of the largest Chinese diasporas holding cities among the world, has such a long history of Chinese immigration enclave – Chinatown for almost 233 years (since 1782).

Started as a business port and residential community for Chinese immigrants, the traditional Chinatown of Bangkok extended to be a larger and integrated community with additionally comprehensive functions of business, culture heritage, political



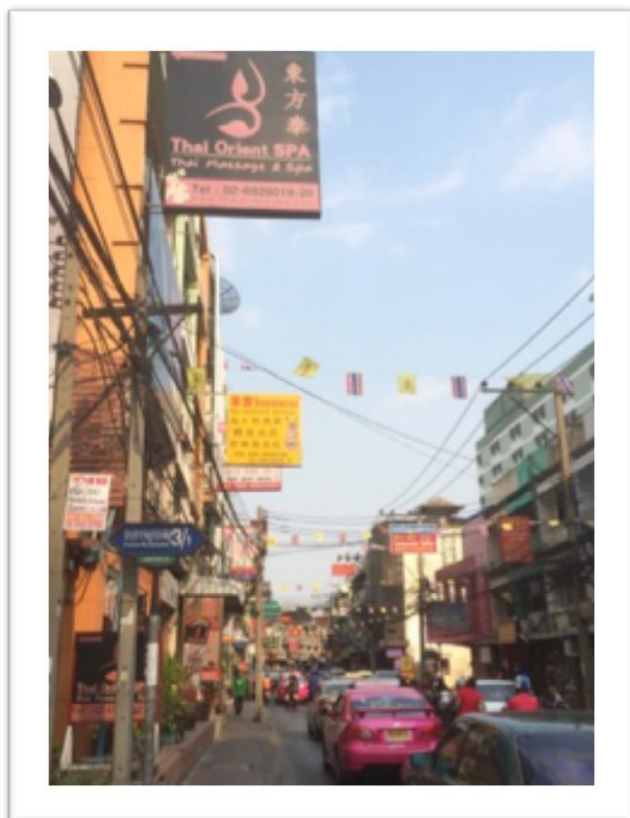
Figure 1 The traditional Chinatown in Bangkok

participation and health service under the efforts of generations of Chinese immigrants.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays, though it has stopped its outspreading geographically, it is still a vivid community filled with vibrant economic and cultural activities and even much popular for the tourists to experience the exotically traditional Chinese culture, productions and food.

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<sup>1</sup> 2. Van Roy E. Sampheng. Bangkok, Thailand: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn Univ.; 2007.

At the same time of the traditional Chinatown's stopping expansion, we find that there is a new Chinese immigrant neighborhood that emerges in Bangkok at a different location in the Huai Khwang district. Standing in this community, you can



easily find the billboards with Chinese element: Chinese restaurants, Chinese groceries and other evidence of Chinese presence. Nowadays, when you talk with the Chinese about where you might find a Chinese presence beside the old Chinatown in Bangkok, they tell you the answer without any hesitate: Huai Khwang. Even for those who decided to stay longer in Bangkok, Huai Khwang is the ideal living area.

But recently, since it is a new immigrant neighborhood with few

Figure 2 The new Chinese immigrant neighbourhood in Huai Khwang district in Bangkok

studies, we have a lot of uncertain and unknown about this community in details, Such as, what's the boundary of this community, what's the specific function of this community, how's the relationship between Chinese immigrants and native Thai citizens there, why this community does not merge with the traditional Chinese community in Bangkok, what's the difference between the new one and the old one.

From Europe to USA, from Japan to Australia, throughout the research about Chinatown around the world, scholars have already made huge progress in traditional Chinatown study. But about the phenomenon of "new born" Chinese immigration community, it is still a new thing to overseas Chinese study field. Nowadays, about their existences under the global scope of Chinese community studies, some scholar



call it directly as the new Chinatown, and some call it satelliteization of Chinatown, or proliferation of Chinatown.

Wong said the shaping of Chinatown is influenced by the larger society (Wong & Chee-Beng, 2013), which means if there is a new emerged Chinese immigration community, it must have its own specific reasons, and the Chinese community in Bangkok is no exception. This is also why we will conduct this study: in order to decipher the development of contemporary immigrant communities to understand more about recent immigrations.

## **1.2 Research objective**

Through this study, we could:

1. Identify the factors why the new Chinese immigrants came to the new neighborhood;
2. Exam the formation, function and maintaining of the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood;
3. Make a comparison between old and new Chinese communities to evaluate what's the difference between the new and old in Bangkok.

During the research, we can find out the different characteristics between the old and new Chinese immigrants in Thailand. With these summary characteristics of new migrations, we can still give the Thai immigration authorities and relevant Chinese authorities some policy-making suggestions so that they could help the new immigrants' life to be better and easier.

Generally speaking, this study could help us not only broaden the horizon at the aspect of new international migration and its community, but also enrich our knowledge about transformation of immigration communities, urban development and globalization.

### 1.3 Research question

Due to the objective of this study, we set up the research questions as follows:

1. Why did the Chinese immigrants come to the new neighborhood in Thailand?
2. How does this immigrant neighborhood form and work?
3. What is the difference between the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood and old Chinese community in Bangkok?

Table 1 Sub-questions

<b>Details in sub-questions</b>	
<i>Why did the new Chinese immigrants come to the new neighborhood in Thailand?</i>	Who are the new immigrants? Why did they come to Huai Khwang (discussing the push-pull factors from the past to the present with the connection of China and Thailand's context)?
<i>How was the neighborhood formed (What is the history of this neighborhood)?</i>	When was the start of this neighborhood (Contact the Bangkok city planning and the history of the development of this area with its city constructions and special business, such as the area traffic construction process and massage business, and so on)? How did they come here? How's the new neighborhood?
<i>How does this immigrant neighborhood work?</i>	What's the relationship between Chinese immigrations and local Thai citizens in this neighborhood? What are the main functions of this neighborhood? How do they maintain the new neighborhood?
<i>What's difference between the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood and</i>	What's the characteristic of old Chinatown in Bangkok? What's the difference between the new Chinese neighborhood and the traditional one?

<i>old Chinese community?</i>	
-------------------------------	--

#### 1.4 Hypothesis

Compared with the old Chinatown in Bangkok, most of the residents in new Chinese neighborhood are new immigrants that come to Thailand in recent decades. So, the international and internal contexts are different between these two Chinese immigrant communities in various aspects, such as the degree of development of the society in China, Thailand's immigration policies and domestic social context.

1. About the forming factors of the neighborhood, based on the theory of Migration systems (Castles & Miller, 1998): In addition to the fact that the new Chinese citizens are strongly influenced by the present Chinese political, cultural and economic situations, I think maybe most of these new Chinese immigrants come to Bangkok to have a better self-development under the rapid economic development of Thailand. On the other hand, before 1979, because of the forbidden freedom move for Chinese whether at internal or outside of China (the very strict *HUKOU system*), it was not easy for Chinese to go out as a immigrant. But this situation was changed because of the "Reform and opening" policy after 1979. From that time the Chinese began to have the easier and easier migration policy and the Chinese society began to become a quasi-freedom move society than before. This is still the time that this Chinese community began to form, so maybe the residents are still affected by this policy change and migration trend;

2. Speaking of the formation process and community function, due to the recent migration regulation and international context between Thailand and China, I think this community was organized by the new Chinese immigrants who came to Thailand after China and Thailand formally established the diplomatic relations in 1975, which means this neighborhood might have been formed after that time. But due to the mainly transportation and city constructions finishing time (Ratchadaphisek Road was built around 1985 and MRT system was built around 2004), the formation time of the

new Chinese immigration neighborhood may have started after 1985 and accelerated after 2000 because of the convenient transportation situation. And because of the special role of Yunnan, Guangxi province that play as the representatives of China that have a deep and comprehensive cooperation with ASEAN countries, I think the main residences of this neighborhood are from Yunnan and Guangxi province. The migration chain system as the kinship and clanship of Chinese international migration get weaker and weaker in recent years because of the effects on rapid economic development and the demands of efficiency. So I still think the migration chain system in this community is weaker too but more diverse than the past. Also, about the function of this community, I believe that the main functions are still the residence and commerce;

3. Based on the situation, about the difference between the new Chinese immigration neighborhood and the old Chinatown, I think the new Chinese neighborhood in Bangkok is very different from the traditional one. Maybe the new neighborhood in Bangkok is not a simple proliferation of the traditional Chinatown, and there are parallel developments between these two communities with a very limited social, culture and economic connection. Another point about the different identification of residents in these two communities, due to the conservative immigration policy of Thailand and the rise of China, most of the immigrations in the new Chinese neighborhood do not intend to join Thai nationality. Instead they just wanted to stay as a short-term migrant worker, businessman or student living in Thailand.

## **1.5 Research methodology**

### *A. Sampling/case selection*

This research mainly uses the qualitative method as the methodology to collect and analyze the information, and samples will be all selected within this new Chinese neighborhood as the all stakeholders to this study:

1. Chinese immigrants;
2. Native citizens;
3. Key informants.

This research uses the PURPOSEFUL SELECTION and SNOWBALL methods for sampling.

### *B. Method of data collection*

The data collection is designed as the qualitative method as following:

#### 1. Interview

1) Semi-structure interview (20 semi-structured interviews were planned, but finished with 21)

2) In-depth interview (10 Chinese immigrants, 5 native Thai citizens, 2 key informants)

#### 2. Non-participate observation

#### 3. Community mapping

4. Documents: Secondary data from relevant reports (immigration, tourist) and recent research outcomes of global Chinese migration and Chinese community studies as the important information resources. Especially in the part of summarizing characteristics of the old Chinatown in Bangkok, a documents review was the main method to be applied.

### *C. Method of data analysis*

This study will use both “analytic induction” and “constant comparison” method to run the data analysis.

In details, the research methodology of this study is divided into 3 categories, and each category leads to the relevant research question that this study will answer. All the categories are based on the qualitative research.

Table 2 Detailed description of research

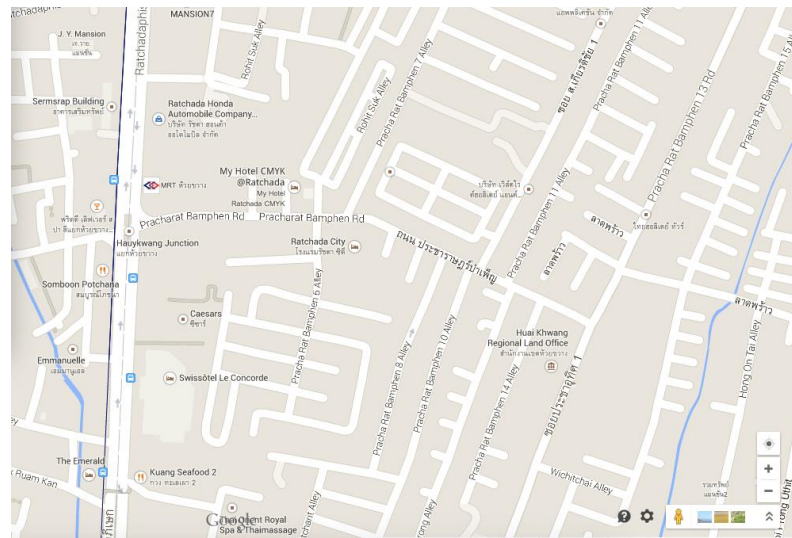
<b>Research purpose</b>	<b>Detailed description</b>	<b>Sampling / cases</b>	<b>Method of data collection</b>
<i>Find the factors for</i>	In this part, we will engage multiple stakeholders to	The multiple stakeholders	Semi-structured interview, in-

<i>the immigrant action</i>	participate in interviews to find out the reasons of formation the new community with different ages and different time of migrating to this community. Meanwhile, we still need to use documentary materials to understand the context that shaped the formation of this community.	(Chinese immigrants, local Thai citizen, and key informants) will be sampled with purposeful selection and snowball method.	depth interview and key informant interview; documents and reports.
<i>Identify the community formation process and functions</i>	Identification of the formation process means we should have a better understanding of the development process of this new Chinese neighborhood. On the other hand, identification of the functions needs us have a general understanding of the current neighborhood. For these purposes, we will use the most common qualitative methods to reach it: Interview, document and observation.	1. About formation process, the informants should be planned as the typical cases, such as local government officers, local Thai and Chinese residents with long term residence in this district. And the documents, which recorded the relevant information, are important too; 2. About the functions, there is no necessary sampling	1. About formation process, we will adopt the semi-structured interview, in-depth interview, key informant interview and documentary review; 2. About the functions, we will use the non-participatory observation, community mapping,

		but only observation and documents.	interview and documentary methods.
Analyze the difference between old and new	This part will not need to take the additional interview and observation. We just need to conclude the previous new Chinese neighborhood characteristics within this research and review the Bangkok traditional Chinatown research documents to find out the connections and differences between the new neighborhood and old Chinese enclaves.	No need	Documentary

### 1.6 Research scope

This research was conducted in Huai Khwang district of Bangkok. But most of the data collection works were finished at the specific neighborhood that took Pracharat Bamphen Road as the longitudinal axis (West to East) and the sub-streets closed to Pracharat Bamphen Road as the horizontal axis (South to North), which is representative by the intensive Chinese immigration figure in Huaikhwang district. In detail, this main street of Pracharat Bamphen Road is start from the Bangkok MRT station Huaikhwang to the east until the end of Road. It is about 700 meters long street aside with a large number of Chinese shops, restaurants and apartments alongside. Mapping this new Chinese immigrant neighborhood is an important part of this study. And in this study, we call the new Chinese neighborhood *Huai Khwang Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood*.



Map 1 Map of research site

### 1.7 Significance of the study

The research findings will give us a better understanding of Bangkok's recent Chinese immigrants and their new neighborhood and make up for the lack of new Chinese immigrant research in Thailand: who are they, why did they come here, how did they settle down, how did they maintain residence.

At the same time, through the comparison to the old Chinatown in Bangkok, we could find out the difference between this new neighborhood and the traditional one so that we could evaluate the changes of the Chinese immigrants to Thailand from past to now.

At last, the outcomes of the this research still could provide some policy making recommendations to both Thai and Chinese authorities to improve their social service quality and cultural education level so that it could help the new international immigrants have a better integration in the host countries.

### 1.8 Ethical issues

The main ethical issue of this study is that during the research process we may have the possibility to get in touch with the irregular workers.



Since the tightening of Thailand's immigration policy launched after the military coup in 2014, many Chinese irregular workers with fake or expired visas were arrested by Thai policemen in this neighborhood. Now, there are still many irregular workers that live and work within this neighborhood. Due to the terrible experience in the past, when some residents of this neighborhood (especially these irregular workers) encounter the strangers' interview and attention, they could instinctively choose to avoid and reject.

Therefore, how to get access to their trusts and supports to conduct this research without been refused and suspected, how to treat the irregular workers without judgment and protect their privacy will be a crucial challenge for this study.

In order to overcome these difficulties, I think I should do the follow sections to make sure this study could be carried out smoothly and successfully.

Firstly, I would utilize my inherent advantage that I am a Chinese and I can speak Chinese mandarin with the interviewees during this research procedure. Speaking common language in foreign country is always the best way to build up the trust relationship among people who come from the same country.

Secondly, I will clarify the objectives and purposes of this study before I formally conduct the interviews to make sure all the people engaged into this study have better mutual understanding and respect.

Thirdly, about the attitude to illegal workers, everything happens due to its special reasons, and this principle still can be applied on the existence of illegal workers. All the illegal workers here because of their specific reasons, no matter its acceptable or not by us, they do this because they have to do. For us, we should apply the professional empathy attitude on this group of no judgment when we conduct the study.

At last, in order to protect the privacies of interviewees, people who will be involved in this study will be anonymous, and the key information with personal privacy will be coded without any personal information. And all the information I will adopt in this study will be approved before I used.

### **1.9 Research limitation**

Though we have already tried to make the collected data more representative by choosing the most representative interviewees so that we could make the research more meaningful, the limitation of research time for only two months still limits this research on the grounds that we could not approach enough interviewees to get the sufficient information.



## CHAPTER II CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Conceptual framework

This research will be based on the concept of international immigration and its relevant theories. (Figure 3)

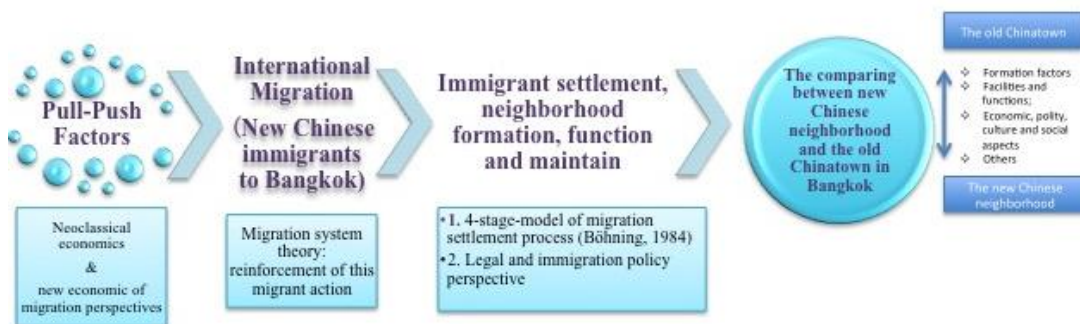


Figure 3 Conceptual Framework

On one hand, using the theories about Pull-Push Factors from the perspective of Neoclassical economics and New economic of migration to investigate the reasons that lead the migration actions. On the other hand, using the concept of migration system theory to find out the reinforcement elements to this migration action.

Based on this understanding, this research will adopt the 4-stage-model of migration settlement process (BÖHNING, 1984) to explore the new Chinese immigrant settlement, neighborhood formation and maintaining in Bangkok. At the same time, in order to make the research more detailed and explicit about the new situation of the Chinese immigration, this paper still will use the perspective of the legal and migration policy to describe and explore the irregular immigrant worker and fake Thai status in this community. Meanwhile, based on the hypothesis of the function of this community, we are going to analyze this community under the recent globalization trend with international cultural and capital flows.

After the exploring of this new Chinese immigration community, we will use the method of literature review to find out the characteristics of old Chinatown in Bangkok.

At last, this paper will summarize the characteristics respectively of New Chinese immigration community and traditional Chinatown in Bangkok, and then make a comparing between them to find out the difference and connections.

## **2.2 Literature review**

### **2.2.1 International immigration**

Koser concluded the UN (United Nations) system's definition of international migration as "a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year"(Koser, 2007). And according to this definition, the latest UN "International Migration Report 2013" estimated that there were 232 million international immigrants in 2013 around the world.<sup>2</sup> As one of the most important immigration type, the population of international immigration is a huge number and increases more and more. Starting from the origins of mankind in the Rift Valley in Africa between about 1.5 million and 5000 BC that Homo erectus and Homo sapiens spread initially into Europe and later into other continents until now engaged with almost every country on the earth,<sup>3</sup> international immigrations are playing a more and more significant role among the world in no matter the global economics or the culture and social development.

When we talk about who is the immigration, except the immigration due to the war, conflict and other forced reasons, "more frequently the immigrants are people of intermediate social status from areas which are undergoing economic and social change".(Castles & Miller, 1998)

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<sup>2</sup> The Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations,. (2013). International Migration Report 2013 (p. 1). United Nations.

<sup>3</sup> Koser, K. (2007). International migration. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The identification of international immigrants is an important factor to the receiving society when the immigrants choose to have a long-term stay or join the nationality at the receiving country. Seton-Watson described a nation as “a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity a common culture, a national consciousness”. (Seton-Watson, 1977) The definition makes us understand better of how important the personal identification to the holding countries because of the inherent demands of the nations from their people.

But, it is not always welcome to the holding countries when they encountered the irregular international migration.<sup>4</sup> About the irregular migration, other academics still use another two terms, which are “undocumented” and “unauthorized”. Koser explains them explicitly: “The former is avoided here because of its ambiguity. It is sometimes used to denote immigrants who have not been documented (or recorded), and sometimes to describe immigrants without documents (passports or work permits, for example). In addition, neither situation necessarily applies to all irregular immigrants – many are known to the authorities and many do have documents – yet the term ‘undocumented’ is still often used to cover them all. Similarly, not all irregular immigrants are necessarily unauthorized, and so this term too is often used imprecisely. Irregular migration is an awkward term, but I consider it the best of the commonly used alternatives.” (Koser, 2007) This is also the important aspect to this study since there are so many irregular Chinese immigrations that reside in the Bangkok new Chinese immigration community according to the last year’s police actions.

