

Unveiling the landscape of New Chinese migrant in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai

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Abstract

Current migratory flows from China are increasing worldwide, particularly, throughout BRI routes. Migrants from China, south country, to other south countries represent a global transforming political economy in many dimensions. This article aims to illustrate the settlement perspectives on transborder mobility among new Chinese migrants in Chiang Mai, Thailand. The finding draws on research results from mix-method tools; collecting questionnaires, conducting in-depth interviews and observing. The research finds two specific characters of new Chinese in Chiang Mai. The first group immigrates in pursuit of social escalating, both for economic attractive and lifestyle advantages. Most new Chinese sojourners in Chiangmai are categorized in this set such as language teacher, interpreter, semi to high-skilled worker, investor and interestingly parents who accommodate their international school's students. The second group is to be called geoarbitrage or those who gain advantages from the lower cost of living in a smaller town like Chiang Mai. Their status is retirement, digital workforce and freelancer who earn their income abroad. Both groups of Chinese migrants decide Chiang Mai as their destination from geography proximity, cultural linkage, social perception and low cost of living. These rationales and behaviors affirm the differences of South-North and South-South migration that the latter pattern is more associated with social factors than economic factors.

Keywords: New Chinese Migration, North of Thailand, South-South Migration, Social and Economic Impact

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Introduction

The wave of new Chinese migrants settled down abroad was after the Open Door policy in 1978. Famous destinations for early mobility were the U.S., European countries, Canada, and Australia (J & L, 2003). Later, middle-income and unskilled workers moved out to developing countries, especially along the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) countries such as Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, and Africa (Wong, 2013). On the other side, the Chinese government aims to strengthen the Overseas Chinese network by establishing Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (OCAO) under the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party to facilitate returnees and support Chinese people abroad (Joske, 2019).

Economic interdependency in trade and investment between BRI partner countries and PRC partially generates migration channels and the flow of Chinese capital (The Belt and Road Initiative, 2015). Thailand is in the China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor, one of the six targeted economic corridors around China's border. Accordingly, investments from China have consecutively flowed to financial centers in Thailand, such as in the service sector in Bangkok and other regional centers and manufacturing in Rayong. The global dynamic in economic practices and the personal experiences of the new generation in China motivate a group of people to emigrate abroad for better economic opportunities and personal contentment. Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are also listed as proper destinations because of escalating economic dependency in many sectors; tourism, service, food industry, logistics, and education.

The emerging of OCAO raised an argument on the transboundary sovereignty through Chinese ethnicities around the world. The controversial issue is the definition of overseas Chinese which eliminates the citizenship indicator but concentrates more on cultural connectivity. Another issue is the characters of new Chinese sojourners who tend to keep their Chinese norms and stick to the Chinese community rather than integrate into local society like traditional overseas Chinese done in the past (Gungwu, 2010). Consequently, diversification of culture and norms between new migrants and host communities end up in social conflict—for instance, the dispute between local Chinese and newcomers in Singapore. Even the communication and cultural roots are fundamentally similar; however, their behaviors are different. Moreover, job competition and economic sharing are other apparent issues.

Chiang Mai is more famous for its geography, regional economic hub, and the most critical factor in tourism. In comparison, Chiang Rai gain advantages from the logistic connectivity inland and the Mekong river. These two provinces increasingly attract Chinese migrants who reside both in legal and illegal means. Some of them are regulatory registered; on the other hand, some deceitfully apply nominees in operating businesses in Thailand to avoid the foreign business regulations. Therefore, Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai's diversity and specialty are the main questions about how new Chinese migrants form their community in the area. What is the landscape of the newcomers, and how they perform in terms of economic and social behaviors? Lastly, how the emerging new Chinese migrants affect the local economy and society. These questions can be implied on how to manage the upcoming of new transboundary migrants.

