

Rise and Fall: The Oldest Overseas Chinese Community in Bangkok, Thailand

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Abstract: This study is part of the dissertation titled: an analyses on the identity of overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu, Yaowarat and Huai Khuang, Bangkok. The adviser is Dr. Pat Kotchapakdee and co-adviser is Dr. Homhuan Buarabha. This study aims to uncover Talat Phlu's history and analyze the social changes of the overseas Chinese community there, through the use of sociology, an international immigrant study and historical literature. Qualitative research is conducted in this study. A literature scan as well as observation and interview were applied in this research. The results found that the overseas Chinese community development of Talat Phlu can be divided into four stages from its rise to its fall: the formation period, waterborne trade period, landborne trade period and the decline period. These changes were closely related to both transport and economic development of Talat Phlu and the changes of Chinese community are inseparable from the local external environment.

Key words: History, overseas Chinese community, Talat Phlu, transport, external, historical

INTRODUCTION

Overseas Chinese refers to people born in China or who are of Chinese descent and are currently living or have ever lived outside the People's Republic of China. This term especially refers to those who live outside of China with Chinese characteristics. The overseas Chinese population in Thailand specifically is called Thai Chinese. In 2007, there were 7 million overseas Chinese in Thailand which accounted for 11% of the total population. The Thai Chinese population is second only to the Thai people themselves (Guotu, 2009). They have married Thai natives, blending cultures and have had a profound impact on Thailand by making tremendous contributions to its economy.

The relationship between China and Thailand can be traced back to the formation of the Maritime Silk Road before 2000 years. As early as the 16th century there were Chinese agglomerations in Ayuthaya. The first immigration climax occurred during the Taksin Dynasty (Thonburi Dynasty) in large part because the Great King Taksin was an ethnic Chinese from Chaozhou of China (Skinner, 1957). The overseas Chinese communities in Bangkok also began to rise during this period. They settled in the Bangkok area because of the Chao Phraya

River's Estuary and the area's seaside port (Jirojpan, 2004). These Chinese communities in Thailand are a product of Thailand's historical evolution and it is the result of exchanges between China and Thailand as well. Talat Phlu is a Sub-district of the Thon Buri District in Bangkok and is located on the west bank of the Chaopraya River. The Thon Buri District was previously named Amphoe Bang Yi Ruea but changed to its current name in 1939. Thonburi remained an independent town and province, until it was merged with Bangkok in 1971 and formed the present Bangkok metropolitan area (Anonymous, 2017). In Thai Talat Phlu means 'market of betel pepper. Talat Phlu earned this name because of the pepper's historical prevalence in the area. Talat Phlu was famous for betel pepper buying and selling. In addition, Talat Phlu became a food storage warehouse of this region which could supply the capital and the cities nearby. Moreover, Talat Phlu developed into a lively area full of inhabitants including different ethnic groups with help from a large number of overseas Chinese forming the labor market.

According to historical data, Talat Phlu is one of the oldest overseas Chinese communities in Bangkok. It arose during the Thonburi Dynasty which is more than 10 years before the appearance of the current China town,

Yaowarat. However, there is relatively little research on Tala Phlu, especially, research on the Chinese communities of this region because its community has been weakening since the early 20th century. Therefore, the objective of this paper was to study the social changes of overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu through a historical perspective.

Objective: To study the history of the overseas Chinese community in Talat Phlu.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Qualitative research is used in this study. To study the social changes of overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu, Bangkok, the following methodologies were executed. First, a literature scan was conducted and applied in the research. Second, a field investigation including the methods of observation and interview. For the interviews, key information was gathered from Chinese cultural experts, people with specific knowledge of Talat Phlu and the senior overseas Chinese of Talat Phlu Sub-district, Thonburi District, Thailand. Third, a panel discussion was used. For the discussion a group of senior overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu were organized to talk about the history of overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu. T. Parson's structural functional theory was used to analyze the research results.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The formation of the overseas Chinese community in Talat Phlu: After the fall of Ayutthaya, the leader, Taksin, chose Thonburi as the base for construction of the new Kingdom. This allowed Thonburi city to thrive between the years 1767 and 1782 AD.