### 2.2.2 Diaspora

Firstly, diaspora is one kind of international immigration. Koser concluded the UN (United Nations) system’s definition of international migration as “a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year” (Koser, 2007). And

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<sup>4</sup> The reason why this study will use the “irregular immigration” instead of “illegal immigration” because of the illustration from the book *International migration*, “The most powerful criticism of the term ‘illegal’ is that defining people as ‘illegal’ denies their humanity: a human being cannot be illegal. It can easily be forgotten that immigrants are people and they have rights whatever their legal status. Another criticism is the connotation of the term ‘illegal’ with criminality. Most irregular immigrants are not criminals, although by definition most have breached administrative rules and regulations.” (Khalid Koser, 2007:54)

according to this definition, the latest UN “International Migration Report 2013” estimated that there were 232 million international immigrants in 2013 around the world. As one of the most important immigration type, the population of international immigration is a huge number and increases more and more. Starting from the origins of mankind in the Rift Valley in Africa between about 1.5 million and 5000 BC that Homo erectus and Homo sapiens spread initially into Europe and later into other continents until now engaged with almost every country on the earth, international immigrations are playing a more and more significant role among the world in no matter the global economics or the culture and social development.

More precisely, diaspora is a people dispersed by whatever cause to more than one location. The people dispersed to different lands may harbor thoughts of return, may not fully assimilate to their host countries, and may maintain relationships with other communities in the diaspora. (“Encyclopedia of diasporas,” 2005)

Adam Mckeown still make some detailed description of the Chines diaspora in the *Encyclopedia of Diasporas* as “The idea of a distinct called the ‘Chinese diaspora’ is contentious. Not only have Chinese immigrants and their descendants developed unique histories and identities in the societies where they live, but they were already distinguished by dialect, region, class, type of migration, and nationality in their places of origin”. (“Encyclopedia of diasporas,” 2005) He still summarized the special term in Chinese for the overseas Chinese “huaqiao” that was rise in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which implied “that overseas immigrants did, or should, remain politically and culturally loyal to the Chinese nation-state, and asserted the right of the Chinese government to make financial and political claims on the immigrants. It also encouraged suspicions by non-Chinese that the Chinese were disloyal, inassimilable aliens”. “Current ideas of a Chinese ‘diaspora’, with its implications of primordial blood tie and deep attachment to home, and the more politically tinged ‘Greater China’ continue to raise similar fears(Cushman & Gungwu, 1988). Some scholars defined Chinese diaspora as the business oriented diaspora in the world(Cohen, 2001), and Coughlin conducted a relevant research in Bangkok 60 years ago for exploring the commercial-oriented minority Chinese diaspora group.(COUGHLIN, 1955)

### 2.2.3 Push-pull factor theory for migration

Castles and Miller discussed the push and pull factors that lead people migrate from one place to another place voluntarily, especially for the international migrations: generally speaking, “International migration is a major consequence of the North-South gap” and “Economic and social dislocation, political unrest and technological backwardness create conditions conducive emigration”; in details, “Push factors include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, while pull factors are demand for labor, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedom”. (Castles & Miller, 1998)

### 2.2.4 Migration system theory

“Migration system theory suggests that migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending receiving countries based on colonisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties.” (Castles & Miller, 1998) Which means that migration system theory considers that all the immigration movements could be the results of the linkage between the original state and holding state no matter in which aspect or scape.

Migration system theory explains the “immigrant push- pull” factors in two aspects: macro and micro. “Macro-structures refer to the large-scale institutional factors, while micro-structures embrace the networks, practices and beliefs of the immigrants themselves”. “The macro-structures include the political economy of world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structures and practices established by the states of sending and receiving counties to control migration settlement”. And “the micro-structures are the informal social networks developed by the immigrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement”. (Castles & Miller, 1998)

### 2.2.5 Immigration settlement, community formation and maintain

Böhning summarized the immigration settlement processes into following 4-stage-model(BÖHNING, 1984) :

1. Temporary labour migration of young workers, remittance of earnings and continued orientation to the homeland.
2. Prolonging of stay and development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin and the need for mutual help in the new environment.
3. Family reunion, growing consciously of long-term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions (associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions).
4. Permanent settlement which, depending on the actions of the government and population of the receiving country, leads either to secure legal status and eventual citizenship, or to political exclusion, socioeconomic marginalization and the formation of permanent ethnic minorities.

Usually, after the settlement process finished, it is the time for the start of the formation of immigration community. Castles and Miller wrote this in their book *The Age of Migration* to explore the two extremely different types of permanent settlement of migration: “Out comes can be very different, depending on the actions of the state and population of the receiving society. At one extreme, openness to settlement, granting of citizenship and gradual acceptance of cultural diversity may allow the formation of ethnic communities, which are seen as part of a multicultural society. At the other extreme, denial of the reality of settlement, refusal of citizenship and rights to settlers, and rejection of cultural diversity may lead to formation of ethnic minorities.” (Castles & Miller, 1998)

Castles and Miller still discussed this type of immigration community formation process, which is very suitable for recent voluntary economic immigration community: “Immigrant workers generally start work in low-income jobs and have few savings. Often they have to remit money home. Therefore they tend to seek cheap housing in



working-class area. Proximity to work reinforces this choice of location. Many local people find housing through friends and relations, but such networks are first not available to immigrants. As a group becomes established, the earlier arrivals can assist the newcomers, which strengthens the tendency to ethnic clustering.” (Castles & Miller, 1998)

The most common livelihood of some voluntary immigrations start as that “Economic relations may start with import of homeland foods and other productions to the immigration area, and export of manufactured goods in the other direction leading to international business networks.”(Lever-Tracy, Ip, Kitay, Phillips, & Tracy, 1991)

Because of the different economic, culture, social and political background, and scholars summarized 3 models of immigration community management under the cross-national comparison: Differential exclusion, assimilation and pluralism. “Differential exclusion may be characterized as a situation in which immigrants are incorporated into certain areas of society (above all the labour market) but denied access to others (such as welfare systems, citizenships and political participations”. and “Differential exclusion is mainly to be found in countries where belonging to the nation is based on membership of a special ethnic group”. (Castles, 2000) In this model of immigration community management, immigrations will always be excluded from the full participation in the holding countries and become the ethnic minority group. Assimilation model is a further improvement one than differential exclusion. “Assimilation is usually defined as the policy of incorporating immigrants into society through a one-side process of adaption: Immigrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population. Immigrants can become citizenship only if they give up their group identity”.(Castles, 2000) The last but most welcome to the immigrations is the Pluralism, which means, “Ethno-cultural pluralism may be characterized as the acceptance of immigrant populations as ethnic communities which remain distinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture and social organization over several generations”. (Castles, 2000) And in this

model, immigrations will be guaranteed to have a full participation into the holding countries and equal rights in all spheres of society.

#### 2.2.6 Chinatowns

As one of the most famous types of immigrant enclaves, Chinatowns are always familiar to everyone around the world with their special exotic features. They have been a special phenomenon for centuries since Chinese immigrations spread around the world. Chinatown usually is a synthesized community with the various functions such as residence, business, entertainment, cultural heritage, religious, and so on. (THUNØ, 2007)“Some Chinatowns started as a residential area with Chinese shops and eatery to serve the ethnic consumers. Others started as part of the adaptive strategies for survival in discriminatory environments. Some was created by the colonial power; other started in certain geographical area due to the availability of land. Some were just commercial areas servicing the Chinese consumers and the tourists. Some were influenced by homeland politics”. (Wong & Chee-Beng, 2013)

About the definition of Chinatown, “North American specialists tend to emphasize the existence of a segregated community with residential and commercial areas and are governed by interlocking associational social networks with an overall community organization such as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association or the Chinese Six Company.(Li & Li, 2011) Others speak of Chinatowns as if they are just places of Chinese populations and Chinese shops.(Lausent-Herrera, 2011) Still others define Chinatown as a tourist center with Chinese cultural symbols. Some use the term, Chinese Quarters to refer to Chinatowns. Some used the term ethnopolis to refer to Chinatown as an urban ethnic enclave with social and economic resources”. (Wong & Chee-Beng, 2013)

Based on these definitions, we can still easily to understand the functions of Chinatown around the world: “Some Chinatowns are havens for the new arrivals that need mutual aid from each other. Familiarity with the language and customs of Chinatown ease them into a new country. With the assistance of their co-ethnics, the newly arrived immigrants will be able to adjust to the host country quickly. Some

Chinatowns specifically functions as agents of acculturation.(Barabantseva, 2011) They educate and introduce the immigrants to the host society. They have newcomer clubs, immigrant employment assistance, language training, real estate services and other agencies set up with funding from the community or the larger society to help the new arrivals (Wong & Chee-Beng, 2013). Some Chinatowns are manpower centers, which provide employments in Chinese restaurants throughout the city (Wong & Chee-Beng, 2013). Some are intended to be wholesale or distributions centers as suggested by Santos, Chuang and Trémon in this volume. Some are rallying points for native politicians; they are places where the second-generation Chinese return to gain political supports to harvest their political capital. Some Chinatowns are agents of cultural maintenance. They are the cultural heritages centers with Chinese schools and organizers of Chinese festivals and cultural events in the community. Chinatowns could also be the lifelines for the economic activities of the Chinese. In some countries, Chinese restaurants, gift shops, grocery stores and other tourist-oriented stores support the Chinese ethnic economy.”(Guest, 2011)

Wong still describes the social network of Chinatown around the world, “Some of the Chinatowns have not only the associational networks based on locality of origins, kinship, friendship but also based on politics, trades, dialects. Some have Chinese schools, Chinese hospitals and Chinese cemeteries.” (Wong & Chee-Beng, 2013)

Speaking of the development and expanded of the traditional Chinatown around the world, “Some hypothesize that Chinatowns are on ‘on their way out’ in that they are in a process of assimilating into the larger society or into the suburbs”, “Chinatowns continue to thrive and in certain countries, Chinatowns proliferate. Thus, it is simply premature to suggest the demise of Chinatowns.” and “From these authors one sees the phenomenon of satellization of Chinatown in Lima-Peru, Sydney-Australia, Vancouver-Canada, New York, Chicago and Paris. In these cities, there was a traditional or older Chinatown. From the original Chinatown, many Chinese neighborhoods or Chinese districts expanded. My personal research in San Francisco also shows the satellization process of Chinatown. Starting from the Chinatown, one now can find other satellite communities in the Clement Street area (called the New

Chinatown or Xin Huabu), the Irving Street, Noriega and Visitation Areas. All these satellite communities have commercial and residential sections but do not have the interlocking community associations.”(Wong & Chee-Beng, 2013)

The old Chinatown in Bangkok has its own both unique and representative characteristics. As Van Roy said of, the traditional Chinatown in Bangkok “It is one of the oldest, largest, and most prosperous of overseas Chinese outpost. It is among the most successful in having adapted to the host culture while protecting and preserving its own ethnic integrity”. (Roy, 2007) According to the book *SAMPHENG: BANGKOK'S CHINATOWN INSIDE OUT*, the Chinatown in Bangkok started as a business port but nowadays develops as a synthesized community with vibrant economic and cultural activities. It has both the autonomous community governance system and the Thai systematic administration governance. It was the city slum but still the city business center with the abundant import goods and delicious food that can satisfy the regular living demands of the native Thai citizens; the residents there are the immigrations but still the Thai citizens and they spoke different Chinese dialects before but now all speak the united Thai language. (“THE CHINESE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA,” 1992) It keeps a lot of Chinese traditional customs but still adopts the completely Thai culture thing so that it has a very successful assimilation achievement today.(Suryadinata, 1997) As what mentioned before, the research of traditional Chinatown in Bangkok could be the best way to understand the Chinese immigrations in the past and a better textbook to figure out the immigration settlement, community formation and maintain.

# **CHAPTER III NEW CHINESE IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD, FACTORS FOR MIGRATION, AND MIGRANT PROCESS IN HUI KHWANG, BANGKOK**

## **3.1 Chapter introduction**

Firstly, this chapter will help us to get a general understanding of the new Chinese neighborhood by official information and native narrative descriptions. Then, based on this information, we will use the interviews to analyze the reason why did the new Chinese immigrants choose to come to the new neighborhood to settle down under the perspective of pull-push factor theory and migrant system theory, and to know better about their migrant process.

## **3.2 About Huai Khwang district and the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood**

### **3.2.1 History of Huai Khwang district**

According to the official introduction from Huai Khwang regional district office website, the name “Huai Khwang” has the story in the past that this area during rainy season was covered with water like wetland and stream because it was a lowland area. Transportation in the area depended on boats because it always found the streams being in the way. Therefore, it became the name of Huai (stream) Khwang (block).

The Huai Khwang District Office was firstly established by dividing some parts of administrative area from Phaya Thai District according to the “Royal Decree Organizing Bangkok District, B.E. 2516 (1973)” on August 16, 1973. Being the 24th administrative district of Bangkok, the Huai Khwang District Office consisted of Huai Khwang and Bang Kapi sub-districts, and had 14.95 km<sup>2</sup> of the total area.

Later, the “Royal Decree on Changing the Areas of the Phaya Thai, Huai Khwang, and Bang Kapi Districts, Bangkok, B.E. 2521 (1978)” was enacted to transfer the areas of Din Daeng Sub-district of Phaya Thai District and Sam Sean Nok Sub-district

of Bang Kapi District to be under the authority of Huai Khwang District. Meanwhile, some parts of Huai Khwang and Bang Kapi sub-districts were combined into Sam Sean Nai and Makkasan sub-districts of Phaya Thai District respectively. The Royal Decree became effective on May 3, 1982. Since then, the Huai Khwang District has four sub-districts including Huai Khwang, Bang Kapi, Din Daeng, and Sam Saen Nok sub-districts; and has 22.838 square kilometers of the total area.

Due to high population growth in Huai Khwang District, the Board of the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) proposed the Announcement of Ministry of Interior on Changing the Areas of the Phaya Thai, Ratchathewi, and Huai Khwang Districts; and Establishing Din Daeng District on October 8, 1993. Some parts of Huai Khwang, Phaya Thai, and Ratchathewi districts were separated to be Din Daeng District, which became effective since January 14, 1994.

Huai Khwang District currently consists of three sub-districts of administrative area, namely Huai Khwang Sub-district (5.342 km<sup>2</sup>), Bang Kapi Sub-district (5.408 km<sup>2</sup>), and Sam Sean Nok Sub-district (4.283 km<sup>2</sup>). The total area is 15.033 square kilometers.

Huai Khwang District is a plain area, which has Nam Kaeo Canal, Lat Phao Canal, San Saep Canal, Asok-Din Daeng Road, and Ratchadaphisek Road as the borderline.

Currently, Huai Khwang district has rapid population growth and construction expansion; moreover, there are numerous businesses, trades and services in the area. The economy is considered in good condition. There are spaces that have potential to support a lot of development resulting in raising its economic growth every year.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Bangkok.go.th,. (2015). สำนักงานเขตห้วยขวาง. Retrieved 16 July 2015, from <http://www.bangkok.go.th/huaikhwang/>

### 3.2.2 Brief history of the Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood

As what we have known before, in greater Huai Khwang district, there are 3 sub-districts, and the Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood is located in the Huai Khwang sub-district. Unfortunately, there isn't any official record of the history of the Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood. But Thai residents in the area say that the main Pracharat Bamphen Road was built around 30 years ago. At that time, this area was a totally rural area filled with rice farmland. In the beginning, Pracharat Bamphen Road was just a dirt road. With more and more people coming to live in this area, more and more buildings were built, and finally the government turned the dirt road into asphalt road as today's looking during the 30 years development process. Nowadays, the Huai Khwang regional district office also stands in this area.

“Many years ago, this area was mainly used as the resident place for Thai citizens, including the local Bangkok people and those whose hometowns were not Bangkok, because the land price was very low and there were a lot of free land here. At that time, there were not many business activities in this area, just some normal daily community business run by Thai citizens, such as Thai food restaurants and grocers.”

*--A Thai resident who lives in Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“A few years ago in this community, resident function was much more important than business function to us who lived here. As what I have known, in the past, the main business in this area is sex massage, and I think all the people who live in Bangkok know this too. This place began to be popular and crowded because of the MRT's operation. After that, more and more people came to this area to live and run business. At the same time, MRT makes the land price here become more and more expensive. Until now, the land price here is one of the most expensive places in Bangkok.”

*--A grocer owner in Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

So, reading from the interviews, we know that Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood was a residential area that was only for Thai citizens both native Bangkok and the people from outside of Bangkok. The incentives for them to come to this place were the low land price, free space, and anticipated development potentials.

The public transportation system is the key factor that stimulates the development of this area. Especially Bangkok MRT, it plays a very important role. The Bangkok Metropolitan Rapid Transit (MRT), and it is a rail transportation infrastructure that serves Bangkok commuters since 2004 when the first line (blue line) was opened from Hua Lamphong to Bang Sue. It is operated by the Bangkok Metro Public Company Limited (BMCL) under a concession granted by the Mass Rapid Transit Authority of Thailand (MRTA).<sup>6</sup> According to the natives' interviews, the operation of MRT is the key factor that accelerates the development process of Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood, no matter in the aspect of increasing resident population, business activities or the land price. And the obviously rapid development process of this area started from 2004 because of the start of MRT service here.

About the population of new Chinese immigrants in the neighborhood, we still could not get the official data from the local office since the officer said they didn't have it. In order to have a general understanding of it so that we could estimate the scale of the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood, we tried to find out the ballpark figure of it by observing the neighborhood's daily life and asking the Chinese immigrant interviewees about "Do you know how many Chinese immigrants are living and working in this neighborhood?". About the interviews, most of the interviewees thought there should be no less than 5,000 Chinese immigrants living in this neighborhood by their estimations. Coupled with the neighborhood mapping and business observation<sup>7</sup>, I think the number of the new Chinese immigrants in this neighborhood should be at the range from 5,000 to 10,000 because of the numerous Chinese business agencies and Chinese student residence (a Thai university located near this neighborhood has many Chinese students according to the interviews in this research).

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<sup>6</sup> Mrta.co.th., (2015). *Mass Rapid Transit Authority of Thailand*. Retrieved 16 July 2015, from <http://www.mrta.co.th/en/MRTAproject/blueLine.php>

<sup>7</sup> About the details of mapping and business observation for the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood, please check the article 4.3 Immigrant neighborhood function in the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter of this thesis.



### 3.3 The factors that lead to migration and migration reinforcement

#### 3.3.1 Interviewee profile

Within this study, we call the research target *new Chinese immigrant*. In my opinion, I define the new Chinese immigrant in Bangkok as following:

They are Chinese citizens or used to be Chinese citizens, who are currently working, studying or living in Thailand and came to Thailand since The People's Republic of China and Kingdom of Thailand established formal diplomatic relations in 1975.