Objectives

Illustrate the population landscape of new Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai and their economic and social practices in order to introduce precise policy

Concept and Critical Framework

This research applied the economic concept of human capital to explain capital accumulation in various forms related to the decision procedure in migrating. The second concept is South-South migration which addresses the regional mobility from developing country to developing country. This form of migration is currently expanding in many areas. Lastly, the concept of flexible citizenship is adopted to clarify the dynamics and flexibility of global citizens over the perception of geo-sovereignty.

The migration in the Social Science approach concentrates on the inequality in the world system. The mainstream migration is still moving from south countries to higher-income countries (South-south migration); however, other forms of mobilities exaggerate, such as retirement mobility in reverse order (North-south migration). This sort of migration reflects the core evidence of the power disparity in the transboundary migration issue. People from high-income countries gain advantages from the financial differences and lower cost of living in middle-income countries. Racio (Hayes & Pérez-Gañán, 2017) addresses this phenomenon as "geoarbitrage", gaining benefits from the differences among countries. For example, high-skilled workers from Spain migrate to Latin America because of the economic crisis and the motivation to seek a higher quality of life. People from North America plan to resettle down in other affordable areas such as Ecuador to guarantee their quality of life after retirement with a limited income. Ecuador's government also promotes its country as a beautiful and affordable land for retired people to stimulate its economy. Relevant policies are, for instance, the approval of land possession for foreigners. Even though the policy can attract long-stay tourists and boost the local economy, the existence of two different ethnicities with unequal economic potential might cause conflict in accessing limited public goods. Economic and social burden certainly falls to the host country citizen because of their less power in bargaining (Hayes & Pérez-Gañán, 2017)

Flexible citizenship is applied to explain the trend of migration among Chinese people critically. Aihwa Ong (Ong, 1999) defines migration in terms of the capital accumulation in capitalism by flexibly moving to gain advantages from outside their hometown. The possibility of migrating depends on their potential and political and economic conditions. Ong criticizes Chinese overseas as flexible citizenship over the boundary of a nation-state. The dynamic of the world market and family's impulsion push Chinese migrants to move and live flexibly. Meanwhile, the Chinese state initiates policies to strengthening networks between Chinese overseas and their hometown by weaving networks through Confucius belief and the traditional Guanxi system.

Research Method

A mixed research methodology is employed to gather data and analyze the finding; a quantitative tool is mainly adopted to figure out the landscape and characters of new Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chaing Rai. Finally, 107 copies of questionnaires distributed to the Chinese sojourners in both provinces were returned. On the other hand, qualitative methods such as documentary work, surveys, and interviews were applied. Interviewees consisted of

20 new Chinese migrants, eight micro and SME entrepreneurs in a similar economic circle with Chinese investors, and four relevant organizations such as international schools, Industrial councils, etc.

Finding

The settlement of new Chinese migrants in the Northern Thailand, Chiang Mai, and Chiang Rai has occurred several times. Roughly, there are three waves of new Chinese in those provinces. The first one was after 1978 where traditional overseas Chinese induced their relatives in China to migrate to attain similar achievements. In Chiang Mai, Chinese ethnics have been established in many areas, especially downtown, Chai Pra Karn, and Chiang Dao district. Most of "Jeen Hor," one of the Chinese ethnics in Thailand locating in the districts, intensively preserve Chinese culture and language. In the meantime, Chinese ethnics in Chiang Rai are more diverse, consisting of "Jeen Hor" in Mae Sai, overseas Chinese in downtown, and Dai Lue from Xishuangbanna in many districts. These Chinese ethnics remained healthy relations with their relatives in the mainland. When the Open Door policy launched, they persuaded their families to rejoin and share their economic expertise with them. This wave is small and inconsistent, but the connection to Thai society is vital.

The second wave was after the 2000s. The majority of newcomers was a businessman who invests and operates their business in Thailand and those Chinese language teachers who work in educational institutions from government Hanban project and Confucius institutions. Chinese investment and businesses are increasing from the close economic relations between the two countries. In comparison, Chinese teachers are required from the high demand for Chinese language skills. This wave imported more flexible citizens who are attracted by economic returns. The current wave was since the 2010s with more diversity of individual's purpose in migrating. For example, a businessman in the tourism sector, construction sector, retired people, health care tourists, students in international schools accommodated their Chinese parents, and students in higher education institutions.