After King Taksin established Thonburi as the capital, he focused on the route from Khlong Bang Luang to Khlong Dan. This route was important because the area was likely to be settled and there existed old temples dating back to the Ayutthaya period. The canal Khlong Bang Luang is located in the South of Thonburi city which allowed it to become an important gathering place, especially, for the Chinese who were escaping from disaster. At the same time, Talat Phlu is a community developed along the coast of Klong Bang Luang.

Talat Phlu has a long history. There is evidence from a Dutch map that shows there were communities along the Chao Phraya River and Khlong Dan during the Ayutthaya period (1424-1758) (Watcharatim, 2008). The location of the communities on that map are the current marketplaces of Talat Phlu. Up until the Thonburi period, the Great King

Taksin focused on Talat Phlu because there was an old temple, Wat Waaram. He tried to persuade people to settle there. Later, when more people came, he ordered the overseas Chinese and Chinese nobles to settle along the canals (Watcharatim, 2008). Most of the Chinese are people of Chaozhou. When the overseas Chinese came to live in the market area, most of them made a career of trading, cart driving and as laborers. Some were employed to work in the gardens which was characterized by the employment relationship between Chinese and other ethnic groups in Talat Phlu (Sena, 2010) while others rented land for planting betel. Most of the landowners were barons or noblemen. The Chinese people used compost as mulch for the vegetables and also planted fruits and herbs to sell in Yaowarat. Siamese people preferred to hire Chinese workers because they were cheaper. In addition, the overseas Chinese settled in Talat Phlu because of its fertile soil, producing rice, fish and food at that time.

During the early Rattanakosin Period (1782), the people of the Pattani Districts were forcibly moved to the Talat Phlu area. Since, most of those migrants were Muslim, several mosques were built. They had to take the jobs gardening betel to sell at the market. With the arrival of the Muslim community, there were Chinese, Thai Buddhists and Thai Muslims in Talat Phlu who all planted betel for a living. That is why this region was called Talat Phlu (betel market) instead of "Bang Yi Ruea". In the early Rattanakosin era the King encouraged the overseas Chinese as an important force in trade (Watcharatim, 2008).

At the beginning of Rattanakosin Dynasty, Talat Phlu was a floating market where trade was done by boat along the canal. Most of the overseas Chinese sold rice using large ships without a hood. Rice noodles, fish porridge, liquor, herbal jelly, tofu pudding, bean with brown sugar, sweet noodles, fried cabbage snack, fried mussel, etc. were common goods typically sold as well. However, during the reign of Rama III, many Chinese people were hired to build Wat Ratcha Orasaram and to repair the temples in this area. This was the first temple built, since, he was crowned. Later, the temples was restored and rebuilt by a Chinese technician during this reign. The land market is likely to have started during this period (Chatavichan, 2012).

Waterborne trade period

The development of the overseas Chinese community in Talat Phlu: In the reign of King Rama IV, after the Bowring Treaty was signed, trading rapidly increased. The Phasi Charoen Canal was dredged in order to transport goods from other districts into the capital, increasing

transportation and production in Talat Phlu. The household industries of bean paste and fish sauce manufacturing grew. And after this, the railway was built through Talat Phlu. This made it an inbound and outbound commercial center by land and water and diversified the merchandise trade. In addition to vegetable and fruit gardens in the canal's lanes, there were rice boats from Suphan Buri, Ang Thong; salt, mackerel, shrimp paste, fish sauce, coppice wood and dried seafood boats from Phetchaburi and Samutsakorn; chilli, shallot and garlic boats from Bang Chang; phragmites boats from Kanchanaburi; boats of steam and pottery from Ratchaburi and sugar vessels from Phetchaburi and Mae Klong. All of these merchants came to trade for piper betel and betel planted in this area because eating piper betel and betel was a kind cultural fashion in traditional Thai people's life (Sena, 2010).

