Cognitive Map of Daily Border-Crossers:
A Study of the Chinese Community on the East Coast of the Thai-Malaysian Borderland

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This doctoral dissertation is an anthropological study of the formation of the Chinese community on the east coast of the Thai-Malaysian borderland. By looking at daily transnational and trans-ethnic relationships in the borderland, this study seeks to understand how the modern ideas of national boundaries and ethnic boundaries are worked and redefined by people living in the borderland.

While the border is a political division between two nation-states, this study conceptualizes the borderland in a spatial sense, namely as a “living sphere” in which people make their living. A “living sphere” can be defined as a social space around the border where daily activities, such as economic transactions, schooling, and shopping occur – often beyond the specific national border. The analytical lens of a “living sphere” is important especially when one tries to understand how the idea of boundaries works in the broader area of the borderland. This study also employs the idea of a “cognitive map” to analyze the living environment that is shaped by people’s daily border-crossings. I employ six “mirrors” that reflect the living environment of the border people, namely (1) economic transactions, (2) political relationships, (3) education, (4) marriage patterns, (5) cultural practices, and (6) legal status. These “mirrors” are not only related to people’s daily activities, but also become important indicators to examine how political boundaries and ethnic boundaries are redefined or
reworked in their lives. The border economy in Bandar Kecil, which is the focus of this dissertation, was formed only after the border demarcation. Therefore, informal border crossings are initiated not by pre-border factors, but by post-border factors. This study will analyze the relationship between states and border societies not in terms of how states oppress border societies, but in symbiotic terms — how they relate to each other in their everyday lives.

The eastern Thai-Malaysian borderland has distinct demographic, economic, and political characteristics. First, the area consists of a vast Malay-Muslim majority with a number of much smaller ethnic groups. In general, the region in which the borderland is situated, namely Kelantan in Malaysia and Narathiwat in Thailand, is considered a conservative Muslim society. Second, the region’s economy is generally lacking in industrial development. While both Thailand and Malaysia achieved high levels of economic growth and transformed their economy into export-oriented industries in the 1970s to 1990s, the region remains heavily oriented towards agriculture. Third, the southernmost Thai provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat have been the center of an Islamic separatist movement against the Thai government since the 1960s. Recent political developments have led to severe violence with more than 2,000 people killed. On the other side of the border, Kelantan remains free from such violence but its state politics is also distinct from the other Malaysian states. The Kelantan state government has been ruled by PAS or Parti Se-Islam Malaysia, an opposition party based on a radical Islamic ideology.

Previous studies have thus often focused on the demographic, political and economic uniqueness (or marginality) of the borderland as a point of comparison with the political or economic centers. In several anthropological and linguistic studies, the Chinese — an invisible minority in a predominantly Malay-Muslim environment — have not received much attention except in terms of the rural Chinese who acculturated into the local Malay and Thai environment in Kelantan. This study, by contrast, seeks to highlight the transnational and trans-ethnic relationships of the urban Chinese population.

The research approach of this dissertation is two-fold, namely, historical and anthropological. In part I, the dissertation focuses on the historical background of the Chinese community on the Thai-Malaysian border. In particular, I will look not only at the political process of the border demarcation and the formation of the border economy in the early 20th century, but also examine the dynamic of Chinese migrant routes, early economic activities, and marriage patterns. Part II of the dissertation seeks to understand how national and ethnic boundaries are reworked or redefined in the borderland. First, I will look at the mechanism of the informal daily border-crossings in the borderland. By focusing on economic activities, the study will show how informal flows are regulated within the borderland. Second, I will examine political relationships of the Chinese community on the border. By focusing on the role of leadership and Chinese associations, the study
will analyze the mechanism of internal power relations, as well as the trans-ethnic and trans-national relationships in the borderland. Third, the study will then look at border-crossing schooling on the border. By comparing the border-crossing students (primarily Sino-Thai and Malay dual citizens) at a Chinese school in the Malaysian border town between the 1950s and today, this study will show how the borderland has offered opportunities for children who wish to study beyond the border and how acquiring legal status has become important for the daily border-crossings. Fourth, the study looks at the relationship between legal status and daily border-crossings. Focusing on informal intermarriage between Malaysian-Chinese men and Northern Thai women, I will examine how mixed-parented children’s legal status works especially when unmarried Thai mother and children live in the Thai border town. Also it demonstrates how the legal status influences people’s everyday border-crossings, particularly by looking at the unmarried Thai-Chinese couple living in Malaysian border town. How the unmarried Thai women’s legal status became unstable when she faced the death of his Malaysian Chinese partner. Finally, the dissertation addresses two recent economic and political developments in the borderland, namely the formation of the Duty Free Zone at Bandar Kecil and Islamic separatist movements in southern Thailand. The study will show how those major changes have affected people’s daily border-crossings in the borderland.