In order to get the enough information for this study, we have interviewed 21 Chinese immigrants who are recent living, studying or working in our research area. The general profile of interviewees is as follows and it could help us to have a better understanding for this new immigrant group:

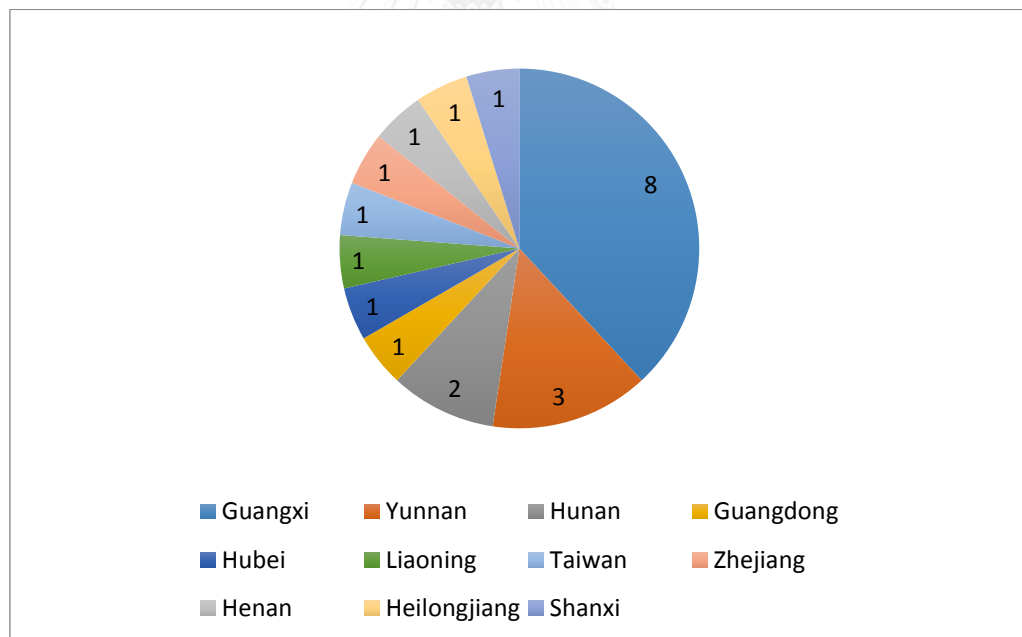


Figure 4 Origins of interviewees (new Chinese immigrants)

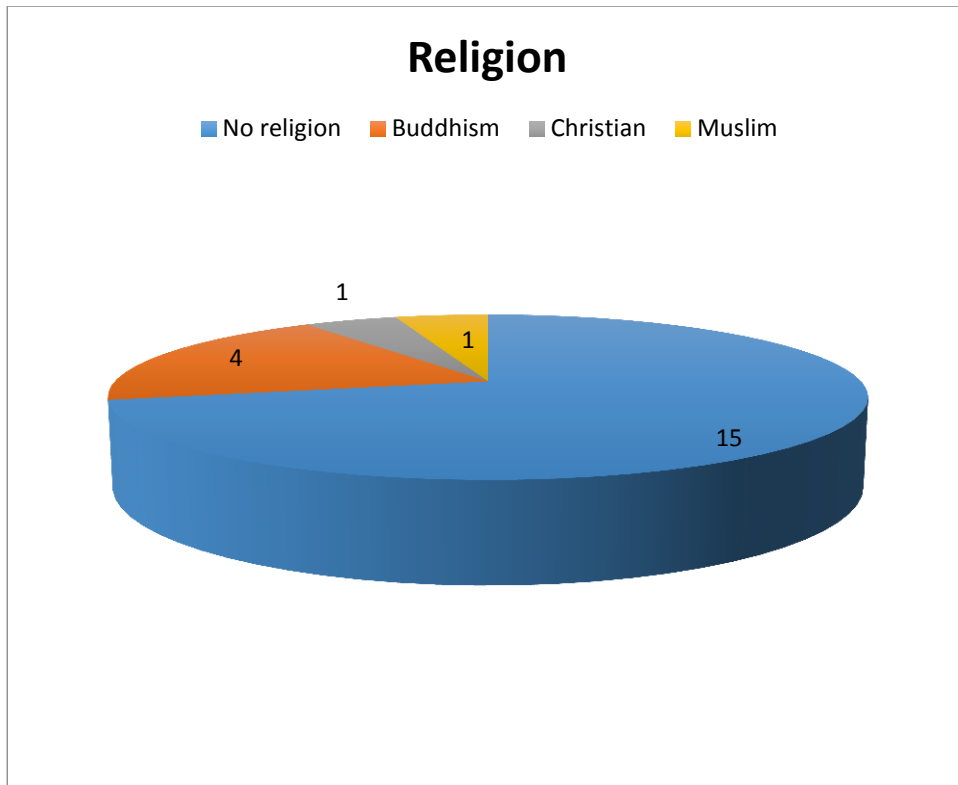


Figure 5 Religion of interviewees (new Chinese immigrants)

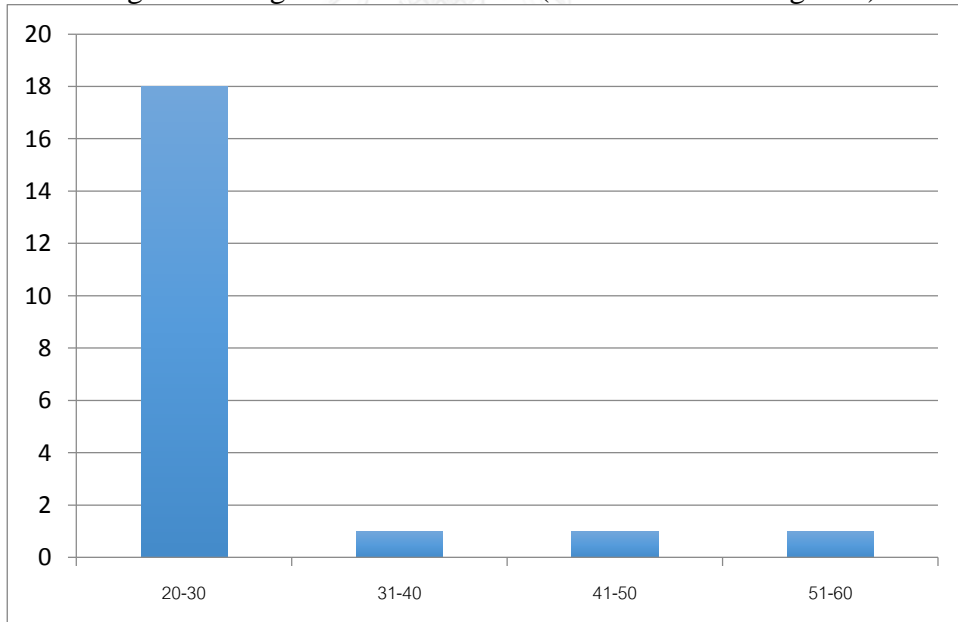


Figure 6 Age distribution of interviewees (new Chinese immigrants)

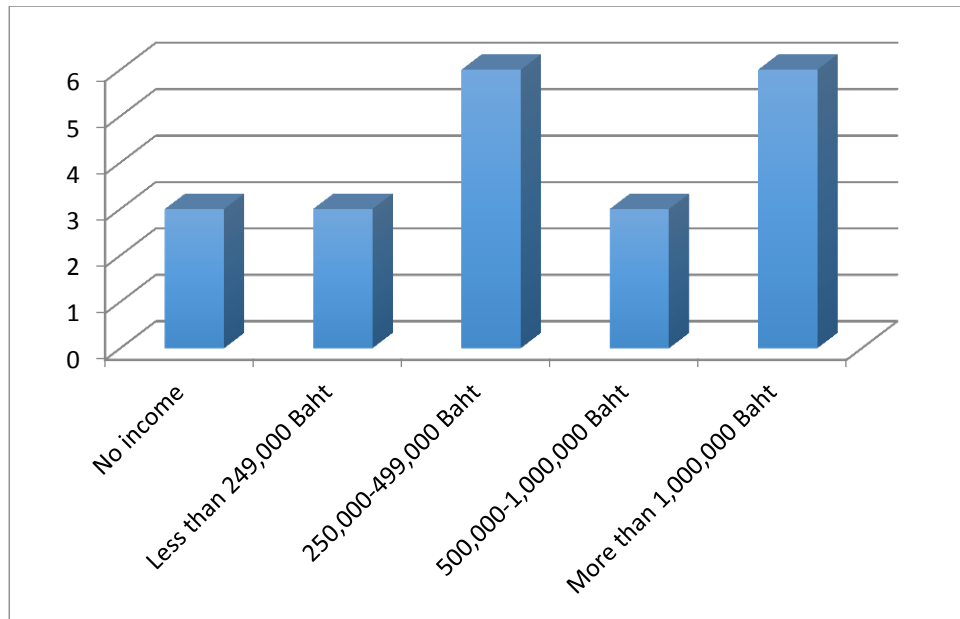


Figure 7 Annual income of interviewees (new Chinese immigrants)

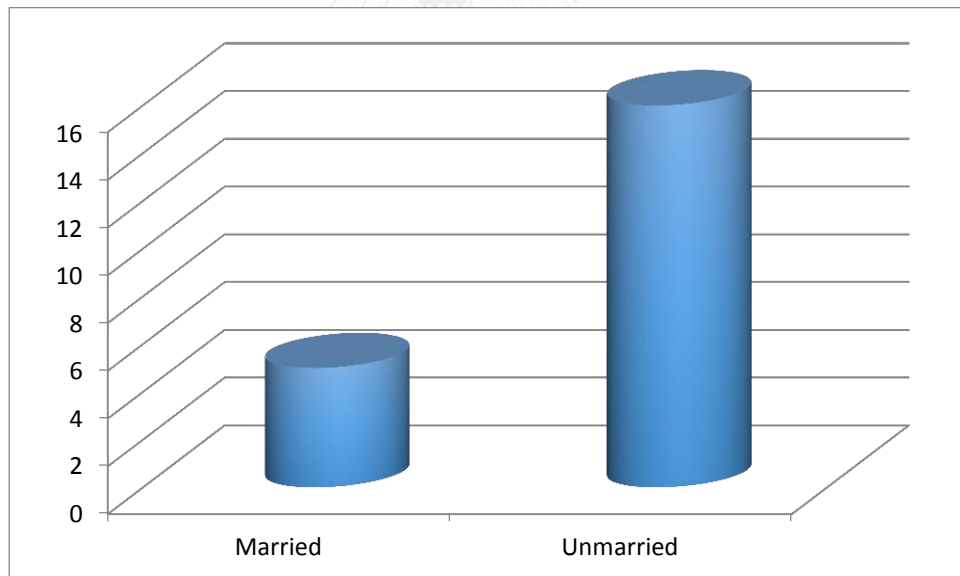


Figure 8 Marital status of interviewees (new Chinese immigrants)

According to the statistics, we find that the origins of new Chinese immigrants who are living or working in this neighborhood are very diverse, but Guangxi and Yunnan provinces are the most important origins with overwhelming population compared with other Chinese provinces. This could thanks to the close geographical location and frequent economic and cultural communication between Guangxi,

Yunnan and Thailand in recent years since the Chinese government chose Guangxi and Yunnan provinces as the main ports for communication with ASEAN countries.

15 out of the 21 the Chinese immigrants who participated this study have no religion. And for the remaining interviewees, Buddhism is the most popular religion with 4 persons. But there still has the Christian and Muslim religions within this new Chinese immigrant group.

Within 21 interviewees, there are 18 of them are in the age range from 20 to 30 years old. However, each of the age groups of 31-40, 41-50, and 51-60 only has 1 person. It shows that the new Chinese immigrant group with age range from 20 to 30 is the obviously dominant one in this immigrant neighborhood.

About the annual income among the interviewees, we find that most of them really have the decent income no matter from their company salaries, private businesses, or even part time jobs. Only 3 of them don't have income, and another 3 of them have income less than 249,000 Baht every year. The income ranging from 250,000 to 499,000 Baht and more than 1 million Baht have 6 persons respectively. The other 3 out of 21 interviewees have annual income in the range from 500,000 to 1 million.

Lastly, Figure 6 shows us that 16 of the 21 Chinese immigrants are not married.

It is worthy to mention that, in the beginning, because the profile survey contains some sensitive questions about income, irregular visa type and other aspects, I was always worrying about that I could be refused by the interviewees. But the results tell me that all the worries are just worries. When I told them I was Chinese also and just wanted to know them better, coupled with my interview language is Mandarin Chinese, almost all the interviewees were very happy and frank to me, and the trust between the researcher and research target group was built up very soon beyond my mind. Even the sensitive questions that they don't talk much with their friends in this neighborhood were still ok for them to answer.

### 3.3.2 Migration under the perspective of push-pull factor theory

Push-pull factor theory is the most common theory to scholars when they try to find the reasons why people want to leave their original places; and after they make the decision to move, why they choose the new places. Castles and Miller said, “Push factors include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, while pull factors are demand for labor, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedom”. (Castles & Miller, 1998)

With rapid social and economic development in recent years, nowadays, China is rising as one of the worldwide super powers. This situation leads China to be a more and more open country no matter in political, economic, social or cultural aspect, which still stimulates more and more migration phenomenon in this country too. Thailand, as one of the most important countries in Southeast Asia, though the unstable political environment makes this country less popular than what it should be, but the attractive landscape, nice weather and vibrant cultural and economic elements still fascinate numerous visitors to come here for leisure or business purpose all the time.

Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood area is a residential area with more than 30 years' history, but as a Chinese immigrant neighborhood, it is brand new and young.

So far, according to the interviews, we have noticed that larger numbers of Chinese have begun to come to Thailand for living and running business only for a few years. And for different individual Chinese immigrants, the reasons why they left China, why they chose to come to Thailand and why they finally settled down in Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood are so different but still have some connections.

“The reason for me to come to Thailand at the very beginning in 1993 was that my company in China wanted to extend its business to Thailand, and we did the business about real estate development. At that time, the economics of Thailand was more vibrant compared to other Southeast Asia countries, even much better than China. We thought that there would be more commercial opportunities here and we could make a lot of money. The reason why we chose to live in Huai Khwang after we arrived here was because the Chinese embassy was nearby. Even our company chose to stay in this area. As a Chinese who left China at that time about 20 years ago, we still needed to make sure that we could live safely and wanted to be close to our motherland. So, living close to the Chinese embassy could satisfy our demand. At the same time, running a company here still needed to have more communication with Chinese embassy to know more about the investment policies and regulations in Thailand.”

*-- A Chinese who runs business in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“I just want to go abroad to study and learn more life skills. Thailand is very convenient and cheap for that. Huai Khwang is closed to my school, and it is convenient with transportations and business. My Chinese friend suggested me to live here. By the way, the rent here is reasonable and we have a lot of choices about what kind of places we could choose to live, such as condominiums, apartments, or houses.”

*-- A Chinese who studies and lives in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“There are a lot of Chinese restaurants and shopping malls around this area, and you know that Chinese cannot live without Chinese food.”

*-- A Chinese who lives in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“I move to Thailand because my husband works here, and he is Taiwanese and works here for many years in a real estate company. His company is in Huai Khwang, so we choose to live here. And the life in Huai Khwang is very easy and relaxed with good transportation, markets and Chinese restaurants.”

*-- A Chinese who lives in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood*

“I came to Bangkok to work in 2013, and most of Chinese friends recommended me to live in Huai Khwang, they said it is convenient here for Chinese because of the Chinese restaurants and MRT.”

*-- A Chinese who lives and works in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“The reason why did I move to Thailand is my father was running business here before, now he has retired already but still lives in Bangkok. The weather here is very good and commodity price is reasonable. I like Thai culture and Thai people are very friendly. The reason why I chose to stay in Huai Khwang is that, in the beginning, a Chinese friend recommended us to open a shop here since there was a good empty store on the street, but now I have my private business here about exporting Thai products to China by E-commerce. And Huai Khwang is the place for me to purchasing goods, something about cosmetics and medicines. And Huai Khwang still has a lot of logistics companies that could help me to deliver these products to China.”

*-- A Chinese who lives and runs a private business in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“You know that the pressure of going to a good university and having a good job in China is very huge, and everything there is stressful and fast. But Thailand is much easier than China. That's why I am here today. I finished my B.A. at Chiang Rai, and then came to Bangkok to find a job after I graduated. I think Bangkok has a lot of job opportunities. Why do I stay in Huai Khwang? I think because there are a lot of Chinese here and living here is very convenient.”

*-- A Chinese who lives in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“To me, the most important reason is that my major in university is Thai language. After I graduated, it was very difficult to find a better job in China with Thai language major, and I also didn't want to waste my language skill, so I made the decision to come to Thailand to find a job and live here. It's a tourist country, so everything here is very relaxed.”

*-- A Chinese who lives in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

So, as what we have known from the interviews to Chinese immigrants, we could classify the “push-pull” factors for new Chinese immigrants who live and work in Huai Khwang Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood into the following parts:

The push factors about “why did they leave China”.

1. Development pressure. Nowadays in China, the pace of social and economic development gets faster and faster, and Chinese are experiencing a brand new development revolution with huge social development pressures no matter they are from inside or outside of China. Coupled with huge population in this country, competitions among individuals become more and more serious than before. On one hand, this social development pressure could be reflected in employment competitions or other kinds of competitions that based on the limited public resources. Such as, it is not easy for young people to find a good job with decent salaries in recent China, because lots of companies are willing to hire someone who has better experiences or higher educations. On the other hand, some majors in China have a very narrow employment choice range. For instance, some interviewees in this study who learnt Thai language as their majors in universities, but after their graduation, it is very difficult for them to find a job that could apply their special language skills, not even a decent job. All the social and economic development pressures are pushing them to get out of China to find a better way to survive.

2. Education dilemma. This has been a contradictory situation in China since Chinese economics boomed a few years ago. Though this country has a vibrant commerce and social development in recent decades, the education level still lags as a real “third world” country, especially for higher education. The rigid exam-oriented education makes many teenagers look forward to the more open and freedom western educations. Therefore, more and more Chinese would like to go abroad to study for better personal educations. Another aspect that pushes Chinese go abroad to study is the huge competition pressure for them to go to a good Chinese university to study. Like the social development pressure we discussed before, the huge population and limited education resources make the good universities in China a difficult place to get in. Even if you have a nice score from the test, you may still lose the opportunity to entrance the good universities because of the fierce competition.

3. Business expansion. Rapid economic development inevitably leads to business expansion, and there is no exception for China too. Benefiting from the free market



economy and huge domestic market, Chinese companies have accumulated huge capital in recent years. In order to have a better business development, more and more Chinese companies choose to “go out” for searching the new commercial opportunities and markets recently. Therefore, they would like to send more and more Chinese staff to go out of China to build bridges between foreign countries and China for future business.

4. Personal career planning. Most of the recent working-age Chinese were growing up during the period of “reforming and open” in China, and their ideologies are shaped by the characteristics of this time too. They are brave and open-minded, they have the courage to change their life along the track that they like, and have much more experience about the international environment and culture than their elders. That’s why more and more young Chinese are heading out of China to experience a new life and make themselves more independent.

5. Social demand. With more and more international communications between China and foreign countries, employers are tending to hire those who have foreign studying or working experiences, so that they can easily develop their cooperation with foreign partners. This factor leads numerous temporary behaviors of going abroad of Chinese.

The pull factors: why did they choose to come to Thailand

1. Less competition and social pressure. Thai natives may think that Bangkok’s life is stressful, but compared with China today, life in Bangkok is much easier and relaxed. Even for the living cost aspect, it is much cheaper than China. Most of the interviewees in this study expressed this feeling and said that this was one of the original thoughts why they chose Thailand to stay.

2. Education attraction. Firstly, compared with Chinese higher education, higher

education in Thailand is more Western style. Secondly, compared with Western education, the tuition fee and living cost in Thailand are much cheaper and reasonable. Thirdly, because of education dilemma in China, more and more Chinese students choose to go abroad to look for the education opportunities. For them, the pressure of going to a better university and study in Thailand is much smaller than China. And last, more and more Thai universities have begun to set up special exchanging or cooperating education programs to enhance the education communications between Thailand and China, and some Thai universities even have opened the Bachelor's and Master's degree programs in Chinese language to attract Chinese students to come to Thailand to study. From the interviews of this study we can easily find that education factor is the one of the most important pull factors that attracts new Chinese immigrants come to Thailand in recent years. More than half of the interviewees had the experience of studying in Thailand.