Unfolding Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai as the New Alternative Destinations

Chiang Mai Province and the Advantages that Attract New Chinese Migrants

Three significant factors that persuade Chinese sojourners to Chiang Mai comprise 1) business opportunities such as tourism efficiency, agricultural production exportation, and exporting Thai products. 2) Educational opportunity, precisely, international schools which gain more reputations from recent Chinese parents' recommendations. In higher education, colleges and universities in Chiang Mai actively collaborate with institutions in China in internship projects or exchange projects. 3) Chiang Mai is a mid-size city with moderate facilitations, schools, hospitals, department stores, and logistics. Besides, living in this city is a slow-life city, full of green leisure areas, average comfortable climate, geographic proximity, and easy travel to China. The most crucial factor is the low cost of living.

Year	Chiang Mai		Chiang Rai	
	Number of Chinese tourists	Growth rate	Number of Chinese tourists	Growth rate
2012	79,952	-	N.a	N.a
2013	280,125	+250.37	N.a	N.a

2014	421,063	+50.31	N.a	N.a
2015	567,759	+34.84	70,815	-
2016	811,735	+42.97	102,781	+45.14
2017	977,607	+20.43	115,380	+12.26
2018	1,037,696	+6.15	127,071	+10.13
2019	1,204,515	+16.08	143,378	+12.83

Table 1: Chinese tourists in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai Province

Source: Thailand Tourism and Sports, Chiang Mai (Thailand Tourism and Sport, Chiang Mai, 2021)

Chinese investors involved in many sectors primarily engage with the Chinese market—for instance, the tourism sector complying with the increasing number of Chinese tourists in the area. Fruit industries, including fruit processing products, are another sector where Chinese investors invest in, such as dried Longan, canned pineapple, and Durian. The demand for processing fruits in the Chinese market is consecutively uprising, while Chiang Mai, including Lamphun, are the significant sources of qualified Longan. Chinese investors who firstly engage in the marketing and exporting process extend their business scope to other production processes in the supply chain. For example, Chinese factories with Chinese technology recently dominate dried fruit factories in Chiang Mai and Lamphun. Other sectors are in the service sector: agency services, import-export companies, and logistic operations.

Concentrating on the tourism business, the expansion of Chinese tourists is in terms of quantity and the diversity of travel objections. Chiang Mai has been developing varieties in tourism to attract more qualified tourists. Modes of tourism for Chiang Mai are, for instance, cultural tourism, long-stay tourism, healthcare tourism, educational tourism, and conference tourism. These activities have positive responses from Chinese tourists. In the meantime, Chinese investors also take the business opportunity from the emerging tourism accomplishments. In 2020, 159 joint venture companies who coped with Chinese businesses are currently operated in the hotel and restaurant sector in Chiang Mai. Total investments in the mentioned sector are 649.1 million Baht, comprising 257.2 million Baht shared by Chinese investors. Other tourism sectors are invested by Chinese joint venture companies, for example, automobile rental business, travel operation services, travel agencies, spa, and massage, etc. Chinese investments in these services are 167.64 million Baht from total investment, 261 million Baht (Department of Business Development, 2020).