It was during the reign of King Rama IV (1851-1868), that the word "Talat Phlu" occurred instead of the original name of "Bang Yi Ruea". This is because there were a large amount of farmers selling betel nut and the market became very congested. During this period, there were more and more overseas Chinese becoming store owners in the market. It appears that there were roughly 49 lattices or shops in the marketplace. These shops sold a variety of items including fresh foods, salted foods, paper, tea, opium, liquor and even used goods that were sold at a pawn shop. Most of the shop owners were Chinese. During this time, drugs were sold openly and legitimately by law, especially, alcohol and opium which were already taxed. The popularity of opium among the Chinese made opium factory growing more prosperously. It is said that opium was an essential necessity for the Chinese working class. Opium was very prevalent among hard-working laborers. Thai people, however were not addicted to opium. As the Chinese drug users increased, the price of opium increased as well and in the early stages, opium became a monopoly. In Bangkok, there were over 1,200 stores and nine opium stores in Talat Phlu.

Moreover, during the reign of King Rama IV, a large number of Chinese immigrants came to Thailand about 10,000 each year (Skinner, 1957). And a large number of them settled in the Talat Phlu area. Chinese people living in this market area had to pay a wrist strap 4 baht 25 satang per 3 years and were subject to a penalty for tax evasion. The Chinese were not satisfied with this policy, so, they always registered with the consulate or an embassy in order to dodge taxes (Ruxpholariyakul, 2003). It was popular for Chinese men to marry Thai women in this period. One probable reason for this is that Thai women play a more valuable role in trading than other ethnic women. Additionally, Chinese immigrants from

China had no rights to own land, even if their Chinese descendants were born in Thailand. Marriage to Thai women could be considered as social change, allowing the children to have a more intimate relationship with the Thai community while preserving the connection to the Chinese community. However, the Thai government had a policy that the Chinese descendants must have a certain status. If Chinese man chose to keep his Chineseness by wearing plaits, he would be charged 4 baht 1 dime per 3 years as a tax. But if they were willing to be considered Thai, they could serve as a conscript soldier or a King's soldier according to the status of their mother. Some Thais of Chinese descent wore plaits and would rather pay the tax of six baht to avoid being drafted while others preferred to cut off the plaits and become a monk. For the Chinese daughters whose mothers were Thai, they dressed in Thai traditional clothes and studied the Thai language, Thai manners and Thai customs (Galaska, 1969).

During the years 1880-1910, this is the important period because Chinese began to become owners of Talat Phlu through adjusting and shifting their social and economic status. In this period, the market area was practically a Chinese market, Thais and Muslims were customers more than sellers. There were Thai people who traded in lattices but when the houses turned into row houses, most of them were the overseas Chinese. At this time, there was no big business found in this area but the mill owners, sawmills owners, gambling house owners, opium store-owners and pawnshop owners were very influential. Most of the land keepers were Chinese from Chaozhou. Retailers, artisans, workers in opium factories and staff in gambling houses had higher social and economical status (Galaska, 1969).

Landborne trade period; The booming of the overseas Chinese community in Talat Phlu:

Despite growing the commercial trade, Talat Phlu's economy began to decline during the Reign of Rama VI (1910-1925 AD) when the Phra Phuttha Yodfa Bridge, connecting Thonburi and Phranakhon was built. Together, the new bridge and 11 new roads built throughout Thonburi changed the commercial trade routes. The center of prosperity moved from Talat Phlu to Wongwian Yai (Fig. 1), severely hurting Talat Phlu's economy (Ruxpholariyakul, 2003). In the early Rama VI reign with the coming and increasing of the Chinese people, more and more marketplaces opened for trading. The betel parks gradually disappeared and became row houses. When Chinese immigrants settled down in Talat Phlu area, they established religious place according to their belief. The Chinese shrines were a public space that served as a gathering place for