Figure 9 Chinese language advertisement for an education program in a Thai University

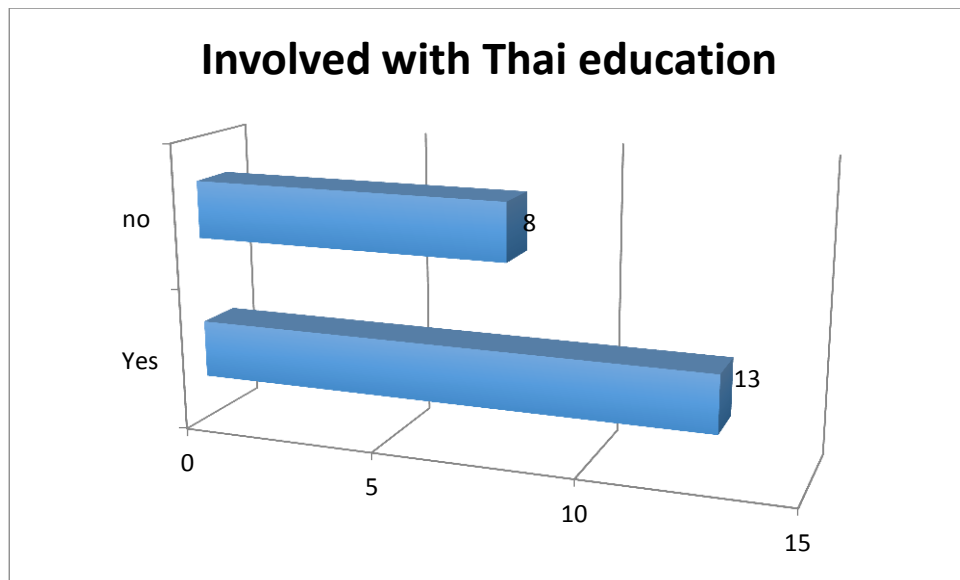


Figure 10 Numbers of interviewees involved with Thai education

3. Development opportunities. As the key country in ASEAN, Thailand has a vibrant commercial environment, convenient transportation and rich natural resources. These advantages give this country a very important role no matter in regional business or international market. Large numbers of jobs and commercial opportunities attract numerous foreign citizens and companies to come here for better development, especially for Chinese merchants who have the huge domestic market in China as their support of business.

4. Thai language. This is an interesting factor that we found in this research. Several of the interviewees said that the reason why they came to Thailand because that they learnt Thai language in university as their majors and could speak Thai very well. After graduation, they didn't want to waste their language skill and wanted to find a job that can use Thai language. But in China, job opportunities with Thai language were not as much as what they thought, so they had to come to Thailand to find more opportunities of jobs.

5. Natural environment and peaceful culture. As a country with diverse tropical landscapes, nice weather and friendly culture system shaped by Buddhism, Thailand

has been a popular tourist destination for many years. In this study, almost all of the interviewees mentioned that the nice environment, weather and culture are an important factor that fascinates them.

6. Family reunion. A few Chinese explained that the first reason for them to come to Thailand to settle down was for family reunions. One girl said that she came to Thailand because her father's company was in Thailand, so she decided to come here to help him to manage the family business. Another interviewee came to Thailand because her husband was working here. Although this is the least important factor among the factors in this study, it still has influenced some Chinese immigrants' settlement choices.

In order to classify why they chose to come to Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood to settle down, we explored the pull factors about it:

1. Chinese embassy. We found that, for the people who came to Thailand earlier (like more than 10 years ago), the most important factor that pulled them to live in Huai Khwang was because they wanted to live close to the Chinese embassy. They said that living close to the Chinese embassy made them feel close to motherland and more safe. And it also made their regular life easier, especially for those who were running business here, they could easily to get the useful information and help from Chinese embassy. However, for those who come to Thailand recently (5 years) don't think that the embassy is so important to their life, since there is little communications between them and the Chinese embassy nowadays.

2. Chinese ethnic group attraction and social network. The most frequent reply in interview section is that "the reason why I came to live in Huai Khwang is that there are so many Chinese living here, and it makes me feel familiar and safe with this place". Besides the subjective feeling of living together with the same ethnic group, the social network among Chinese immigrants is still the important factor that

reinforces the gregarious phenomenon. For instance, the old immigrants would like to recommend the new immigrants to live in their communities and offer them help, and the families would like to bring their family members to come to this community to have a family reunion.

3. Close to University and work place. In this area, there is a well-known Thai university—The University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, which has higher education programs for Chinese students. Therefore, numerous Chinese students choose to live here for close the school. On another aspect, this area still holds many companies run by Chinese owners and Chinese staff, so most of them choose to live here for easier daily life with short distance from their work places.

4. Chinese restaurants. You may not believe people will decide to settle down somewhere just because of food, but Chinese may teach you a lesson about that. Almost all of the interviewees in this study emphasized that the numerous Chinese restaurants in Huai Khwang district are the key factors that makes them decide to live there. They said that the “Chinese stomach” only likes Chinese food and they couldn’t live without it.

5. Convenient infrastructure. As a newly developed district, Huai Khwang’s Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood has a very convenient infrastructure system with transportations, resident places, markets and commercial establishments. All of these are important factors that are drawing more and more people to choose there for living and working.

6. Mature business environment. In Huai Khwang’s Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood, we can easily find that there are many different kinds of business, and it has its own ecosystem with a full supply chain. This situation attracts so many Chinese people go there for running their private businesses because they could make their business there easier and more effective.

Concluded from these analysis, it is very clear for us to understand that no matter the huge Chinese domestic pressures or the numerous development opportunities in Thailand or other factors, almost every push factor has its own related pull factor, and only these pairs of “push-pull” factors could shape this recent Chinese immigrant process in Thailand. Furthermore, in the beginning, after the Chinese embassy attracted the first batch of Chinese immigrants to settle down nearby it in Huai Khwang district, more and more Chinese immigrants liked to choose Huai Khwang as their residence because of the large Chinese population and sound Chinese community serves there, and it is still proceeding until nowadays.

However, there is one part that is very interesting after we find out the factors that shape the new immigrant action. Castles and Miller said “immigrant workers generally start work in low-income jobs and have few savings. Often they have to remit money home. Therefore they tend to seek cheap housing in working-class area. Proximity to work reinforces this choice of location.” (Castles and Miller, 1998:220) Within our study, we could not find any obvious sign that says the new Chinese immigrant chose to come to Huai Khwang because of the cheaper cost but only heard that they chose Huai Khwang to enjoy the better life without considering the living cost firstly. Which means maybe the economic status of new Chinese immigrants have already changed a lot, and they are not as poor and weak as before so that they could have a better immigrant life here with higher choices.

### 3.3.3 Migration reinforcement under the perspective of Migration system theory

Migration system theory explains the “immigrant push-pull” factors in two aspects: macro and micro. “Macro-structures refer to the large-scale institutional factors, while micro-structures embrace the networks, practices and beliefs of the immigrants themselves”. “The macro-structures include the political economy of world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structures and practices established by the states of sending and receiving counties to control migration settlement”. And “the micro-structures are the informal social networks developed by

the immigrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement”. (Castles & Miller, 1998)

Due to the interviews, we have got the information that many Chinese immigrants decided to come to Thailand just for a short-term stay in the beginning no matter for education purpose or business purpose. But most of them changed their minds to choose to stay longer after they came to this place. In order to make sure what are the main factors that reinforce the migration behaviors, we use the concept of migration system theory to explore it with macro and micro levels. And this study used the question “what are the specific incentives for you that make you really want to settle down in Thailand” to figure out the answers.

“You know, if you stay here long, you will get used to the slow pace of Thai society and feel comfortable. China is too stressful today. By the way, I still enjoy the culture in Thailand, and the people here are friendly too. The most important thing to me is that, as a Chinese who know Thai language well could have more and better job opportunities since more and more Thai companies have begun to pay attention to the Chinese market, they need us to work for them very much.”

-- *A Chinese immigrant who works in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“I think it's not difficult for Chinese to make money in Thailand if you work hard, and there are so many opportunities here. In my personal planning, I will go back to China finally. But I should have my successful career here first, or I will feel so awkward to go back to China without any achievement.”

-- *A Chinese immigrant who works in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“The social and economic pressure in Thailand is much less than China. As a foreigner living in Thailand is very comfortable. And I still have a very strong Chinese friends network here, so we could do some business together. By the way, I have some close relatives living in Bangkok, I think this is still the reason why I want to stay here because I feel safe to be together with my family.”

*-- A Chinese immigrant who works in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

"I met my husband in Bangkok two years ago, and now we have married. That why I make up my mind to live here because I have to live with him."

*-- A Chinese immigrant who lives in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

"The business environment in Thailand is vibrant, and it's good for us who are running an export products business here."

*-- A Chinese immigrant who works in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

"My salary in Thailand is much better than the salary that I had before in China, and the living cost here is much lower than China too. I feel comfortable here. If I go back to China, I will feel so stressed no matter from my family or the society."

*-- A Chinese immigrant who works in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

According to these opinions, we could pigeonhole the reinforcement factors of migration behavior under the perspective of migration system theory into the following parts:

### **Macro level**

1. Powerful economic connection between Thailand and China is the first and most important reinforcement factor. In Thailand, there are so many popular and distinctive products, for instance, cosmetics and medicines, and the companies need to find a good place to sell them. On the other hand, China is an ideal country, which has a huge and vibrant domestic market that could consume numerous different products. This situation makes huge commercial opportunities between Thailand and China, and it is attracting abundant Chinese to come to Thailand to join this business to share the enormous interests.

2. The friendly living environment for foreigners. As a tourist country, Thailand



not only has the fascinating landscape, peaceful culture and beautiful weather, but also has systematical social services and infrastructures for foreigners who are traveling and living there. It makes them feel much easier and more comfortable than most other tourist destinations, so it fascinates more and more people go there, including Chinese immigrants.

### **Micro level**

1. The strong Chinese business network. The most crucial fact is the business network, not the social network. After we finished the interview planning for this study, we found that no need to mention these Chinese immigrants who serve the business companies and have private business in Bangkok, even for some of the Chinese students who are studying in Thai schools still have been involved in the part-time business activities. Therefore, we can realize the importance of commerce to Chinese immigrants in Thailand. In order to make their business bigger and better, they keep building stronger business networks among the Chinese immigrants and Thai society. These business networks become the special ties between them and Thai society, and become the reason that they want to settle down in Thailand.

2. Family bound. Some of the interviewees said that the most important reason for them to stay in Bangkok because of their families. Some move here to have family reunions, and some are for the family businesses.

As a renowned tourist country, Thailand utilizes its fabulous landscape and weather to attract more and more people to come there, and still adopts convenient and comprehensive social services, like international hospitals and schools, to make a lot of foreigners choose there to live longer. The rise of China has become a huge opportunity for Thailand to develop its economics by enhancing its international trade and communications with China, and this situation still fascinates and reinforces the Chinese immigrants' coming and staying. Furthermore, more Chinese immigrants and the more sound business networks are still attracting more Chinese's coming today.

### **3.4 Migration process of new Chinese immigrant (Routes, transportation and finance)**

According to the research we found that, the new Chinese immigrants always choose airplanes as their main transportation to come to Thailand and most of them came to Thailand alone. The immigrant routes are very diverse because the new Chinese immigrants' hometowns are very diversity and the air transportation between China and Thailand is much more convenient than before since so many provincial capital cities have already had the flight to Thailand. They always choose to fly from their province capital cities to Bangkok directly. For example flying from Kunming to Bangkok, Nanning to Bangkok, Xian to Bangkok and so on.

But still there are a few of them tried another way to come to Thailand—ship, especially for these who came to Thailand for the first time from the border towns of Yunnan province to northern Thailand. For instance, some of the Chinese immigrants came to Thailand from Yunnan to Chiang Mai or Chiang Rai a few years ago would like to choose the ships that use Mekong river to be their first choice of transportation, and they thought it was convenient and budget than other transportations. And most popular route by ship transportation is from Xishuangbanna (Yunnan province of China) to Chiang Saen (Chiang Rai Province of Thailand).

About the finance for migration behavior, most of the immigrants got support for their first trip to Thailand from their family, especially from parents.

### **3.5 Chapter summary**

After analyzing who are they and why they came to the new immigrant neighborhood, we find that:

Nowadays the origins of Chinese immigrants are much more diverse than before because of China's increasing openness, but Guangxi and Yunnan are the main origins because of the geographic and economic connections with Thailand. Most of

them are in the age range from 20 to 30 years old and unmarried. Only a few of them practice religion. Most of them have decent income even they just have part-time jobs here;

The most important “push-pull” factors for the migrant action are always related to economic development and ethnic group attraction, natural environment attraction is obvious here as well, and education drive for migrant action is a new type factor that lead the Chinese migration to Thailand.

The migration routes are as diverse as the origins of the immigrants. Airplane now is the most popular and convenient transportation mode among the new immigrants; almost all of them got the first financial supports of the migrant action from their families.

Based on these primary information about their decisions and actions to come and staying in Bangkok, we will have a further exploring about the new Chinese immigrant settlement and their new neighborhood formation, function and maintaining in next chapter to have a comprehensive understanding of this new immigrant group.

# **CHAPTER IV IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT, NEIGHBORHOOD FORMATION, FUNCTION AND MAINTAINING OF NEW CHINESE IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD IN HUAI KHWANG**

## **4.1 Chapter introduction**

As what we have reviewed before, Böhning summarized the immigration settlement processes into 4 stages (BÖHNING, 1984). That theory will be treated as the basic theory that we will use here to analyze the new Chinese immigrant settlement and neighborhood formation, function, and maintaining by deciphering the key elements during the whole process and contrasting to the theory model.

As spontaneous immigrants, most of the new Chinese immigrants came to Thailand under their own decision. Different “push-pull” and “macro-micro” factors lead the situation today about their stay in Thailand. From a short-term studying or business to long-term living, they have got through the complicated and tough process because Thailand is not a country with friendly immigration policies.

“This country is only friendly to those who come to visit and spend their money here”, an interviewee said. Which means this so-called “smile country” may not always smile at you if you really want to stay here for a lifetime and have your livelihood here. So, under this circumstance, let us explore the real life of the new Chinese immigrants by figuring out how they settle down and maintain their immigrant life in their new immigrant neighborhood to have a better understanding of these words that interviewee told us.

## **4.2 Immigrant settlement and neighborhood formation**

According to the theory above, the first stage is “temporary labour migration of young workers, remittance of earnings and continued orientation to the homeland”; then “prolonging of stay and development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin and the need for mutual help in the new environment”; the

next is “family reunion, growing consciously of long-term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions (associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions)”; and last, “permanent settlement which, depending on the actions of the government and population of the receiving country, leads either to secure legal status and eventual citizenship, or to political exclusion, socioeconomic marginalization and the formation of permanent ethnic minorities”.

After the settlement process finished, it is the time for the start of the formation of immigration community. Castles and Miller explored two extremely different types of permanent settlement of migration: “Outcomes can be very different, depending on the actions of the state and population of the receiving society. At one extreme, openness to settlement, granting of citizenship and gradual acceptance of cultural diversity may allow the formation of ethnic communities, which are seen as part of a multicultural society. At the other extreme, denial of the reality of settlement, refusal of citizenship and rights to settlers, and rejection of cultural diversity may lead to formation of ethnic minorities.” (Castles & Miller, 1998)

To decipher on these basic theories, we classified the key information into the following parts to help us to understand this new immigrant neighborhood’s settlement and formation: what status they use to settle down, social networks, and attitude to the host country.

#### 4.2.1 Visa problem

Summarized from most definitions, we could regard visa as the official authorization that is granted by the sovereign state government to permit noncitizens to enter into its territory and stay there for a temporary period for a specific reason. Hence, we could say that visa should be the most important and primary document for immigrants to gain entrance and settle down in a new country, and getting to know the visa status and relevant things could help us to understand the basic legal and social situation for immigrants.

Due to the information about visa types and occupations from the 21 interviewed Chinese immigrants in Huai Khwang, we can still find some interesting point as follows.

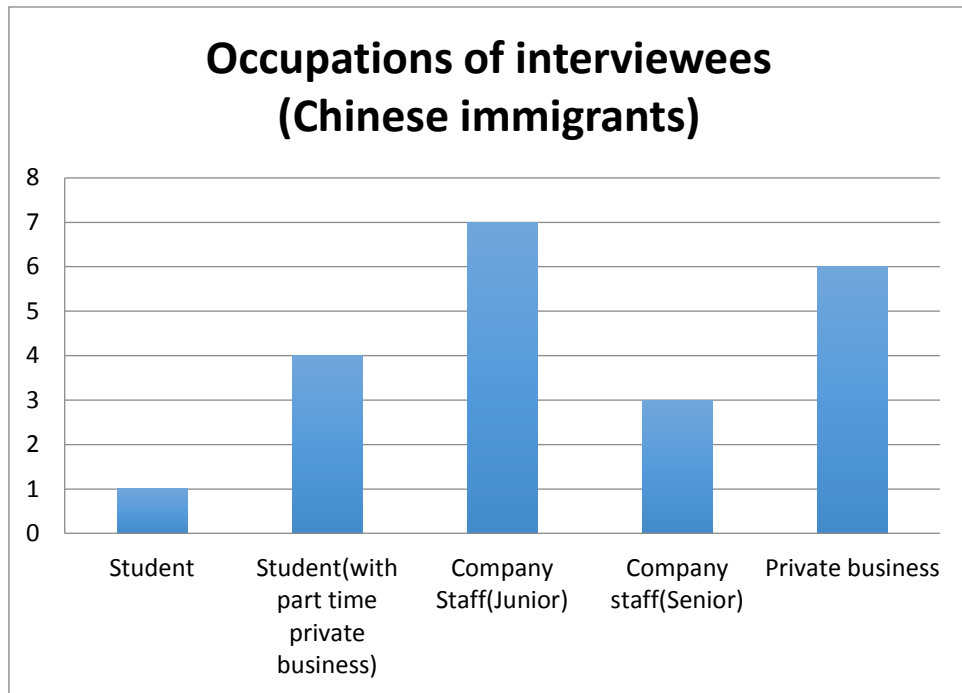


Figure 11 Occupation distribution of interviewees

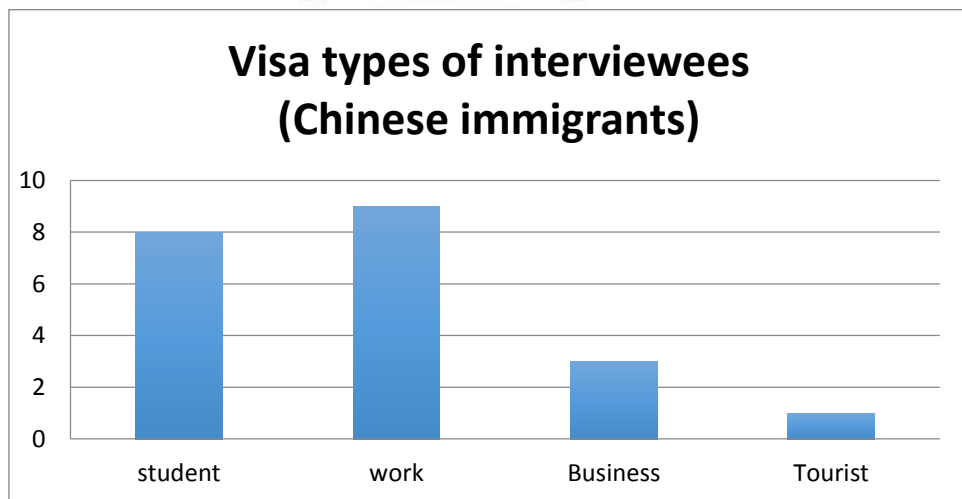


Figure 12 Visa type distribution of interviewees

Compared with these two bar charts, it is obvious that the real occupation status of Chinese immigrants in Huai Khwang does not match their visa statuses. The number

of people who have student visa is bigger than the number of real student, which means some people who work here or run business here are using student visa or even tourist visa to stay. According to the Thai immigration law's (Immigration Act, B.E.2522, Section 37), "An alien having received a temporary entry permit into the Kingdom must comply with the following: 1. Shall not engage in the occupation or temporary or employment unless authorized by the Director General. Or competent official deputized by the Director General. If, in any case, there is a law concerning alien employment provided hereafter, the granting of work privileges must comply with the law concerned". So, the interviewees are engaged in the obviously illegal behavior. However, during the interview process of this study we still found that people took it for granted, and thought it was a normal solution for them or their friends to stay in Thailand because the visa policies are very strict and complicated here.

"If you want to work here legally, you need to obtain a work permit and a work visa from labour department and immigration department. This is not the difficult part but just so complicated. And the most difficult part is that your employer must have the qualification to apply these documents for you. In Thailand, if a company wants to hire a foreigner, it must registers as a company more than 2 million Baht firstly. Then if you want to hire 1 foreigner, you must hire at least 4 Thai citizens as your employees at the same time, and so on. By the way, I heard that so many Chinese immigrants here are working illegally because of the visa, and some of my Chinese friends also face the problem."

*-- A Chinese immigrant in Bangkok in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

So, according to what the interviewee said, hiring a Chinese immigrant as an employee needs the company to cost more and the administrative process is very complicated. This situation pushes companies in Thailand reluctantly to hire foreigners or choose to use foreign labour illegally. That could save them a lot of time and money. No matter from the side of immigrant worker or from the side of Thai company, the visa cheating looks like a win-win solution. But this situation still hides a huge risk about how to protect the illegal workers rights without the legal system's protection.