The agricultural industry is another vital business sector where Chinese investors get involved. Initially, dried Longan was the very first agricultural product that Chinese investors were interested in. Longan is the second-largest agricultural product of Chiang Mai. In 2019, the total production was 232,451.4 tons (Department of Fiscal and Economic Development, Provincial Treasury Office, Chiang Mai, 2020). Chiang Mai and Lamphun are the most significant areas of Longan production in Thailand; here, small, medium, and large dried fruit factories distribute in many counties. Chinese investors who previously operate in Chinese marketing have expanded their business model to the production process. Chinese dried fruit factories have been constantly established by joint venturing, nominating, and taking over local factories for more than ten years. Apart from Longan, other agriculture industries invested by Chinese businesses are farming and insect farm; mushroom, Longan, coffee planting, and apiculture; agricultural processing industries; dried and preserved, seasoning and beverage manufacturing, food material trading, logistic operating, freezing, and storing, and trading agency. 97 Chinese joint venture companies invested 496.835 million Baht by

Chinese investors from overall 911.35 million Baht (Department of Business Development, 2020).

Apart from business opportunity, other attractive factors of Chiang Mai province are education sector. Both university and school levels are recognized among Chinese people. Expressly, the reputation of international schools in Chiang Mai is acknowledged and recommended among Chinese parents for over five years. As a result, educational migrants and accompanied parents have been increasing. For example, Payap International School currently admits around 25 percent of Chinese students. The director confirms the trend and reorganizes the school to serve students from China in the long term, such as recruit Chinese administrators and Chinese teachers to communicate with Chinese parents (director, 2020).

Chiang Rai Province and the Advantages that Attract New Chinese Migrants

Monitoring the Chiang Rai tourism sector from Table 1, the number of Chinese visitors increased from 70,815 times in 2015 to 143,378 in 2019. Most of the tourists traveled in the group operated by travel agency services. However, some entered Thailand from Chiang Rai borders through the Mekong river in Chiang Kong and Chiang Saen and cross borderlines from the mentioned barricades. Investment from Chinese joint venture companies invested 783.7 million Baht. The amount of Chinese investment shared 372.85 million Baht. From Table 2, the highest investment volume was wood and rubber industry, wholesale, retail, and vehicle maintenances, food production companies and other business. (Department of Business Development, 2020).

Sector	Chinese investment	Total investment
wood and rubber industry	126.33 million Bath	133 million Baht
wholesale, retail, and vehicle maintenances	122.89 million Baht	299.4 million Baht
food production companies	32.67 million Baht	103 million Baht
Agriculture	39.24 million Baht	81 million Baht
construction and property	17.71 million Baht	73.1 million Baht
logistic and store business	19.96 million Baht	49 million Baht
tourism sector	5.58 million Baht	35 million Baht
others	7.96 million Baht	31.5 million Baht

Table 2: Investment Volume from Chinese-Joint Venture Firms

Source: Department of Business Development, 2020

Chinese Population Landscape in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai

The initiative assumption from the document is similar to the finding from questionnaires. Before migrating, familiarity and intimacy were most selected, with an average value of 1.90 points. New Chinese migrants alter to settle down in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai because of the attractiveness of economic and social factors. Therefore, it can be implied that those Chinese who have ever lived in the northern part of Thailand might re-enter and settle down in the same area. Next is the impression on the social and cultural environment of these two provinces. The score is 1.56. The third reason is due to the existence of relatives or networks (1.37 points). Following with the opportunity in career and business (1.02 points) and lastly is the advantages from the huge overseas Chinese communities in the regions (0.92 points).