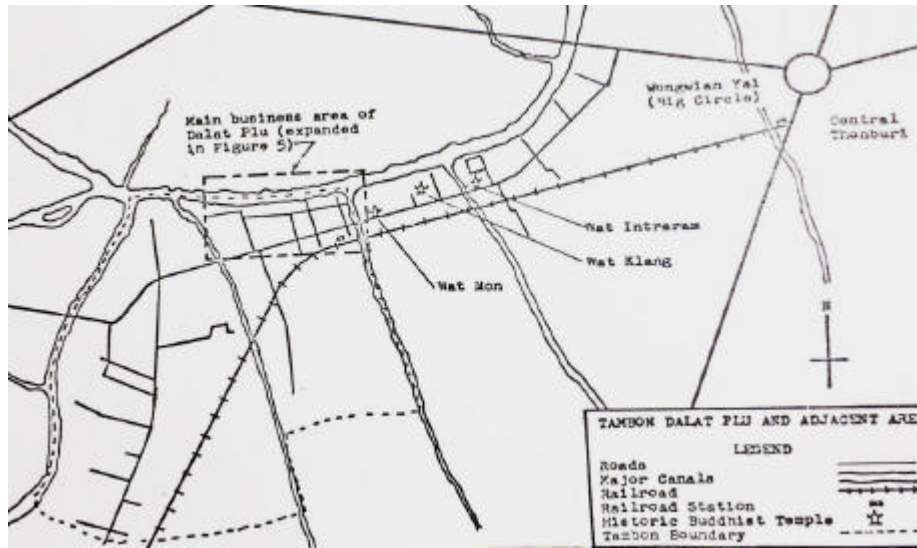


Fig. 1: Talat Phlu and Wongwian Yai in the early 20th century (Galaska Chester F. , Continuity and Change in Dalat Phlu: A Chinese Middle Class Business Community in Thailand, 1969)

overseas Chinese activities, especially, during festivals. The overseas Chinese people in this area went to a shrine according to the shrine they respected. There were many places of worship according to different beliefs. For example, the Song Shrine is adjacent to Wat Chatharam Worawihan. Duek Din Shrine (Xiong Zhen Gu Miao Shrine) is near the railway and in the area of former site of Gong Li Zhongshan School. The Guan Gong Shrine is located near the estuary of the Bangsakae Canal. Guan Yin Shrine which is close to Kantathiram Temple (Sombusrungrua, 2010). However, it is difficult to know the importance of these shrines in Talat Phlu and how often the overseas Chinese were visited during these times. Judging from the perfect condition of the Chinese shrines today, it likely points to the continued beliefs of the overseas Chinese that were originally established.

Now, there were several Chinese schools in Talat Phlu which were Chinese-owned and the teachers were either Chinese or Chinese descendants. Somboon Witthaya School, Gong Li Zhongshan School, Dong Jia School were some of these Chinese-owned schools. Originally, the Chinese schools gave priority to Chinese teaching but most of the Chinese schools today focus on Thai language teaching and supplement with Chinese courses.

When Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram was Prime Minister of Thailand, Talat Phlu's economy was hurt again because eating piper betel was forbidden with the policy of national construction which thought the piper betel was harmful to the public image of the nation. Hereafter, the flood crisis in 1942 also weakened Talat Phlu's betel economy. After the flood the areas

previously farmed for betel nut gradually transformed into rental homes, causing the betel trade in this area to collapse. The rental homes also brought new people to live in Talat Phlu.

In 1932, the most important events were the construction of the Phra Phuttha Yodfa Bridge and the 11 roads constructed through Thonburi which brought significant changes to Talat Phlu. The construction of the bridge and roads brought prosperity to the cities but at the same time weakened the role of waterborne trade. People began to build homes along roads instead of along the canals, leading to the transformation of the social model and economy in Talat Phlu. Production mode and lifestyle of the Chinese living here also changed. During this period there was still a continuous migration of Chinese into this region. Overseas Chinese remained the "leader" of this area, since, the population of Chinese migrants was far larger than that of any other nationalities. Since the beginning of the Rattanakosin period, the Chinese had moved here to live similarly, to their relatives who had come before them.