Despite the legal status, in order to bridge this gap about how to stay in Thailand, many employers and employees have to find a new type of visa to solve this problem, and the student visa finally becomes the best solution with cheaper cost and convenient application process. In Thailand, there are so many channels for you to apply for the student visa: You could choose a university to have further study, or even find a language institute to learn a language no matter for Thai language or others.

But, recently, an interviewee still told me that the student visa is not easy to obtain under the present strict military government.

“Student visa is not easy to get as well today. Last year, the police in Bangkok arrested a lot of Chinese immigrants who were carrying fake visas, and all the fake visas were student visas. This circumstance drew attentions from the Thai authorities from that time and made them realize that the ‘easy to get’ student visa was the key problem, which caused many irregular staying of foreigners in this country. Now, you will find that if you want to apply for a student visa no matter for higher education or Thai language study, the process is much more complicated, strict and lengthy than before.”

*-- A Chinese immigrant in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

Before the Thai military coup of 2014, student visa was the easiest visa type for foreigners to apply and hold no matter they really wanted to choose Thailand for study or not. However, this situation has changed since the fake visa problem burst out in Bangkok last year as the interviewee said. Coupled with the fact that the military government said they wanted to “return happiness” to Thai citizens, so they would like to reinforce the social management more than before to make this society safer and more orderly. All the factors above lead the Thai visa policy’s change today to be more strict and complicated, which makes the immigrants who used to use the irregular visa to stay in Thailand, have to find a new way out.



During this study, we could not find any Chinese immigrant who is undocumented. However, we still could not make a judgment about that all the Chinese immigrants in Thailand now are all having documents no matter it is proper one or not because of our limitation of research targets approaching.

#### 4.2.2 Fake Thai citizenship

This part is an unexpected finding during my field research, which is beyond my initial hypothesis. For the new Chinese immigrants' settlement, staying in Thailand with proper visa is just a basic demand and process. After they came here and started to think about how to have a better life in Thailand, more and more demands of them increased day by day and these demands needed to find a way to satisfy with badly. Such as, how could I enjoy the same social welfare as Thai citizens in health care or other aspects, how can I buy a detached house with a piece of land under my own name so that I could feel safer to have a better future and family here.

According to the Thai immigration law (Immigration Act, B.E. 2522), Thailand has an immigration quota for every other country, not exceeding 100 persons per year. However, as a non-immigration country, obtaining a Thai citizenship in Thailand for immigrant is still a very difficult thing with lengthy and complicated procedure. This situation urges Chinese immigrants who are eager to have the Thai citizenship to satisfy their demand have to find another way to get it, or we could just precisely say it is the illegal way to get it.

“I know one way to get Thai citizenship illegally, but I am not sure it is still popular and feasible. I heard a few years ago that you could find some broker to buy a fake Thai citizen birth certificate. With this certificate, you could go to the relevant government office to apply for your Thai citizenship, and just tell them you forgot to apply for it before.”

*-- A Chinese immigrant in Huai Khwang's Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

“I know some Chinese here who have fake Thai citizen status by looking for help from a professional commercial team that is from Hong Kong but works here as brokers to help people to get a fake Thai citizenship. Every year, there are so many Thai citizens who are

reported as dead or permanent missing. After the relevant authorities get this information, they would not cancel or mark these Thai citizen statuses as dead or missing immediately but just keep them in regular status for a while. By building a good relationship and bribing the relevant authorities, the Hong Kong intermediary could handle all the information about dead and missing Thai citizens. When some Chinese immigrants want to have a ‘legal’ Thai citizenship in a fast illegal way, they will get in touch with this intermediary for help. After the negotiations about price and details of this deal are done, the intermediary will ask the relevant Thai authorities’ help to change the dead or missing Thai citizen status into the Chinese immigrant by changing some important personal information, such as the picture, blood type, height, and so on. In this way, the dead or missing Thai citizens all come back to life magically. However, they are just replaced by the Chinese immigrants illegally. About the price, the one I know is about one million Baht.”

-- A key informant in Huai Khwang’s Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood

According to the interviews above, we could classify that there are two ways for Chinese immigrants to obtain Thai citizenship illegally. The first way is to buy a fake Thai citizen birth certificate. The other way is to bribe the authorities by help from the intermediary to replace the dead or missing Thai citizen’s status to obtain the citizenship. Because the second way is complicated with a few stakeholders, we conclude the procedure of it into following graph so that we could have a clear understanding.

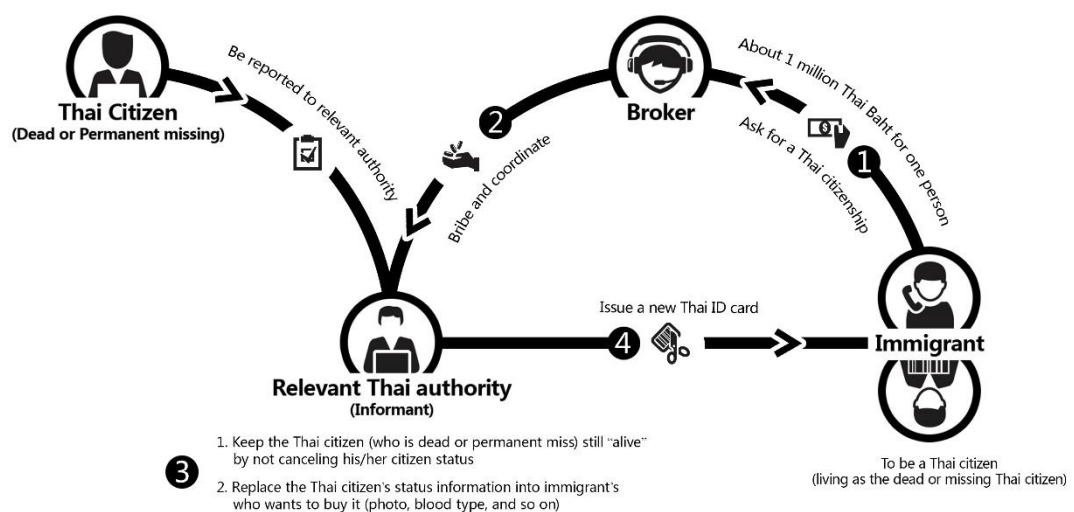


Figure 13 How to get fake Thai citizenship

*(Information is from the Chinese immigrant key informant)*

By these ways, the Chinese immigrants could not only own a Thai citizenship but also not need to give up Chinese citizenship at the same time. To them, this could be the perfect advantage to live here since they could enjoy both social welfare in Thailand and business opportunities in China, notwithstanding this way is totally illegal and could face a huge legal risk.

#### 4.2.3 Social network

Social network is becoming more and more popular and crucial to new immigrants no matter where they are, and there is no exception for new Chinese immigrants in Thailand as well. Barnes defined social network as the social relationships in social situations (Barnes, 1954), and used the concept to emphasize the social links among individuals in any given society ramify through that society (Mitchell, 1974).

As an important factor to the immigrant settlement and neighborhood formation, social network among the immigrants should be a fundamental factor for us to understand firstly. Due to the interviews from these new Chinese immigrants in Thailand, we have known that most of them came to Thailand by themselves with few social networks in the beginning. As the time went by, in order to make their new life better and easier, they began to build up their own social networks through different channels.

In order to understand the social network among the new Chinese immigrants accurately, we set up a few questions about how and who help them to settle down and live in the new neighborhood. For instance, which helped you settle here in Huai Khwang, how do you find a job here, do you have friends or relatives here, and so on.

About these questions, we get the information as below:

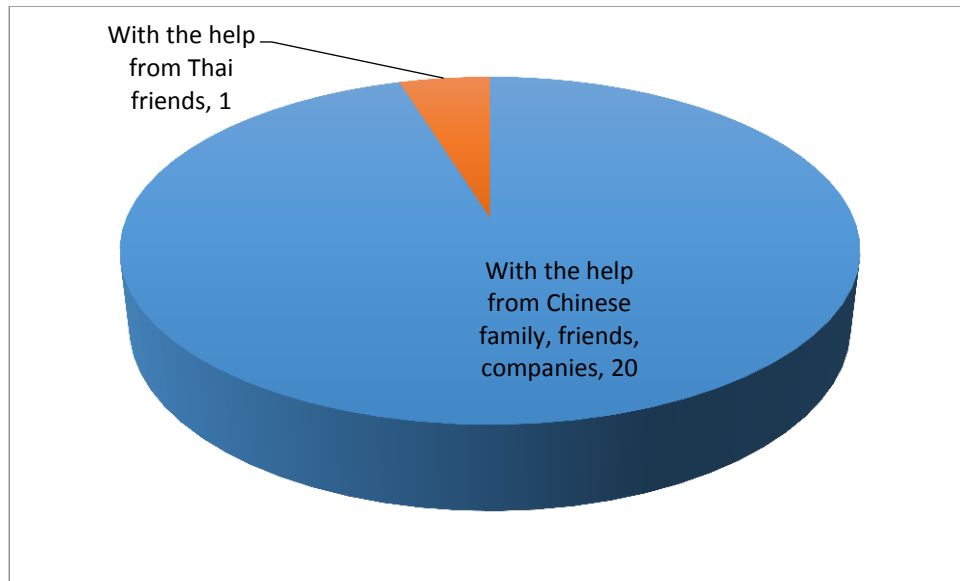


Figure 14 Who helped Chinese new immigrants settle in Huai Khwang

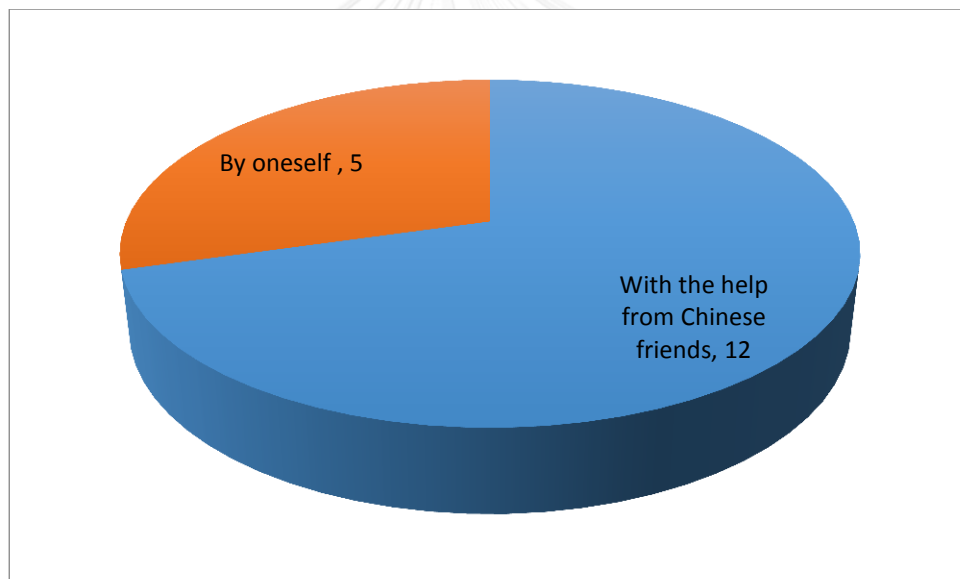


Figure 15 How to find a job in Thailand

With Figure 11 we can find that, almost all the settlement helps were from the Chinese side, which includes Chinese families, friends and companies. Only 1 person got help from a Thai friend to settle down in this neighborhood. This situation just fits what the Castles and Miller said before: “Many local people find housing through friends and relations, but such networks are first not available to immigrants. As a group becomes established, the earlier arrivals can assist the newcomers, which

strengthens the tendency to ethnic clustering.” (Castles & Miller, 1998). Which means maybe this trend could be a start of a new immigrant ethnic enclave in the future.

For the job career aspect, 12 Chinese immigrants from 17 interviewees who have found full time or part time jobs by the help from Chinese friends in Bangkok. Another 5 persons found job by themselves through the Internet (especially the Thai Chinese BBS) and Chinese newspaper in Bangkok, but all of them can speak Thai language well.

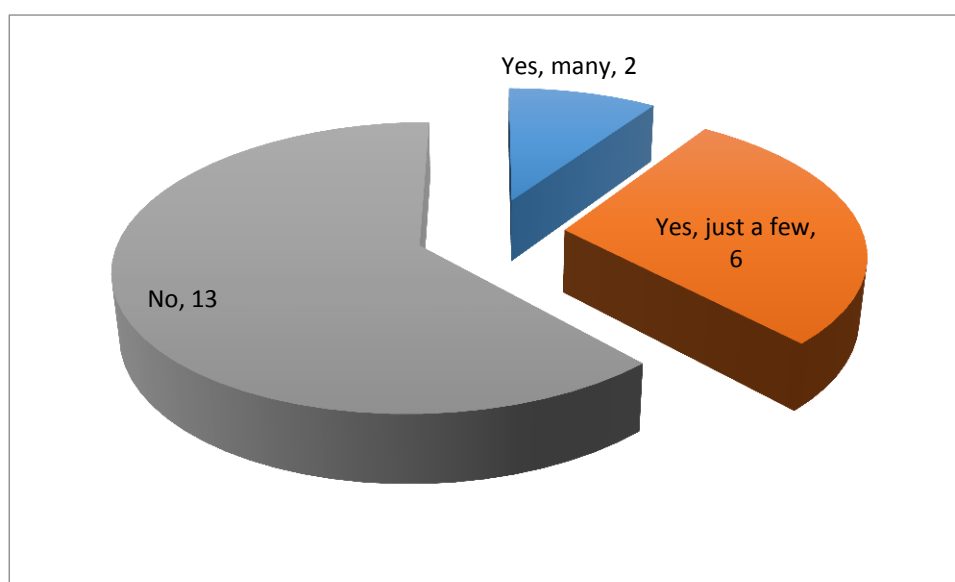


Figure 16 Those new immigrants with Thai friends

Furthermore, we still try to find out if they have a social network with Thai natives, but the result is frustrated. Within the 21 interviewees, 13 of them don't have any Thai friends even they live here for a long time and can speak Thai language; 6 out of the 21 interviewees have just a few Thai friends (like 2 or 3) at most; at last, there are only 2 persons have many Thai friends as they said. The main reason for most the Chinese immigrants that they don't have or just have a few Thai friends is because of the culture shock. They said that they could not understand how to be friends with Thai because of the different culture background. Even they had tried many times before, they still could not make friends with Thai because of the different ideologies and ways of living. Some of them even expressed that they had

been cheated by Thai people before, no matter in business cooperation or normal life, so they wouldn't trust them anymore.

Due to the descriptions from Chinese immigrants, it is not difficult for us to know that most of the connections among Chinese immigrants in Huai Khwang today are alumni relationship (they knew each other since they were from the same school either in China or in Thailand) and business partnership, which I think we could call it nurture social networks because they were built by immigrants after they came to Thailand. A few of connections are still the traditional inherent social networks, like kinship and clanship. But obviously, the nurture social networks are much prominent than the traditional ones for new Chinese immigrants there.

About formal or official social networks among Chinese immigrants in Huai Khwang, they said that there wasn't any formal organization or association in their neighborhood that could organize them, no matter in culture aspect or religious aspect, except the various types of Chinese chambers of commerce in this area, which they thought was the only formal social network organization type they had known.<sup>8</sup>

Based on these data, we could find that, the social networks for new Chinese immigrants in Huai Khwang mainly focus on the Chinese immigrant group itself. Most of the social networks are informal, and the only formal social network among them is based on the business cooperation, like chamber of commerce.

No matter for the informal or formal social networks, it looks like that the business element has been embedded into the main social networks for new Chinese immigrants deeply and it influences their daily life there a lot.

#### 4.2.4 Attitude to join Thai nationality

In order to understand the orientation of the new Chinese immigrants to sending country and host country, to know if they would have a permanent plan to stay in

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<sup>8</sup> We will have a detailed discussion about Chinese chamber of commerce in Thailand under section 4.3.5 in this chapter.

Thailand and enjoy the Thai society, we got one more question in our survey about “Do you want to join Thai nationality” to figure out the thoughts behind, and the result is as following:

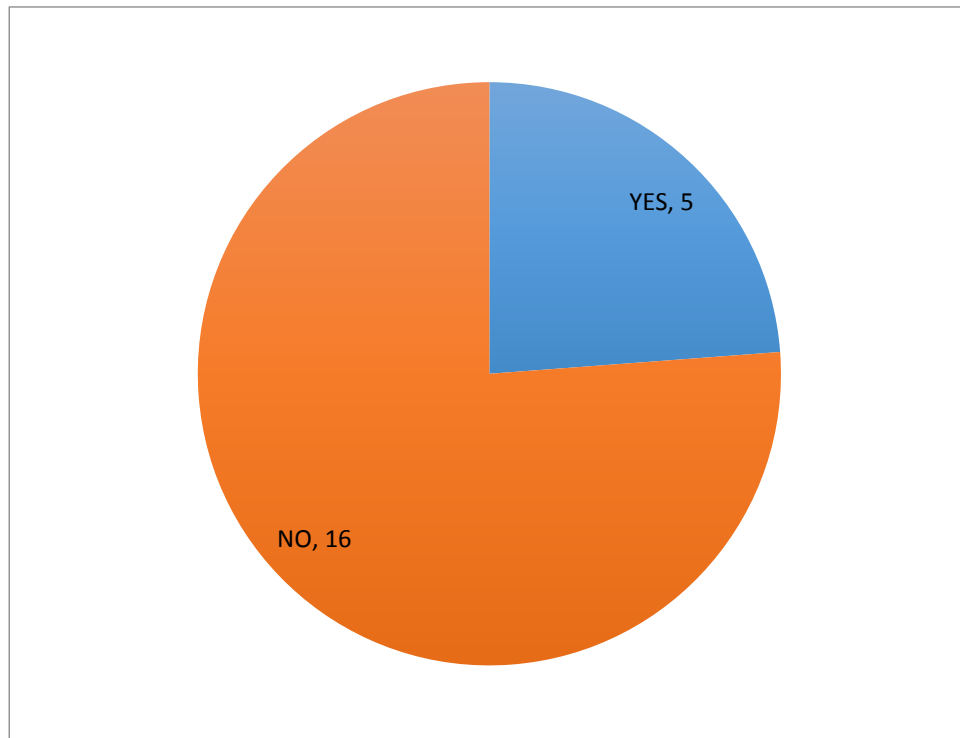


Figure 17 Those willing to adopt Thai nationality

Apparently, within the 21 interviewees, 16 of them don't have the plan to join Thai nationality, and the rest 5 of them have the willing to join it but think it should be very difficult. Most of them know a few ways to join Thai nationality, such as marrying a Thai citizen, obtaining work visa and working in Thailand for a certain years. And they still know a few ways to get a Thai nationality illegally, for instance, buying fake Thai birth certificate then applying to the government, purchasing the fake Thai citizenship directly with the help from broker, and so on. We will have a further discussion about the fake Thai nationality business at the next article.

These ones who don't want to join Thai nationality says that, China is much stronger than before, and it is full of development opportunities. They don't want give up Chinese nationality since the feasible bright future of this country. Some of they

just treat Thailand as the temporary place to stay for gaining business experience, and will go back to China eventually; and some of them merely want to run the business here for making profits but not to be a permanent resident.

We still find that, within the 5 of these who want to join Thai nationality, most of them have already settle their families in Thailand. More specifically, their spouses work here or their family businesses have already been located here. Hence, joining the Thai nationality could help them to have a sound social security and welfare, which could makes their immigrant life easier.

#### **4.3 Immigrant neighborhood function**

Our research neighborhood is located in the middle west of the greater Huai Khwang district. The longitudinal axis (west to east direction) starts from the MRT Huai Khwang station, and ends to the east direction as the end of Pracharat Bamphen Road. The horizontal axis (north to south direction) is taken from the sub alleys that closed to Pracharat Bamphen Road. On the Google map, we can make the specific location of this area into following ranges: west to Ratchadaphisek Road; north to V.I.P. Place; east to Kasam Suk Village; south to Chainarong Village.