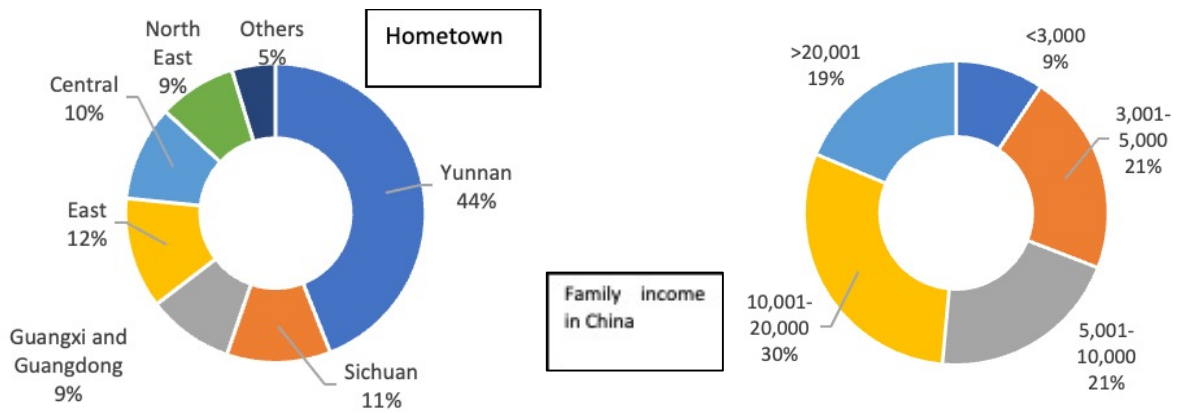


Figure 1: Hometown and Monthly Income of the Family in China

Source: questionnaires by the researcher

From the returned questionnaires, the proportion of Chinese people live in Chiang Mai is 81 percent and another 19 percent is in Chiang Rai. The shares of hometowns are as follow; Yunnan (44%), Sichuan (11.2%), Guangxi and Guangdong (9.3%), Eastern region (12%), Central provinces (10.3%), North-eastern region (8.4%), and others (4.7%). The proportions of monthly family income in China are 30 percent of 10,001-20,000 Yuan, 21 percent of 3,001-5,000 Yuan, 20.6 percent of 5,001-10,000 Yuan, 18.7 percent over 20,001 Yuan, and 9 percent of under 3,000 Yuan.

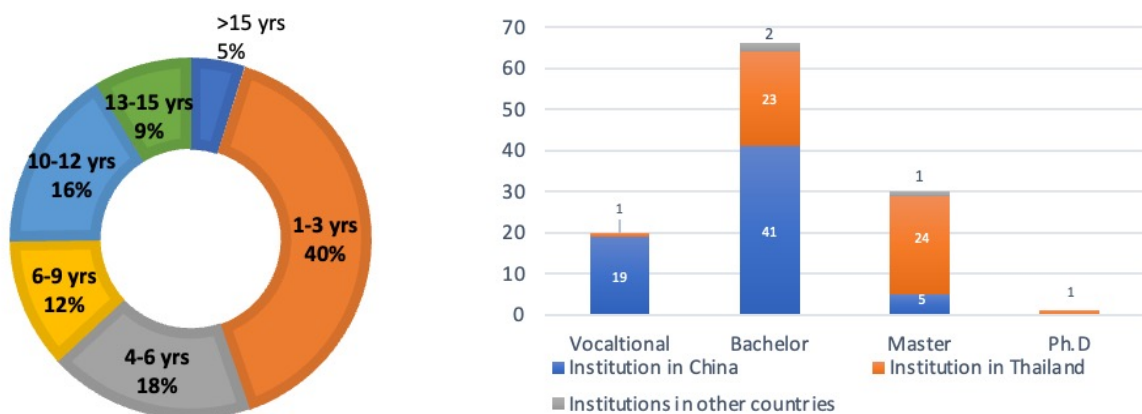


Figure 2: Period of Staying in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai and Educational Attainment of New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai

Source: questionnaires by the researcher

Thirty-nine-point eight percent (39.8%) of Chinese migrants stayed in Thailand for 1-3 years. Meanwhile, 30.1% of them have been living for more than ten years. Living for 4-6 years shares 18.4%, and 11.7% answers "6-9 years". In terms of educational background, 61 percent of the volunteers attained a bachelor's degree. Among the undergraduate degree people, those who graduated from institutions in China comprised 62 percent, another 35 percent achieved a degree from institutions in Thailand. However, the situation is different for the graduate degree level. The data have shown that 80 percent of Chinese migrants finished their master's degree in Thailand; on the other hand, only 17 percent of them attained a degree from institutions in China.