The decline period: From 1942-1957, Field Marshal Pibulsongkram, aiming to achieve a better national image, gave an order prohibiting the people of Thailand to eat areca nut. Furthermore, World War II and the Great Flood of 1942 damaged the plantations of betel nut in Talat Phlu and therefore, changed the lives of residents who relied on it (Ruxpholariyakul, 2003). On the other hand, after World War II, the demand for labor dramatically dropped because of the closure of several rice mills in Talat Phlu, only the plants built by the thrifty Chinese migrants were

left. This changes not only impacted Chinese migrants but also migrants of other nationalities. Therefore, the people of Talat Phlu had to turn to mixed crop planting, cultivation, food sales and building rental houses. However, commercial trade and industry in this area experienced little change. Some of the Chinese immigrants and Thai-Chinese changed their planting from betel nut to fragrant-flowered garlic which was sold in Talat Phlu. Overseas Chinese people generally used a fragrant-flowered garlic snack as an offering during worship. Increased production of fragrant-flowered garlic has made Talat Phlu the largest fragrant-flowered garlic production area and its products sold throughout the whole Bangkok.

Meanwhile Chinese immigrants took this opportunity to collect capital and expand trade especially in rice and saw mills. All the mills were financed and built by the overseas Chinese and most of the workers were local Chinese workers who were cheap, vigorous, zealous and diligent laborers. Machinery production was infrequent in most of the mills while everyone relied on each other to survive here. During this period, the main product of Talat Phlu was food processing such as steamed mackerel, soybean paste, soy sauce, tofu and rice. All the food processing mill's owners were Chinese. In particular, rice mills and soybean paste mills were nearly monopolized by Teochew people. They helped each other and shared advancements in food processing technologies among relatives and friends. This made most technologies become shared family technologies, like soybean paste and soy sauce was produced by the Hou family. Traditional herbal medicines which were familiar to the Chinese were developed into industrial products such as cold cream. During this period, Talat Phlu became a trading market for overseas Chinese who were selling consumer goods in their own stores, like gold stores, tailor shops, Chinese herbal medicine stores, grocery stores and worship materials shops.

In addition, the Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram Policy badly disturbed the resident's life which stipulated 27 undertakings that could only be taken up by Thai, like women clothing stores, fireworks stores, knitting stores, barber shops and stores that sold brick, firewood, carbon, wood crushed leaves. This forced some stores operated by overseas Chinese to be closed. In 1943, the government issued a law to restrict the rights of Foreigners; banning Chinese people to buy land in Thailand. The Chinese immigrants in Talat Phlu were required to change their surnames into Thai surnames in order to acquire land ownership. In 1952, the government additionally stipulated that if the father is a Foreigner, then his children using the Foreign surnames of the father

cannot have land in any form. In terms of education, in 1948, the government intended to reduce the number of Chinese schools and only three remained in Thonburi. At that time, the three private Chinese schools in Talat Phlu namely Gong Li Zhongshan School, Engsiang Shool and Zhongzheng School were all closed. It was not until the policy loosened its regulation that the schools were reopened. This series of changes made many Chinese families lose their identity for a short time but even, so, the Chinese people did not give up their own culture and customs. This is what enabled them to preserve their national identity in the midst of facing changes and challenges.

In 1963, following Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram, the advent of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat Times, made Talat Phlu face another change once again. In an effort to diminish the bad habits of the people, the government ordered all opium factories and casinos to close. The residents in Talat Phlu had to adapt to a new lifestyle again. Some people began to rent houses in rows while at the same time, a lot of people were moving in. Overseas Chinese people in Talat Phlu had lived there for a long time and had always lived in harmony with the people of other ethnic groups, So, it was not too difficult for overseas Chinese people to adapt to the newcondition. With society becoming prosperous and developed, some of means of livelihood and occupations disappeared. Arrival of Foreign students and workers meant that the number of apartments, accommodation and rental housing has increased considerably. During this period, the price of land was very expensive, so, some people divided their land and sold it then moved to the outskirts of the city such as Phra Pradaeng Thungkru Bangkae and Bang Bua Thong. Unable to stand the poor traffic conditions, poor sanitation of the community which has become a slum, water pollution and other problems, people engaged in agriculture gradually moved away, leaving the trade and industry and the rest of the Chinese-owned factories. Industries of this period include several large sized factories such as a fish sauce factory, rice mill and saw mill. There were also community-based factories and home industries such as fragrant-flowered garlic snack factory, mackerel factory and also fields for slaughtering chicken and ducks. As for the fragrant flowered garlic snack of Talat Phlu, the modes of its operation were mainly household productions or small factories, the operators were mainly Teochew people and their surnames include Zhang, Wu, Lin, Cai, Yu, Wang, Huang, to name a few. Fragrant-flowered garlic snacks were the main products of Talat Phlu. The fragrant flowered garlic snacks were started by 2-3 families in