Map 2 Map of new Chinese immigrant neighborhood location  
 With its vibrant Chinese business activities and dense Chinese population, Pracharat Bamphen Road is the heart of this new Chinese immigrant neighborhood. The business on this street is the key attraction that fascinates more and more Chinese immigrants' settling down in this area.

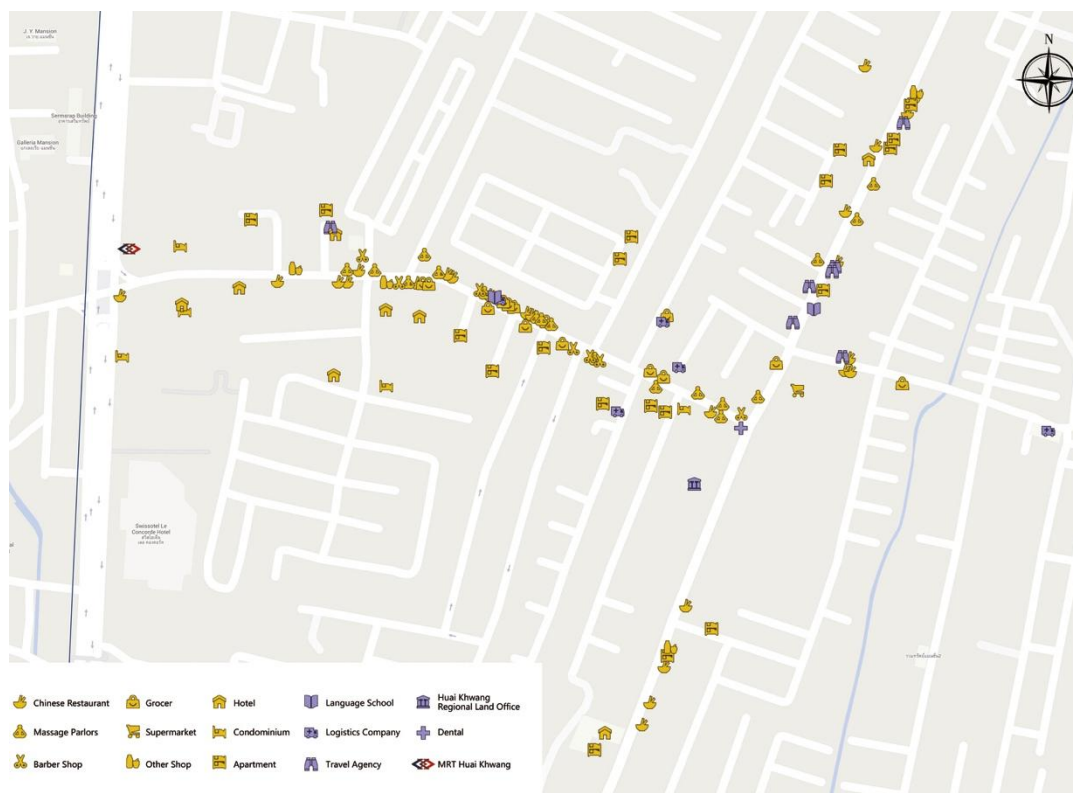
Due to the lack of official data, we have to use the traditional method—counting, to have a general understanding of the actual situation here, especially the business situation. The statistical results are as follows:

Table 3 Numbers of different types of business in new Chinese immigrant neighborhood

Items	No.	Remark	Categories
Condominium	5	Luxury	Resident
Apartment	22	Normal	
Chinese restaurant	25	Food	Service, Business
Wholesale grocer	14	Trade	
Logistic company	5	Trade	
Massage parlors	18	Caring	

Barber shop	7	Caring	
Hotel	8	Tourism	
Travel agency	6	Tourism	
Language school (For Chinese)	2	Education	

(By 2015.06.10)



Map 3 Huai Khwang new Chinese immigrant neighborhood mapping

By interviewing and observation in this area, we have known that all the language schools and most of the Chinese restaurants, wholesale grocers, travel agencies and logistics companies are owned by Chinese immigrants. Most of the massage parlors, hotels, barbershops and other small-scale businesses are owned by Thai citizens. Most of the customers who go to the massage parlors and stay in the hotels are Chinese tourists. Apartments in this area are mainly for Thai citizens and condominiums are used by both Thai citizens and Chinese immigrants. Except the apparent business

there, the interviewees still told me that, many Chinese real estate development companies locate in the business building in this area.

As the most important Chinese immigrant activity in this area, we still have explored about the business activity chain on the street from some Chinese shop owners: almost all of their business suppliers are Thai companies or Thai private business partners, and their customers are almost all Chinese. Restaurants and language schools aim at the Chinese immigrants and tourists; cosmetic/medicine/Thai products grocers and travel agencies mainly aim at both Chinese tourist groups and Chinese domestic market; and logistics companies serve the grocers on the street. The grocers, who run the business with the Chinese domestic market, say that they use E-commerce to deal with the long-distance problem. Chinese customers book the goods through the Internet, and then they send these goods by express delivery to the customers in China. Travel agencies are favor with building up good relationships with Chinese domestic travel agencies, so that they could be their local serving agencies in Thailand to get a lot of Chinese tourists all year.

The most common livelihood of some voluntary immigrants start as “Economic relations may start with import of homeland foods and other productions to the immigration area, and export of manufactured goods in the other direction leading to international business networks.” (Lever-Tracy et al., 1991) And this summary is very similar to the most obvious business within the new Chinese neighborhood recently, which is oriented to bridge the business gap between the sending country and the holding country with products (like cosmetics and medicines from Thailand) and service (like Chinese restaurant) circulation.

Furthermore, we set up a question about “what’s the main function of this neighborhood do you think” in the Chinese immigrant in-depth interview to explore the subjective understanding of the neighborhood function to Chinese immigrants. So, seeing from the answers of the Chinese immigrants, this new immigrant neighborhood is mainly treated as a social resource platform, resident community, commercial district, and living satisfaction and service area.

In totally, we find that, though this new Chinese immigrant neighborhood is young, its functions have already begun to take form. Business function and resident function are the main functions, which we could easily understand from the neighborhood mapping and immigrant opinions. Living service and social platform are still obvious since the more and more mature of immigrant service business (such as restaurants and language schools) and immigrant activities, but these two functions are based on the business and resident function. Finally, from the data we had collected within this research, we could not find any culture aspect information about the neighborhood function yet.

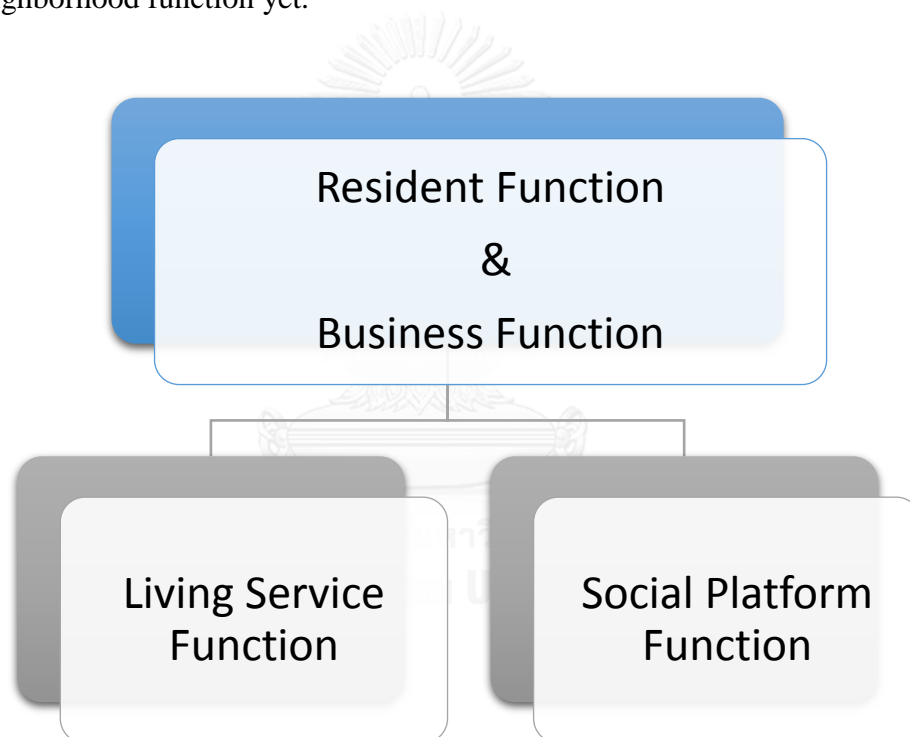


Figure 18 The functions of new Chinese immigrant neighborhood in Huai Khwang

#### 4.4 Immigrant neighborhood maintaining

Due to the basic theories that we have adopted, we are still going to decipher the immigrant neighborhood maintaining into some key aspects so that we could take them as actual measures to get understand how the new Chinese immigrants maintain their neighborhood, what problems do they face in maintaining the neighborhood. The main aspects are relevant to language skill, livelihood, business activities, community organization, and relationship with natives.

#### 4.4.1 Thai language

Language should be the most important skill for immigrants to make their life better in the host country. It is the key skill for them to get access to the host society and find a job. As a country that has its distinctive language, in Thailand, knowing how to speak Thai will determinate how many opportunities the immigrant could catch.

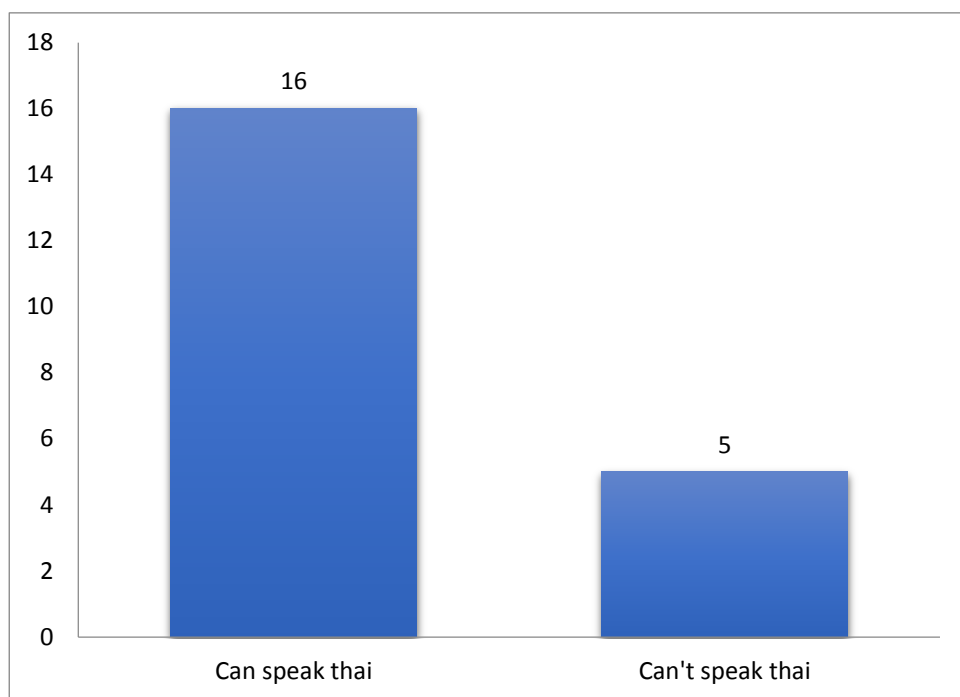


Figure 19 Thai language ability of new Chinese immigrants in Huai Khwang

This bar chart shows that, 16 out of the 21 interviewees know how to speak Thai language, while the rest don't know how to speak it at all. However, the rest all expressed that if there was any opportunity for them, they would like to learn Thai on the grounds that they thought to know Thai could make their life here easier.

From the perspective of cultural integration at the aspect of language skill, this new Chinese immigrant group looks like they already have good language skill or have a strong will to learn the language of the host country, which means this group has good potential to integrate.

#### 4.4.2 About house property

I interviewed a few Chinese about “what do you think about the future of this new Chinese immigrant neighborhood here” to explore the attitudes of the residents to their neighborhood. Those who were not running business but were just living there thought that the future of this neighborhood will be very bright, even they thought that this area would be the second Chinatown in Bangkok. But these, who were doing business in this area, especially for these who were having shops on the street, thought that unless the Thai policies for foreign investment and foreigners could be changed, the future of this Chinese immigrant neighborhood would be very unpredictable or even no progressive for many years. I asked about them why, and one of the businessmen told me as follows:

“The main problem for us to run business on this street is that we foreigners here can not own commercial properties and shops legally. So we can’t plan the future for our own business community here, because maybe one day the Thai landlords will expel us if they think we are a threat to their future interests or they don’t like us anymore. Actually I don’t feel so safe to have the business here, I just want to make as much money as I can before something changed.”

*Figure 4.1 -- A businessman in Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*  
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

According to the Thai property law, foreigners in Thailand may not own the land, but all the commercial properties on Pracharat Bamphen Road are detached houses with land. That’s why the Chinese merchants could own it even they have enough money to buy it. Coupled with the Thai business law regulations about Foreigners could not own the shops, and could not independently own the companies in Thailand, so all the business here are under the name of Thai citizens, even these Thai citizens may not know what the business is about, since most of the registration process were finished by the intermediary agencies that Chinese businessmen hired. Finally, without owning these properties, Chinese immigrants are hesitant to plan their futures.

Without stable property, immigrants feel unsafe and uncertain with their life in the host country, especially for the Chinese, who have a very strong traditional idea about if you really want to settle down somewhere, owning property should be the very first and fundamental condition. And this obstacle is still weakening immigrant neighborhood development and immigrants' orientation to the host country.

#### 4.4.3 Burmese labor

The traditional way of Chinese immigrant business is for Chinese businessmen to prefer to hire Chinese labour since they have the same language and similar cultural background. But, how about the new Chinese immigrant business in Bangkok? The answer is unexpected. They are not favorable about hiring Chinese labour anymore as usual under the special Thai social environment.

“Most of the employees in my restaurant are Burmese, and they are from the north of Burma, so they can speak Chinese well. Hiring Chinese is very difficult in Thailand because of the stressful regulations and costs too much.”

*-- An owner of a Chinese restaurant in the Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

In order to save costs, most of the restaurants and shops in the Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood are willing to hire the Burmese labour because of their lower salary requests. Coupled with most of these Burmese labour can speak Chinese well since they are from the north of Burma where is closed to the Chinese border, like the Kokang Region. Another reason for why the Chinese businessmen consider hiring the Burmese labor is that some of them have refugee card that could guarantee their legal working status in Thailand, which is much better than hiring illegal Chinese workers with huge legal risk.

#### 4.4.4 Police bribing

In order to find out if there is a secret society or other informal organization within this immigrant neighborhood, we set up a question for the interviews about “do you know any Chinese organization, association or secret society in this neighborhood?”. The answer is unexpected.

“There isn’t any Chinese organization, association or secret society here, but the policemen in this district bother us often, maybe they are the ‘secret society’ in our neighborhood. They come to our restaurants and shops every month to ask for bribes. Because most of the restaurants and shops have problems like hiring illegal workers, we have to get on well with the policemen and ask for their protection. If we give them bribes regularly, they will not come to our places to look for trouble. If not, they will not stop bothering us until we give in. For me, I give the policeman who comes to my restaurant 3000 baths every month. But I don’t know how much the other shops give to them.”

*-- An owner of a restaurant in the Pracharat Bamphen Road neighborhood*

As what the informant told us, police bribing is the most annoying thing for them to have the business here. Although it is illegal and shame, the Thai authorities just take it for granted and nobody comes to this place to correct it since the Chinese businessmen here have already got used to it. There is an old saying in China that the flies only like the broken eggs, and this saying is just like the situation about the police bribe on the street. Most of the Chinese restaurants and shops hire “irregular” immigrant workers without applying for any permission from the government. This illegal behavior becomes the main reason that attracts the police bribes to come to them for bribes, since they (shop owners) had the guilty firstly. Although the immigrant businessmen don’t like the bribes, compared with the complicated administrative processes and expensive costs, bribing the policemen apparently has become the most rational choice for them to run their business.

#### 4.4.5 Chinese Chamber of commerce

As the only formal organization existing among the new Chinese immigrants, we were glad to have a chance to get a deep insight into this organization during field research. We learned about how the new Chinese immigrants use this formal way to maintain their business in their neighborhood.

“I began to participate in the activities that organized by Chinese Hunan General Chamber of Commerce in 2012. Now I am the Executive President in it. We are a formal organization that



was registered at the Thai Commercial Department as a non-profit organization. The most important thing for us is serving the business agencies that come from Hunan province of China who are running business in Thailand. The main services are providing information, organizing social resources and enhancing communications.”

-- *The Executive President of the Chinese Hunan General Chamber of Commerce*

The number of different kinds of Chinese chambers of commerce is growing. Except the Thai-Chinese Chamber of Commerce is a general chamber of commerce which serves all kinds of Chinese business agencies for many years, most of the other chambers of commerce in Thailand are organized by the hometown orientation, such as Chinese Guangxi Chamber of Commerce, Chinese Yunnan Chamber of Commerce, and so on. According to the key informant interview with executive president from the Chinese Hunan General Chamber of Commerce, we know that the main functions of chamber of commerce are uniting Chinese groups (especially orientated by the hometown orientation), offering commercial information and assistance, and organizing social resources. It is a non-profit organization, and therefore they cannot do business under the Thai legal system.

About the legal status of chambers of commerce, the key informant told us that registration for a chamber of commerce in Thailand has two ways: one way is to register at the Ministry of the Interior, and the other way is to register at the Commerce Department. The former is much difficult than the second because the former one has the priority to have the tax-free policy. Generally speaking, a chamber of commerce is a loose platform for gathering commercial resources.

Due to the importance of running business in Thailand to new Chinese immigrants, coupled with there isn't any other official Chinese association and organization, which could organize Chinese group, different kinds of Chinese chambers of commerce have begun to play a more and more important role to this new Chinese immigrant neighborhood.

#### 4.4.6 Relationship between Thai and Chinese

Since it has become a new Chinese immigrant neighborhood, there are more and more Chinese immigrants that have already settled down in Huai Khwang area. At the same time, as a traditional residential area for Thai citizens, this area is full of Thai citizens as well. Thus, to know how the relationship between these two groups is should be a very important factor that for us to know the maintaining situation of new Chinese immigrant neighborhood there.

“To tell the truth, I didn’t even know that there are so many Chinese immigrants here until more and more Chinese people appeared in our community after the military coup last year, though I have run the business here for decades.”

-- *A Thai shop owner in Huai Khwang area*

“We don’t have any communication, only sometimes they come to my shop to buy some products. My main customers are still the Thai people in this community.”

-- *A Thai shop owner in Huai Khwang area*

“We don’t have problems with them. But sometimes we think they talk too loudly, and they play with fireworks at midnight at the Chinese New Year. We don’t like that, it is noisy.”

-- *A Thai shop owner in Huai Khwang area*

“They have their life, we have ours. We don’t talk too much and I think it is not necessary. And I don’t have Thai friends here, we only communicate with Chinese here.”

-- *A Chinese immigrant in Huai Khwang*

“We have been living and running business in this area for more than 5 years, and our customers are almost all Chinese. We do talk with some Thai people on this street sometimes, but not often.”

-- *A Chinese immigrant in Huai Khwang*

Analyzing from the interviews, it is apparent that the relationship between Chinese immigrants and Thai citizens is not as good as what we thought before. Native Thai people just knew Chinese there since last year though the Chinese told us

they had been living and running business in this area for many years. The businesses of Thai natives in this neighborhood focus on Thai customers. However the Chinese businessmen only emphasize the Chinese group. Most of the Chinese immigrants don't have Thai friends, and they only want to socialize with other Chinese immigrants. The Chinese who even have Thai classmates, colleagues or other Thai friends, don't really have enough communication in regular life.

All of these signs show that the relationship between Thai and Chinese in this neighborhood is still very distant. They know each other very little though they don't have any critical problem with each other, and the connection between them is very weak.

#### 4.4.7 Underground bank for remittances

Remittance is another important element for immigrants' life. In this study, we find that almost all the interviewees have the experience about sending remittances back to China, but nobody has ever chosen to use the formal way, like banks or other formal remittance agencies, but only the underground banks. The reason why they choose to use the underground banks is the lower fees and more convenient process.