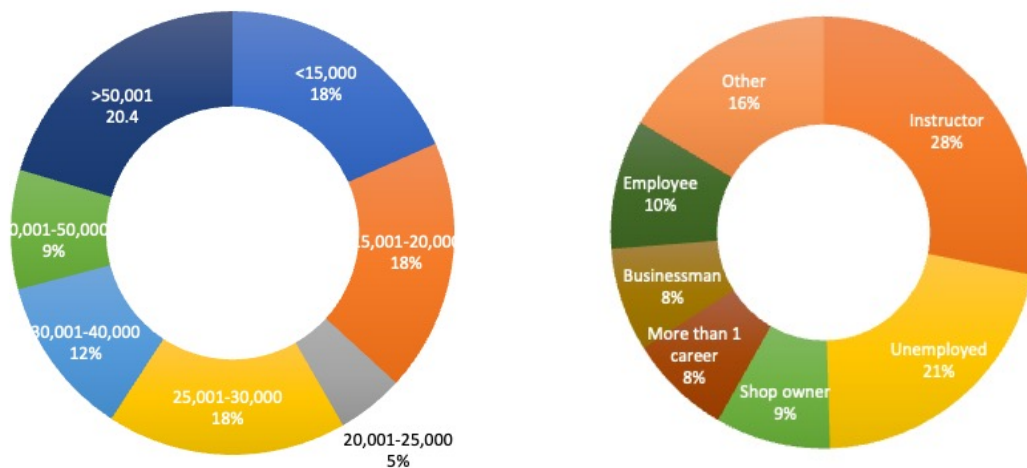


Figure 3: Monthly Income and Occupation of New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai
 Source: questionnaire by the researcher

Instructor		Businessman	
25,001-30,000	30,001-40,000	15,001-20,000	>50,001
>50,001	20,001-25,000	20,001-25,000	30,001-40,000
	25,001-30,000	25,001-30,000	40,001-50,000
	30,001-40,000	30,001-40,000	40,001-50,000
	35,001-40,000	35,001-40,000	40,001-50,000

Figure 4: Income and Occupation of New Chinese
 Source: questionnaires by the researcher

New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai: Opportunity Finding and Cost Pursuing People

Under the growth of globalization, the patterns of people's mobility are more diversified. People have more choices to migrate as more countries release the migratory regulations. Migrating people are not limited only to low-skill workers like the old-fashion way. However, high-skilled workforces, retired people, international students, and digital nomads tend to migrate according to their opportunities. In addition, the new forms of migration are even more flexible from the migrants' behavior in remigrating. Chinese who moved to Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are more diverse compare to the traditional overseas Chinese. They have more precise objectives in migrating and more flexible to move out.

New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai can be explained in two groups; opportunity finding and cost pursuing. The opportunity to find migrants is more like those traditional overseas Chinese. This group includes business people, both large and small enterprises, who take the business chances from the economic expansion between Thailand and China,

specifically in the tourism and trading sector. Other professions such as lecturers, interpreters, and private company employees are also categorized as opportunity finding in career chances. The cost pursuing migrants refer to those who migrate because of the high cost of living or the struggle in approaching high-quality services. Therefore, they emigrate to a qualified and affordable city to benefit from the cities' social and economic gap. This sort of migration sometimes called "Geoarbitrage," comprises retired people, digital nomads who work through an internet platform, healthcare tourists, elementary, high school, and higher education students.

Opportunity finding people are motivated by the economic returns. From Figure 5, 20 percent of Chinese migrants gain over 50,000 Baht monthly¹. Compare to the staff and workers in urban entities in Yunnan; the average wage is annually 91,800 Yuan (7,650 Yuan per month) or 34,425 Baht monthly (Statistic Bureau of Yunnan Province, 2020). Income in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are attractive, especially for investors who acknowledge the opportunity for connectivity between Thailand and China. Trading routes such as R3A, R3B, and economic corridor along BRI and the trading agreements between the two countries have been facilitated and accelerated cross border trade volume.