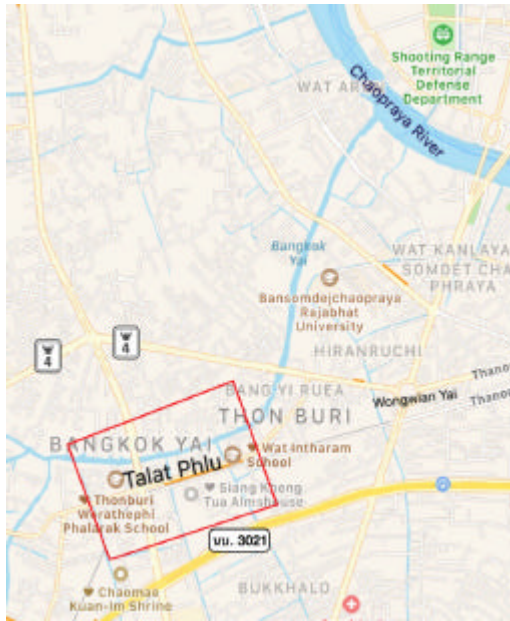


Fig. 2: A current map of the canals and Talat Phlu Region in Thonburi

Fujian and later migrated to Talat Phlu around 1932. They were the first dwellers that settled here. In the past few decades, some families have continued the fragrant flowered garlic snack business, so, now there remain fragrant-flowered garlic snack businesses that have been operational for over 40 years.

After 1982, the construction of Ratchadaphisek Road caused a major change in the Talat Phlu Region (Fig. 2). This encouraged people currently living in the area to move away and others to move in and settle down in place of them. The community areas became more and more crowded, leading to the conversion of agricultural land into residential areas for the immigrants.

Today, the Wat Klang Market in Talat Phlu is a large market that still sells fresh food, dry food and consumer goods. There are stalls, wooden houses and townhouses within the market and is known for selling fragrant flowered garlic to the whole city of Bangkok. Trade exchanges still exist in Talat Phlu, although, it is not as bustling as before. The Chinese and Thai-Chinese in Talat Phlu will make adjustments according to the changes that they face. They still live their lives the same way as before, the only difference for them is that the trading products have changed. They still live a normal life as they did before and they still live in harmony with local Thais, Muslims, Mons and other ethnic groups. Now a days, great changes have taken place in the lives of Chinese people here. There are still some factories, shops

and famous restaurants like Talat Phlu's dessert shops, fragrant-flowered garlic snack shops, pig meal shops that have been successful for a long time. Talat Phlu still serves as a trade market for selling fresh and dried food as well as a variety of consumer goods. There are not only Thailand products but also Chinese products sold here.

According to T. Parson's structural functional theory, the social system, the behavior organism, the personality system and the cultural system all together constitute the so-called "behavioral system". And the social system is a subsystem of the behavioral system. T. Parsons stressed that the reason why the social system is able to ensure its own maintenance and extension is that it meets the functional conditions which means that the social system have the ability to obtain enough resources or capabilities from the external environment as well as the configuration of these resources or capabilities in the system. The social system shall adapt the external environment. The social development of the local Chinese community in Talat Phlu is closely related to the historical development of Talat Phlu. This just reflects that the social system need to be adjusted to adapt to changes of the external environment.