Most of the remittances are used for supporting their families in China, and it is not urgent money but just wanting to make their parents or other family members have a better life. 8 out of the 21 interviewees have tried to send remittances back to China. The amount for each of them ranged from 50,000 to 250,000 Baht per year.

### 4.5 Chapter summary

Seeing from the analysis, we can still easily find that the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood is really brand new and still growing. Now it is a loose community with multiple functions like business, resident and sociality, and it has a sounder function for business with the complete commercial chain compared with other functions. Chinese here are still focusing on business running, and the most outstanding business

is exporting Thai products to China since there is a huge domestic market in China as the strongest support.

Although most of the new Chinese immigrants don't want to join the Thai nationality because of the rising of China, and most of them just want to come to Thailand for temporary business but not the permanent residence. However, some of them still try to settle down in Thailand with illegal visas and the illegal ways to obtain the fake Thai status because of that the eagerness to stay or enjoy the Thai welfare meets the unfriendly Thai immigration policies.

The influences of clanship and kinship social networks are declining within this new Chinese group but the nurture social networks become more and more important to them on the aspect of business and alumni relationships. They don't have any other neighborhood organizations about culture and religion but just chambers of commerce to enhance the business networks and resources.

In this neighborhood, the Thai citizens and Chinese immigrants don't have so many communications with each other, but they respect each other without any obvious conflicts. They work hard here and send remittances back to China to support their families to have a better life through underground banks because of the cheaper cost and convenient procedure.

At last, the population of Chinese immigrants is still growing. Maybe in the short future we can find that there will be a second Chinatown appearing in Huai Khwang district, but it needs more social changes here to push this immigrant neighborhood development to be faster and better.

From the perspective of the main theory that we adopt in this study—4-stage model of immigration settlement processes (BÖHNING, 1984), we still can find that 4-stage model is not so suitable to analyze the development stage of this new immigrant neighborhood on the grounds that we find the performances of the new immigrants and their neighborhood look like an synthesized stage that is related to the

1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> stages of the 4-stage-model respectively. Such as, on one hand, most of the new Chinese immigrants are young workers who still send the remittances back to China and are still loyal to their homeland, which is very likely the description of stage 1 in 4-stage-model theory; on the other hand, more and more new Chinese immigrants choose to prolong their staying in Thailand with developing their own social networks, which is very related to the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage of 4-stage-model; At last, some of the new Chinese immigrants are still proceeding the family reunion process and increasing their orientation to Thailand, even some of them try to make a plan to foster a new Chinese enclave by invest more and more capitals in this neighborhood to have more business, which is just like what the 3<sup>rd</sup> stage says of 4-stage-model. All of this might prove that because of the faster social development situation and new characteristics of new immigrants in the contemporary society, the theory is still in evolution, and the edges between each stage are more and more blurry because of the faster development pace today.

Based on all the information that we have got from the studying of the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood, we will have an analysis of the old Chinatown in Bangkok in next chapter then make a comparative study between the new and old to find the differences between them.

# **CHAPTER V COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE TRADITIONAL CHINATOWN AND THE NEW CHINESE IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD IN BANGKOK**

## **5.1 Chapter introduction**

After the understanding of the new Chinese immigrant group in Bangkok, and in order to answer the question about what are the differences between the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood and the old Chinatown in Bangkok, we will have a detailed reviewing about old Chinatown in Bangkok to get to know its characteristics in this chapter, then we could make a comparison between these two different Chinese immigrant communities to find the differences.

## **5.2 Summary of the characteristics of traditional Chinatown in Bangkok**

This part will take the book *SAMPHENG: BANGKOK'S CHINATOWN INSIDE OUT* (Roy, 2007) as the main source to explore the characteristics of the traditional Chinatown in Bangkok.

The traditional Chinatown in Bangkok “is one of the oldest, largest, and most prosperous of overseas Chinese outpost. It is among the most successful in having adapted to the host culture while protecting and preserving its own ethnic integrity”. (Roy, 2007)

### **5.2.1 Geographical characteristic**

About the geographical characteristics of traditional Chinatown in Bangkok, it lays at the east bank of the Chaophraya River that passes through Bangkok city and it is known as Sampheng. This area got through 3 phases of expansion up to now. Firstly, the original community was started as “the Taechiu community at Sampheng hugged the marshy kilometer-long riverbank between two ancient Thai Buddhist temple, Wat Samploem (later rebuilt as Wat Chakrawat) and Wat Sampheng (later

rebuilt as wat Pathum Khongkha). The settlement apparently took its name from the lane passing along the rear side of the district from the city wall past Wat Samploem to Wat Sampheng downriver”. Then, with the arrival of more and more Chinese immigration, this area began to extent: “the settlement pressed ever farther inland into the market gardens beyond Sampheng Lane. The 1862-1864 construction of Charoen Krung Road, Bangkok’s first modern thoroughfare, running parallel with the river beyond Sampheng Lane, prompted the community’s further inland penetration”. The last stage of extension happened in late 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century. Because of the economic boom around this time in Bangkok, “led Sampheng to burst its riverside bounds and spread upriver past Wat Samploem to the city moat, downriver beyond Wat Sampheng into the Talat Noi district and to the Phadung Krung Kasem Canal, and inland into the farmlands and orchards of the neighboring Phlabphlchai district”. Nowadays, this old Chinese community stops to extent geographically. And due to the mixed of different ethnic Chinese immigration groups, the surface of this old community was divided into a patchwork of neighborhoods. (Roy, 2007) According to the official Bangkok district division, most of the Chinatown area stands in the Samphanthawong District, which is the smallest district in area but has the highest population density compared with other 49 districts.

### 5.2.2 Political characteristic

The political changes from the past to now show how these Chinese immigrations got through the process from “foreigner” to the “citizen” of Thailand. Recognized as the foreigner, firstly, “the Taechiu merchants and seafarers who relocated to Sampheng at the start of the Bangkok era developed their own system of internal leadership. The political vacuum was initially filled by the community’s leading merchants, but it was later preempted by the secret societies that accompanied the successive waves of immigrants from the Chinese homeland”. Then, “To bridge the political divide between the Thai government and Chinese community, a series of 14 Hokkien officials (plus one Kakka) were appointed between 1809 and 1933 to serve as the successive ‘mayors of Chinatown’ ”. After that, the secret societies rose again and led a lot of conflicts in this community among different groups because of the benefits. But this situation began to change since the Thai government realized the

importance of this community and began to adopt more and more interventions after 1892. “Law and order were strengthened with registration of land ownership, reinforcement of police patrols, pacification of secret societies and deportation of political activists. Infrastructure was upgraded through such project as the widening and paving of streets, provision of piped water and constructions of brick rowhouses. And social welfare was advanced with substantial improvements in fire prevention, public health, and public sanitation”. “As one element of that interventionist policy, the government in 1910 revised the Chinese head tax to conform to the tax imposed on Thai commoners.” At the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in order to improve the assimilation process of Chinese immigrants, Thai government adopted some approaches such as “Thai citizenship, Thai surnames, Thai-language schooling, and Thai-reserved occupations”. (Blofeld & Coughlin, 1961)

### 5.2.3 Economic characteristics

Generally speaking, Chinese immigrants have always been closely related to the trade and business. About the Chinese immigrations in Bangkok Chinatown, “most of the early Chinese settlers at Ayutthaya, Thonburi, and Bangkok were merchants and seamen whose junk fleets handled the import-export trade between Thailand and China. Their maritime skills and commercial acumen proved indispensable to the Thai power elite’s interest in acquiring luxury imports (including tea, silk, chinaware, sweetmeats, and bullion) in exchange of agricultural produce (primarily rice, sugar, pepper, and cotton) and extractive goods (such as hides, tin, rare woods and resins, spices, bird’s nest, and ivory)”. Because of the development of Chinese community business, Sampheng gradually became the main port of Bangkok, which was focusing on the transport, trade and financial services. (Roy, 2007) After the Bowring Treaty was signed between Siam and Great Britain in 1855, the competition of free trade broke the traditional Thai-Chinese monopoly trade and drove the Chinese merchants to improve their business effectiveness by adopting steamships instead of the traditional junks so that they could survive in this competition situation. At Sampheng, different ethnic Chinese groups ran the different business in their own ways, “Taechiu preeminence in trade, transport, and finance. The Hakka specialized in such vocations as construction, shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry, and blacksmithing. The Cantonese



excelled at engineering, architecture, dentistry, and goldsmithing. And the Hainanese operated restaurants pharmacies, ice houses, inns, tea shops, bordellos, and abattoirs.” (Roy, 2007) With the growth of economy in Sampheng at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century to early 20<sup>th</sup> century, many elites of this district were provoked to “syndicate ever larger and riskier investment”. Later, after the financial crisis of 1913 and the new deeper-water port finished downriver at Khlong Toei, the situation of Chinatown encountered the big crucial changes about the moving out of residents and businesses, even “the local merchant elite reoriented their investment towards direct participation in the domestic economy”. “Over the second half of the twentieth century the more lucrative lines of business pursued by Sampheng’s leading merchants included agro-industrial process, import-substituting manufacturing and assembly, merchant banking and insurance, and upcountry retail distribution”. Nowadays, the businesses of Chinatown in Bangkok are still keeping the traditions from the past.

#### 5.2.4 Cultural and social characteristics

Speaking of cultural and social matters, we should start with the people who are engaged into this research scope. A constant stream of Chinese from the southeast seaboard provinces came to Southeast Asia to venture the fortune over the past two millennia. And the main Chinese immigrations that came to Thailand were from the same origins too, even in the recent 100 years. About the Chinese migration to recent Bangkok, “As the nineteenth century wore on, their commercial success raised the demand for labor, which was met by successive waves of Chinese immigrants fleeing the grinding poverty, recurrent floods and famines, and rising social disorder in their homeland. That process continued well into the twentieth century, until it was interrupted by the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the subsequent Chinese Communist Revolution (1949). The inflow resulted in Sampheng’s increasing population density, growing ethnic diversity with the addition of Cantonese, Hakka, and Hainanese immigrant neighborhood, and the emergence of a large underclass of unskilled workers”. (Roy, 2007) All these prove that the main groups of the Chinese immigrants are the Cantonese (Guangdong province), Hakka (Fujian province) and Hainanese (Hainan province), and according to the recent situation, the Taechiu Cantonese are the main population around these groups. So the most important social

network in Chinatown should be the kinship and clanship since the beginning of the formation of this community.

About the language of these diaspora groups, at that time, there is not unique speaking Chinese language for Chinese community. Each of the different ethnic group has its own dialect in their specific communities. But nowadays, most of the Chinese immigrations live in Bangkok Chinatown take Thai as the regular language because of the years of assimilation.

About the social hierarchy in Sampheng, “was from the outset dominated by a small upper echelon of wealthy entrepreneurs. A secondary tier of traders, shopkeepers, and artisans constituted the district’s middle class. And beneath dwelt the numerically preponderant underclass of peddlers, sailors, coolies and vagrants”. But it’s worthy to mention that, the social mobility of hierarchies in Sampheng is pretty much possible to the immigrant residents compared with the rigid class structure of native Thai society.

About the community governance, Sampheng started as “an unplanted and loosely governed river port with a largely rootless population of seaman and coolies”. Then, because of the lagged infrastructure system (inadequate housing, potable water, sanitary facilities and son on), lack of law, order and social service and overcrowded population, it became a city slum by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Later, “Communal and neighborhood associations sought to provide Sampheng’s individual Chinese subcultures with a sense of identity, security, and mutual aid by sponsoring shrines, schools, clinics, employment exchanges, hospices, and cemeteries”.

About the linkage to the homeland China, the Chinatown in Bangkok was not only about the business, but also related to the families and relatives. “Many of the Sampheng’s leading Taechiu merchants supported double families one in Thailand and the other in China. Sampheng born sons were sent to China for education and marriage, maintaining the inter-generational continuity of their distinctive ‘overseas

Chinese' identity. Those sons then married again after their return to take over the family firm at Sampheng”.

“The religious traditions of Taoism and Mahayana Buddhism accompanied the Chinese to Nan Yang”. Nowadays, these two religions are still the main religions in Chinatown, and it is shown by the numbers of Taoist and Mahayana Buddhist institutions in this community.

#### 5.2.5 Conclusion of the characteristics of old Chinatown in Bangkok

As one of the most famous and historic Chinatowns around the world, Chinatown in Bangkok has its own unique and representative characteristics. It started as a business port but nowadays develops as a synthesized community with vibrant economic and cultural activities. It has both the autonomous community governance system and the Thai systematic administration governance. It was a city slum but still the city business center with abundant import goods and delicious food that can satisfy the regular living demands of the native Thai citizens; the residents there are the immigrants but still Thai citizens and they spoke different Chinese dialects before but now all speak the Thai language. It keeps a lot of Chinese traditional customs but still adopts Thai culture so that it has a very successful assimilation achievement today. As mentioned before, the research of traditional Chinatown in Bangkok could be the best way to understand the Chinese immigrants in the past and a better textbook to figure out the immigrant settlement, community formation and maintain.

### **5.3 Comparing between Traditional Chinatown and New Chinese Immigrant Neighborhood in Bangkok**

Through exploring the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood and literature reviewing of traditional Chinatown in Bangkok, we could have a general understanding of the Chinese immigrants in Thai society from 250 years ago to nowadays. They are from the same sending country, but they are still very different. And this situation still can be reflected on their immigrant resident community also. Nevertheless, what are the actual differences between the new immigrant

neighborhood and old enclave? Let us have a comparative deciphering about them based on the research that we had before, so that we could understand them better.

	<b>New Chinese immigrant neighborhood in Bangkok</b>	<b>Traditional Chinatown in Bangkok</b>
<b>About immigrant resident</b>	<p>1. The origins of new Chinese immigrants are very diverse, but Guangxi and Yunnan provinces are the most important origins with overwhelming population compared with other Chinese provinces;</p> <p>2. They mainly come to Thailand for better development no matter for business or for education;</p> <p>3. The connection between the new immigrants and mainland China is very strong.</p>	<p>1. The mainly origins of the residents are from southeast of China: Fujian, Guangdong, and Hainan;(Skinner, 1957)</p> <p>2. The reasons for them (first batch of the immigrants) to come to Thailand are venturing the fortune, fleeing grinding poverty, recurrent floods, famine and social disorder in homeland;</p> <p>3. The connection between the immigrants and China is weak.</p>
<b>Geographic feature</b>	<p>Huai Khwang’s Pracharat Bamphen road neighborhood, Bangkok (See details at 1.6 Research scope)</p>	<p>Sampheng district, Bangkok (See 5.1.1 Geographical characteristic)</p>
	<p>1. Mainly resident facilities, commercial shops and modern traffic systems (asphalt road, MRT, etc.);</p> <p>2. Business function and</p>	<p>1. Synthesized community with comprehensive facilities, such as residences, commercial shops, community service</p>

<p><b>Community and facilities</b></p>	<p>resident function are the main, living service and social platform functions have began to take form;</p> <p>3. As a immigrant neighborhood, it only has a few years history.</p>	<p>facilities (schools, hospitals, etc.), museums, religious sites, traditional traffic system (canal, asphalt road, MRT);</p> <p>2. Comprehensive functions as resident, business, religious, cultural heritage, living service, social platform, etc.</p> <p>3. This community has history more than 250 years.</p>
<p><b>Political characteristic</b></p>	<p>Most of them are still Chinese citizens without any political rights in Thailand.</p>	<p>Almost all of them are Thai citizens (Chinese immigrant descendants) and enjoy the complete political rights in Thailand.</p>
<p><b>Economic characteristic</b></p>	<p>1. Business type: Export oriented (Thai product wholesale, logistic company) and immigrant service oriented business (restaurant, travel agency, language school);</p> <p>2. Land owned by Thai citizens;</p> <p>3. Most of the immigrant businesses in this neighborhood are small scale;</p> <p>4. Business chain is just forming.</p>	<p>1. Business type: Local service oriented (Commodity wholesale, gold shop, restaurant, Chinese medicine pharmacy, traditional luxury ingredients, etc.), input &amp; export business and tourist service oriented (restaurant, attractions);</p> <p>2. Land owned by Chinese immigrants;</p> <p>3. The business scale in this community is</p>

		<p>comprehensive from small to large;</p> <p>4. This community has a mature business chain.</p>
<p><b>Cultural and social characteristic</b></p>	<p>1. No special Chinese cultural activities in this neighborhood;</p> <p>2. Most of residents don't practice religion, and there is not special Chinese relevant religious site in this new neighborhood;</p> <p>3. Languages that the immigrants use are Mandarin and Thai;</p> <p>4. Nurture social networks are the mains, such as business and alumni relationships;</p> <p>5. It only has chamber of commerce as a formal community organization.</p>	<p>1. There are plenty of Chinese cultural activities in this community throughout the year;</p> <p>2. Taoism and Buddhism are the main religions, and there are many relevant religious sites in this community as well;</p> <p>3. Many of the immigrants can speak the relevant southeast Chinese dialects (like Taechiu and Hokkien dialect) and almost all of them can speak Thai;</p> <p>4. Kinship and clanship are the main social networks, and business partnership is important in this community also;</p> <p>5. There are many organizations and associations among the immigrants in this community that related to business, culture and religion.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Community development stage (under the perspective of 4-stage-model)</b></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Synthesized with 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> stages:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Temporary labour migration of young workers, remittance of earnings and continued orientation to the homeland;</li> <li>2. Prolonging of stay and development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin and the need for mutual help in the new environment;</li> <li>3. Family reunion, growing consciously of long-term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions (associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions).</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;">4<sup>th</sup> stage: Permanent settlement</p>
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Table 4 The comparative study between the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood and the old Chinatown in Bangkok

#### 5.4 Chapter summary

As the international immigrants who are from the same sending country, however they are distinctively different with each other because of the diverse cultural backgrounds and living in different times. Compared with the old Chinese immigrants who passively fled from China to Thailand were mainly because of the natural disaster, political exploitation or other miserable situations, the new Chinese

immigrants in Bangkok were growing up under the new Chinese society's shifting from socialist planning economics to freedom marketing economics, and they are coming to Thailand just for the better development with business, education or other purposes but not for the basic survive. This is a new Chinese migration model for international development recently, and it is a new trend for the new globalization process within Chinese international immigrant studies.

The old immigrants have already got a good integration into the host society for a long time as the host country's citizens, notwithstanding the new comers are not mainly coming here for permanent residence but for temporary business and personal development with poor integrations. The new immigrants don't want to live with the old immigrants because they think they are totally different with the old ones since most of the immigrants who are living in the old enclave are Thai citizens (actually they are Chinese immigrant descendants).

The old enclave is an integrated community with comprehensive functions and mature business chains, but the new one just has taken form with simple community functions, like residence and business. Business within the old Chinatown are mainly focusing on the local and tourist service, however, the new neighborhood is mainly focusing on the export business to Mainland China and Chinese immigrant services. Chinese relevant cultural and religion influences to the new immigrants are declining compared with the old ones. Nurture social networks (business and alumni relationships) are much popular in the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood, however, the old one still builds on the social networks of traditional kinship and clanship, and business partnership is important in this old community also. At last, the traditional Chinatown in Bangkok is a mature immigrant enclave with a long history at the 4<sup>th</sup> development stage according to the 4-stage-model theory from Böhning; nevertheless the new one is a combination neighborhood related to 1st, 2nd and 3rd stages that only has a few years old records.

At the same time, there isn't any obvious and strong connection between the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood and traditional Chinatown in Bangkok. Most of



the new Chinese immigrants know the traditional Chinatown but only go there very few times for food and Chinese products though they are still proud of it because they think the old Chinatown is the most representative place for Chinese traditional culture. Another interesting thing is that some of the new Chinese immigrants who are from Taechiu are still going to live and work in the traditional Chinatown. Which means the historical and cultural attractions of the traditional Chinatown are still working to absorb a few new Chinese immigrants' settlement.



## **CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

### **6.1 Conclusion**

It is obvious for us to know from this research that international immigrants are keeping changing all the time no matter for their reasons of migration or the living style in the host countries because of the ever-changing social environment both in sending countries and host countries.

Speaking of the Chinese immigrants around the world, the former ones who migrated to other countries mainly because of the poverty, natural disasters and social disorders. But the recent ones are mainly because of the economic and social development demands. This phenomenon shows that the migrant factors are much more diverse than before and changed. And we still can find an appearance of new trend for international migrations: more development demands for better life than basic living requests.