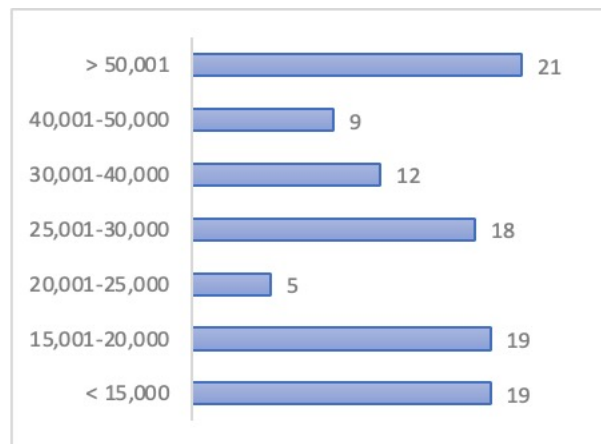


Figure 5: Monthly Income to the New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai
Source: questionnaires by the researcher

Apart from economic attractiveness, opportunity finding migrants mostly reveal that the local mode of living is the impression on Thailand's north. Li (Li, 2020) informed that she first worked in Thailand from the Han Ban volunteer project. She finds out that Thailand is an excellent place to live because of Thai people, especially the kindness of people in the north. Consequently, Li decided to take a master's degree in Thailand to develop herself. Jinny (Jinny, 2020) moved from Bangkok because of the city's density. She altered Chiang Mai for the facilities, Chinese communities, and business opportunities from Chinese tourists. Mind (Mind, 2020) also states the business gap in tourism; she also points out the opportunity in the property sector. Mind lived with her Chinese husband, who is a tourist blocker. They have

¹ Most selected range in "monthly income" is "more than 50,000 Baht". Occupations that earn over 50,000 Baht are businessman and instructors. The second largest ratio of income is "less than 15,000" and "15,001-20,000", these are unemployed people and others. According to the interview, the unemployed people are housewives who fully look after their international school kid. Their incomes are from abroad. The remaining ranges are 25,001-30,000 and 30,001-40,000 Baht, most of them are Chinese language teachers. Lastly, the range of 40,001-50,000 Baht are overwhelming by businessmen.

been started their tourism services for years and expand the service to property agency for Chinese customers.

Cost pursuing migrants are opposed to the previous group. They do not emigrate for better economic opportunity; they look for the gap from economic differences to gain lower living costs. Chiang Rai and, especially, Chiang Mai is a suitable destination. There are 54 large hospitals, 1,226 clinics and district hospitals, 19 international schools, and 965 schools (Chiang Mai Statistic Office, 2019). Chiang Mai is the financial center of northern Thailand and being a logistic hub. It is also surrounded by plenty of recreation spaces. Moreover, the perception of the quality of health care services in Thailand is acceptable. International school curriculums are also meet the standard; moreover, the diversities of nationalities in schools support students to integrate into the international environment.

The focal point represented by the interviewees is the affordable living cost. Comparing the property price in Yunnan, Beijing, Chiang Mai, and Bangkok, the average condominium price in Yunnan is 7,954 Yuan per square meter (35,793 Baht). The price in Beijing is 35,905 Yuan or 161,572.5 Baht (Statista, 2021). In Thailand, the condominium expense in Bangkok and Chiang Mai is 80,000-120,000 Baht and 40,000-50,000 Baht per square meter. Regarding the Condominium Act Amendment No.4, 2008, the law declares the rights of foreigners to own rooms in condominiums only if Thai individuals or Thai legal entities own 51 percent of the property. Unfortunately, some wealthy Chinese manage to buy property abroad to distribute their assets. Several condominium projects that target Chinese clients, hence, are constructed in Bangkok, Rayong, and Chiang Mai. Chinese migrants who decide to invest in condominiums explain that they spend for living and investing. One significant factor mentioned by Chinese migrants is that Chinese land possession regulation has limited the ownership period for living to 70 years (Foreign policy, 2017).