With the changes of the external environment, the overseas community of Talat Phlu has gone through several stages throughout its rise to its fall. It can be divided into four periods as follows:

The formation period The community of Talat Phlu started during the Ayutthaya Dynasty (1424-1758 AD). It was a focus of King Taksin in the Thonburi Period (1767-1782 AD) mainly because of the renovation of the Wat Waaram Temple. During the early Rattanakosin Period (1782-now), the Muslim of Pattani were forced to move to Talat Phlu which brought a diversity of ethnic groups into Talat Phlu. Betel nut production and sales became a major occupation.

The overseas Chinese immigrated to the area of Talat Phlu, since, the Thonburi Dynasty not only because Chinese were recruited by the King Taksin but also because of the fertile land for agriculture. During the early days, the overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu were mostly employees and laborers who worked for the landowners and noblemen. Some of them owned small businesses and traded by boat, since, Talat Phlu was a floating market.

Water borne trade period: Talat Phlu became a more popular and flourishing place to gather for Thai people as well as Chinese people, since, the construction of the Bangkok Grand Canal-Klong Bang Luang during the reign of King Rama IV (1851-1868AD). It was once the trading center of Bangkok.

After the period of Rama IV, the canal and railway was built through Talat Phlu which made the area bustling. More and more overseas Chinese became owners of stores in the market of Talat Phlu. The market area was similar to a Chinese market until the early 20th century.

Landborne trade period: The economic prosperity of Talat Phlu was decreasing during the early 20th century. Talat Phlu began getting sluggish during the reign of Rama VI (1910-1925 AD). The construction of Phra Phutta Yodfa Bridge and the 11 news roads around Thonburi brought changes to the trade routes. The prosperity center gradually moved from Talat Phlu to Wongwian Yai. However, trade changes still occurred in Talat Phlu. The increase of Chinese migrants kept the overseas Chinese as the “leader” of Talat Phlu, since, the amount of overseas Chinese were still much more than other ethnic groups. The overseas Chinese established religious place and brought Chinese culture to the area.

In the 1930’s, under the national construction policy of Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkarn, betel nut eating was forbidden and betel nut planting was abandoned. After the 1942 flood crisis, betel nut planting was gradually replaced by rental house enterprises. This made the Talat Phlu overseas Chinese have to transformed from betel cultivation to home rental and other occupations.

The decline period: Around the World War II, due to the national policy of Thai Government and economic development, a series of changes were brought to the overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu area. Thai Government had issued laws to restrict the rights of Chinese including Chinese language speaking, education and occupations. The overseas Chinese of Talat Phlu began to assimilate with local residents and gradually, adapted to thenew circumstances. They still retained some of their Chinese culture and their Chinese identity.

After the construction of Ratchadaphisek Road in 1980’s, Talat Phlu has slowly turned into a modern community with some old residents moving out and some new migrants settled in the area. The ethnic groups in Talat Phlu have become more complex. Trade exchanges still exist in Talat Phlu, although, it is not as bustling as before.

CONCLUSION

Now a days, the overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu still live a normal life as they did before and they still live in

harmony with local Thais, Muslims, Mons and other ethnic groups. The only difference for them is the changing in trading products.

SUGGESTIONS

Due to the Thai Government’s national policy and economic impact, the overseas Chinese community in Talat Phlu began to decline after the 20th century. Therefore, little attention has been given to the study of this community, this resulted in the loss of many historical facts. Under the influence of the relationship between China and Thailand as well as the international situation in the South-East Asia, we have made little attention and study on Thai overseas Chinese society. To study the history and background of Talat Phlu may provide reference to encourage the communication between China and Thailand as well as to better understand the overseas Chinese history within Thailand.

Suggestion for future research: The current situation of the overseas Chinese in Talat Phlu shall be further studied to complete the information of the overseas Chinese community in Talat Phlu. Overseas Chinese in different parts of Thailand have different history background and present different characteristics in their development process. More studies about overseas Chinese in different regions shall be implemented to combine the entire history of overseas Chinese in Thailand.

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