Nowadays, young people are the main force of the economic international immigrants. Growing up under the peaceful international environment and rapid social development times, young immigrants in the young immigrant communities are not eager to settle down at one place any more compared with the old immigrants. They are always following the global capital flows and development opportunities to circulate around the world for the better life and new experiences.

Nurture social networks are more and more important to the new international immigrants, for example, business partnership and regular friendship. At the same time, the influences of traditional inherent social networks, such as kinship and clanship, are inclining among them because the rapid social development makes people approach the outer world much more easily than before so that they could make a good use of the outer social networks.

Religious and cultural influences to the new immigrants are still going down than before but economic influence is increasing among them.

At last, one of the key factors to the development of the immigrant community is mainly determined by the host country's social policies. As what we have found in this research, the new Chinese immigrants didn't have a positive attitude to the future community development planning because of the relevant Thai social policies, such as foreigners could not own the properties with land and independent companies, shops. All the Thai policies make these new immigrants feel unsafe and disrespectful in the host country, hence they have to choose a negative way to deal with it, and it makes them pay less attention to the community development affairs. Which is apparently slowing down the neighborhood development there.

## 6.2 Discussion

This research adopts several international immigrant theories for analyzing the new Chinese immigrants and their neighborhood, and the most important two are “push-pull” factors theory (Castles & Miller, 1998) and 4-stage model of immigration settlement (BÖHNING, 1984).

### 6.2.1 About “push-pull” factor theory for migration

Castles and Miller thought the push and pull factors that lead the migration, especially for the international migration, is because of the “major consequence of the North-South gap” and “Economic and social dislocation, political unrest and technological backwardness”. However, we find that the Chinese immigrants in Thailand are not the migrant flow from “South” to “North” but “South” to “South”, and it is a new type of international migrant flow trend with series reasons. At the same time, no matter economic dislocation or technological backwardness, the reasons for migration were treated more or less as the negative elements; notwithstanding we find more and more positive factors that shape the currently

international immigrations, such as the economic development and educational demand.

More specifically, Castles and Miller defined the push factors into demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression aspects. However, looking at the conclusion of the new Chinese immigrant push factors recently in Bangkok, we only could find that demographic growth is still an obvious factor that pushes the Chinese immigrants out of China since most of them expressed the huge social and economic pressure caused by the serious competition among the large population. Low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression are not obvious anymore for this new immigrant group but the better development demand appears to be the most important factor that shapes this immigrant action, like demanding better education and experience, business expansion.

Also, from the Castle and Miller's perspective, pull factors include demand for labor, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedom for immigrants. Evaluated by the summary of the new Chinese immigrants in Bangkok, we find that the demand for labor and economic opportunities still function well as before, but the availability of land is not working anymore since foreigner can not own land by themselves under the Thai law, and political freedom is not a problem for the Chinese immigrants in Bangkok because most of they are economic immigrants. Besides, with better economic conditions than before, cultural and social aspects, such as education attraction, natural environment, family reunion, are more and more important for these Chinese immigrants.

#### 6.2.2 About 4-stage model theory for immigrant settlement

According his experiences and researches, Böhning summarized the international immigration settlement processes into following 4-stage-model (BÖHNING, 1984): Temporary labour migration with orientation to homeland, Prolonging of stay with developing social networks, family reunion with increasing orientation to host country and permanent settlement.

In his definition, every process of the 4 stages has its own distinctive characteristics and the transition that is from one stage to another one needs to take time. However, the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood in Bangkok looks like doesn't follow this principle well. During the research we found that, in this new immigrant neighborhood, many young immigrant workers just have settled down there and keep sending remittances back to homeland to support their families, which is the same as the first stage's description. And we can still notice that more and more temporary immigrants have prolonged their staying and begun to build up their own social networks, which is very similar to the second stage. Lastly, some of them came to Thailand just for the sake of family reunion and planned to have a long-term settlement, which is almost the same situation as stage 3. All of these prove that the new Chinese immigrant neighborhood is not just in one simple development stage as what Böhning described before. It is an immigrant neighborhood that is experiencing the first, second and third development stages at the same time. Which shows that the old immigrant settlement theory is not suitable for the new immigrant settlement analysis. Maybe it is because of the rapid social and economic development both in sending countries and receiving counties, the new characteristics of new international immigrants and the new immigration policies.

As our ever-changing world, the research findings prove that the classical theories for international immigrant research, such as “push-pull” factors theory and 4-stage model for immigrant settlement, also need to be engaged into the new evolution since the characteristics of immigrants and societies are keeping changing all the time.

## **6.3 Recommendation**

### 6.3.1 To Thai authorities

#### *6.3.1.1 About the Thai Bureaucracy*

The whole process of exploring the new immigrant situations no matter for their visa statuses or business running in the new neighborhood was filled with the

complains from the immigrants about the complicated and lengthy Thai administrative procedure and government corruptions. They understand that the strict regulation is good for governance, but still need the Thai authorities make it friendlier to them. They think though they are immigrants, they are still making huge contribution to Thai society as well, and they deserve to be treated better. They still need some authorities help them to cope with the relevant Thai officers' corruptions, especially for the corruption situations in immigration departments and policeman groups.

Another aspect in bureaucracy, which needs to be improved among Thai authorities, is about improving the usage of the collecting information during their work processes. I find this during my research period on the grounds that I need to get some official information about the data of local business and the population of new Chinese immigrants in the new neighborhood. In order to get this information, I contacted with the relevant authorities, but the answer was that they didn't have any information about it. Apparently, when people wants to run a business, according to the Thai law system, they should register at the commercial department or local office firstly; or when immigrants come to live in Thailand for working, they need to register their resident addresses at the immigration department and labour department. Which means the relevant authorities should have all the information about it, such as how many shops on the street, how many immigrants registered their residence in this area. Unfortunately, unless they don't want to tell me about it though it is not sensitive information, their sayings about not knowing it should be the reason of the poor usage of the collecting data. If the data could not be used after you collect, it is just the data without any meaning and it couldn't help us to improve our understanding about it. Vice versa, if you don't need to use so much information about it, then why does the Thai authority choose the complicated administrative process with lengthy procedure and numerous paper document works to collect the data, and it's definitely the public resource wasting behavior. So, if you really don't need to use it, and then just simplify your administrative procedure at least this change could reduce the bad feelings of the immigrants to Thai authorities and make the immigrant application process concise with less public resource wasting.

### *6.3.1.2 About the social policies to immigrants*

As what we have concluded from this research that “one of the key factors to the development of the immigrant community is mainly determined by the host country’s social policies”. Vice versa, if the Thai government really wants to increase the international investments, attracts more and more foreigners to come and settle down with better orientations in Thailand, they could adjust some relevant social policies to enhance the immigrant actions and orientations, such as making them have the rights to own the property and independent business, simplifying the visa and Thai citizenship application processes, and so on.

### 6.3.2 To Chinese authorities

Another phenomenon I have observed in this study is that the new Chinese immigrant group is really good at running business but lacks cultural cultivations since they have come to Thailand many years without organizing any Chinese cultural and religious activities and organizations in the new immigrant neighborhood at all. As recently the “discrimination attitude to Chinese” is popular in Thailand because of bad behaviors of Chinese tourists, I should say that the prejudice is not good at all, but still can make some senses of it since I find that from the new Chinese immigrants about most of the Chinese today are losing their cultural cultivation because of the only focusing on the rapid development of economics. They are so eager to accumulate a fortune but ignore the cultural education, and this situation makes them stand into an ethical dilemma that may cause their behaviors as not good as what we expected (just like what some people said the Chinese are rude and not respectful to others). Obviously, China is not a country that lacks of cultural cultivation; it just lacks cultural education today. Improving the cultural education for Chinese today is not only for the Chinese, but also good for the international reputation of China. So, the recommendation from this study is making sure the Chinese government should emphasize the cultural education as well when they are developing their economic policies. They could make it happen no matter in China with strengthening the cultural education activities and policies or out of China through the help from

Chinese embassies by organizing the cultural events among overseas Chinese. And this effort could still enhance the future development of Chinese immigrant integration in the world since it could help them to have a better relationship with other citizens.

## REFERENCES





## REFERENCES



## APPENDIX A

### The interview outlines for new Chinese neighborhood study In Huai Khwang, Bangkok

#### Semi-structured Interview Questions for Chinese Immigrants

##### **General information**

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Religion:

Hometown:

Nationality:

Language:

Have you married? Do you have child? (If you have child) How many children do you have? Where do they live now? Who do they live with?

How's the connection between you and your family in China?

Bangkok is the first place when you came to Thailand? If it is not, where is it?

How many Chinese residents do you think live here in Huai Khwang?

Can you speak Thai language? If you can speak, where did you learn that? If you cannot speak, do you have a plan to learn that? What kind of foreign language can you speak now?

##### **Pull-push factors**

Why did you leave China? Why did you come to Thailand? When did you come to Thailand? How did you know Huai Khwang? Why did you come here?

##### **Migration process and settlement**

How did you come to Thailand? What's the route? How did you finance your immigrant action?

Who helped you settle here in Huai Khwang? How long have you been here? How do you find a job here? What are you doing here now?

Did you come to Thailand alone? Do you live here by yourself now? Now, do you have friends or relatives here? Are they Thai, Chinese or from other countries?

What kind of visa did you have when you came to Thailand? And what about now?

##### **Formation and maintaining of the new immigrant neighborhood**

What are the main economic activities here in Huai Khwang?

Do you plan to bring your families here for reunion? Do you have the attempt to be Thai citizen? If you have this attempt, what do you think that how could you be the Thai citizen?

What's your job here in Bangkok?

If you are running the business here, can you tell me your industrial chain about who is your customer and who is your supplier?

Do you need to send the remittance back to your home in China? How do you sent the remittance? If you do, what is the remittance for? How much do you send back every year? May I know you annual income?

Do you know any Chinese associations or organizations here in Huai Khwang? And chamber of commerce?

Are there any religious activities and Chinese traditional custom activities among the Chinese immigrants here?

How is the relationship between you and Thai citizens here?

### **About traditional Chinatown**

Do you know the traditional Chinatown in Bangkok?

Do you go there often? What's the purpose for you to go there?

Do you have friends or other people that you know living there? What are they doing there?

## **In-depth Interview Questions for Chinese Immigrants**

### **Pull-push factors**

Can you tell me more about what are the specific incentives for you that make you want to settle down in Thailand?

### **Migration process and settlement**

What's the meaning of this Chinese neighborhood to you by your own understanding?

What type of visa do you have now? How did you get that? Do you have the visa problem now or before? How's your opinion to Thai immigration policies (especially visa application) and authorities?

### **Formation and maintaining of the new immigrant neighborhood**

Do you think there is any hierarchy system in this neighborhood for Chinese immigrants?

What's the main function of this neighborhood do you think?

How's the relationship between you and Thai residents here?

How do you think that the Chinese immigrant workers to Thai society?

How do you think about the future of the new Chinese immigrant community Huai Khwang?

How long do you plan to stay here? Do you like here?

Do you know any case about how the Chinese immigrants change their citizenships into Thai? How did they change their citizenships? How's your opinion about this situation, do you agree or disagree?

## **In-depth Interview Questions for Thai Citizens**

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Origin:

### **General**

When did you move to Huai Khwang? Why? When did you know the Chinese in Huai Khwang? What do you know about their arrival (time, reasons, and so on)?

Do you know how was this district before the Chinese immigrants settled here?

Do you know how many Chinese living here? (Or, What's the percentage of Chinese residents in Huai Khwang that you think?)

What do the Chinese do here in Huai Khwang?

### **About the perceptions**

How do you think the Chinese immigrations here? Do you welcome them here or not?

Do they have any problems here?

Do you know the attitudes of Chinese immigrants to Thai citizens here?

Do they influence your life here? If there is the influence, what are the influences and connections (relationship) do you think between you and the Chinese in Huai Khwang?

How's the contribution do you think that Chinese residents do to this community?

How do you think about the future of Chinese neighborhood in Huai Khwang?

### **About the assimilation**

Do you think that have they integrated into the Thai society here?

Do you communicate with them often?

What kind of language do they speak to you?

Do they celebrate the Thai festivals?

## **Interview Outlines for key informants**

The history of development of Huai Khwang district and Pracharat Bamphen Road sub-district

The Chinese immigrant settlement process and community formation process in this neighborhood

The relevant official business statistics in Pracharat Bamphen Road sub-district, such as the population, number of shops, restaurants, groceries, and so on. (Thai and Chinese respectively)

About the immigration policy in Thailand (migration office)

About the regulations for hiring the foreign immigrant workers (labor office)

About the chamber of commerce, what the organization it is? How does it work? How is the situation of it now? What's the main function of it?

## APPENDIX B

### The list of conducted interview

Interview method

1. Face-to-face
2. Email

#### The overall numbers of participants interviewed

Participants	Female	Male	Total
Semi-structure interview for Chinese immigrants	14	7	21
In-depth interview for Chinese immigrants	8	4	12
In-depth interview for Thai citizens	3	2	5
Interview for key informants	0	2	2

#### Semi-structure interview for Chinese immigrants

No. Of interviewee	Date	Location	Gender	Interviewee	Method
1	25/05/2015	Asoke	F	Yanzi	Face to face
2	27/05/2015	Bangkok	F	Manguyun	Email
3	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Miranda	Face to face
4	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	M	George	Face to face
5	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Jane	Face to face
6	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Momi	Face to face
7	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Xiao lin	Face to face
8	27/05/2015	Bangkok	M	Ning	Email
9	29/05/2015	All season	M	Qin	Face to face
10	03/06/2015	Huai Khwang	M	Pang	Face to face
11	03/06/2015	All season	F	Yuzhao	Face to face
12	03/06/2015	Bangkok	F	Tan	Email
13	04/06/2015	Rama 3	M	Yin	Face to

					face
14	05/06/2015	Rama 9	F	Jiang	Face to face
15	07/06/2015	Bangkok	F	Pan	Email
16	07/06/2015	Bangkok	F	Yang	Email
17	07/06/2015	Bangkok	M	Li	Email
18	07/06/2015	Bangkok	F	Zhou	Email
19	08/06/2015	Fortune Town	M	Du	Face to face
20	26/05/2015	Bangkok	F	Huang	Email
21	10/06/2015	Bangkok	F	Liu	Email

**In-depth interview for Chinese immigrants**

No. Of interviewee	Date	Location	Gender	Interviewee	Method
1	25/05/2015	Asoke	F	yinzi	Face to face
2	29/05/2015	All season	M	Qin	Face to face
3	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Miranda	Face to face
4	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	George	Face to face
5	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Jane	Face to face
6	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Momi	Face to face
7	28/05/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Xiao lin	Face to face
8	03/06/2015	Huai Khwang	M	Pang	Face to face
9	03/06/2015	All season	F	Yuzhao	Face to face
10	04/06/2015	Rama 3	M	Yin	Face to face
11	05/06/2015	Rama 9	F	Jiang	Face to face
12	08/06/2015	Fortune Town	M	Du	Face to face

**In-depth interview for Thai citizens**

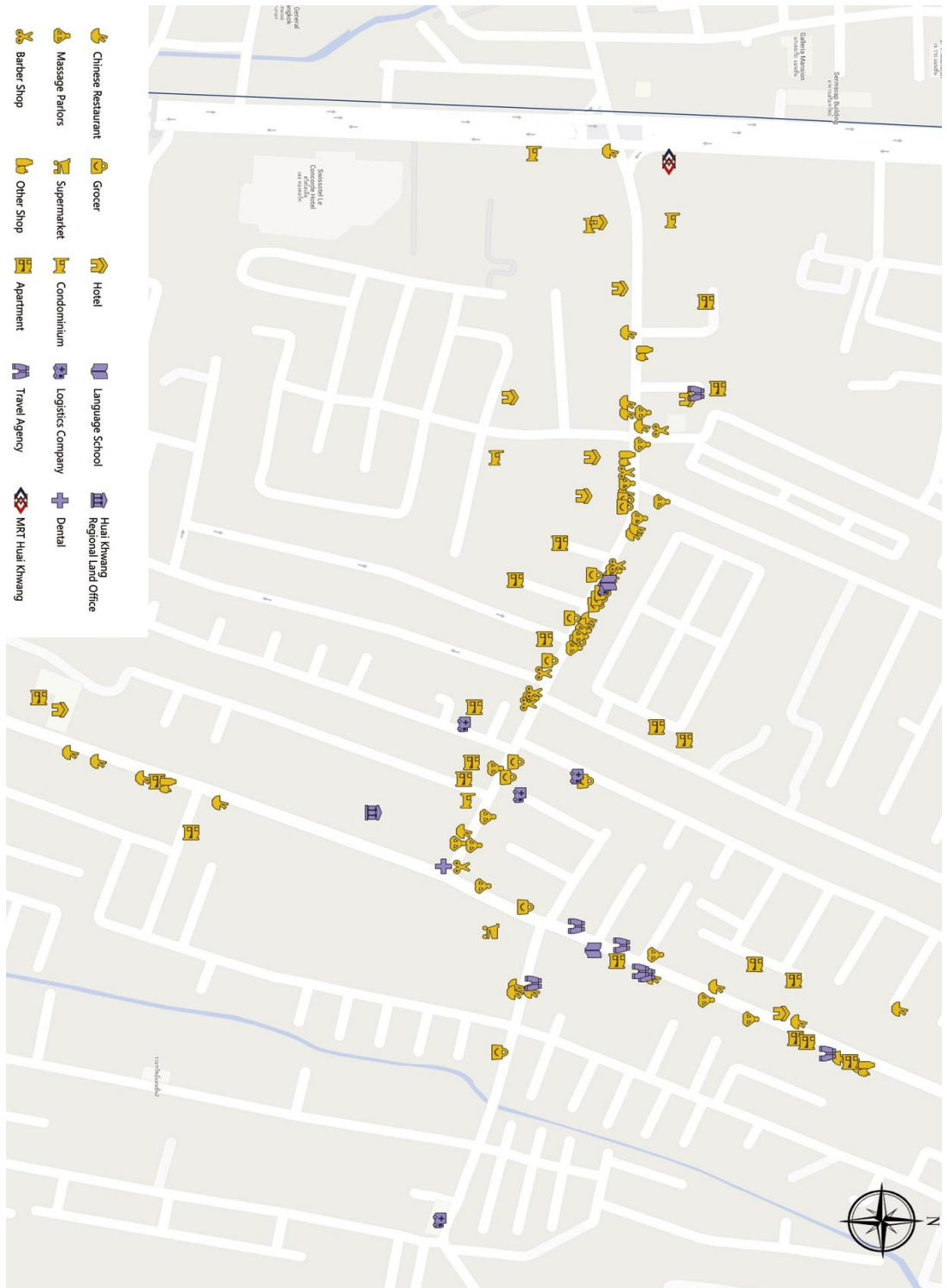
No. Of interviewee	Date	Location	Gender	Interviewee	Method
1	06/06/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Benyapha	Face to face
2	06/06/2015	Huai Khwang	M	Lek	Face to face
3	06/06/2015	Huai Khwang	M	Ton	Face to face
4	06/06/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Khwan	Face to face
5	06/06/2015	Huai Khwang	F	Mas	Face to face

**Interview for key informants**

No. Of interviewee	Date	Location	Gender	Interviewee	Method
1	26/05/2015	Chang Watthana	M	Jiangjiang	Face to face
2	08/06/2015	Fortune tower	M	Du	Face to face

# APPENDIX C

The new Chinese immigrant neighborhood mapping in Huai Khwang





## VITA

Guanyu Ran is from Chongqing, China. He finished his double bachelor's degree in South-Central University for Nationalities with subjects of social work and human resource management in June 2010, Wuhan, China.

After his graduation, he started to work in China Youth Development Foundation that is one of the most prestigious charity organizations in China as a project manager for two years charging with the "Project Hope voluntary actions". After that, he joined the largest media group in China—China Southern Newspaper group as a senior project manager that working in the marketing department of 21st Business Herald for another two years. In this position, he was responsible to the project of popularizing the social innovation and social enterprise concept in China.

He studied Master of Arts in International Development Studies in Chulalongkorn from 2014-2015.

His research interests focus on the social integrations in host countries for overseas Chinese, especially for the new Chinese immigrants after China's openness to the world (after 1980s).