The cost pursuing migrants not just set priority on budget, but qualified services are also the principal factor. They look for the fundamental infrastructures such as internet accessibility, recreation spaces, health care quality, including academic standards in international schools. Chinese parents who persuade their child to enroll in international schools in Chiang Mai confirm in the same direction that international curriculums in Chiang Mai are adopted effectively from high-quality programs in the U.S., U.K., and Singapore. The Payap international school director also informs that qualified curriculums in Thailand are assessed annually by assurance institutions such as the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) (director, 2020). A further advantage of an international school in Chiang Mai is the diverse international environment in which Chinese parents prefer. Other considerations are the reasonable fee and the low-stress social context, which contrast to the stressful condition in China. Chinese parents choose to raise their children in Chiang Mai, hoping that their children will have more balanced lives (Jing, 2020) (Warren, 2020) (Qing, 2020).

The quality of life expected by Chinese migrants covers the health care system. Many informants express that they have confidence in Thai public health care and well-being centres. Even the air pollution issues, particularly PM2.5, in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are considered severe in recent years; Chinese sojourners address that the situation on the environment is worse in China. It is widely known that China has been facing environmental issues, air, and water pollutions, for a while. Smog from industrial factories, vehicles, and seasonal sandstorms have a considerable impact on people's living standard. Therefore, moving out from Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai because of the seasonal air pollution is not

considered by Chinese people. Some of them decide to temporarily move to other provinces between the crisis and return after the extrication.

Summary and Policy Recommendation

The study finds the new Chinese immigrant Chiang Mai, and Chiang Rai provinces can be described as two groups; Opportunity Seeker and Cost pursuing people. Both groups have a pattern and different ways of living in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai. An Opportunity Finder is a Chinese person who aims to work, invest and operate a business in the areas. This group shares the traditional immigration of entering through the network-based in Thailand. The educational channel, unfortunately, is the primary migration channel. Chinese students prolong their stay after graduation by finding instructor jobs. In the meantime, business people also settle down in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai from the locations' business potential. Other jobs that Chinese professionals enrolled in are interpreters, Chinese liaisons, and other service sector jobs. While the Cost pursuing migrants are those who take advantage of the low living cost in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai to get a satisfying quality life at an affordable price. This group is a new trend of migrants in the capitalist world. It has a different way of living, mainly using agents, such as retirees, medium and long-term health groups, international school students and their parents, and digital workers.

Affinity on economic, trading, and investment between Thailand and China has grown steadily and has further expansion in the future following the strategies of both countries. And in the political economy that is in the transition to superpowers with technology as an essential driving engine, the preparation issue and building a network to drive Thai entrepreneurs and workers to be in line with future development directions are necessary. The new Chinese in northern Thailand have gradually settled over more than ten years; they sometimes cause negative impacts on the community and economy in the whole picture. Still, it is also an important mechanism linking trading services between Thailand and China. The relevant departments in Thailand should upgrade measures to control Chinese capital to open a channel for Thai investors to gain more substantial benefits.

Chiang Mai's strategy development in tourism, especially health tourism, is suitable for the local conditions and has a high opportunity to stimulate Chiang Mai's economy. However, the challenge of this strategy is 1) The risk of relying too much on tourists. 2) Visa regulations and visa renewing, even for the notification of 90 days of foreigners, are unclear in practice. Most of the cases are depending on the officer's consideration. 3) Lack of clear measures to control tourists' spending, such as the limited revenue sharing to Thai companies and the locals from buying a touring package from Chinese companies. Even by allowing Chinese tourists to use Chinese e-wallets, some of the income that should have been distributed to the locality was drawn back to China. These challenges should be thoroughly studied to spread more business opportunities for Thai people and the need to create a tourism part that is more sustainable than in the past.

The suggestions on tourism issues are 1) Spread the tourism market as well as offer more variety tourism formats to enhance tourism in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai. 2) Strategy to attract long-term tourists is a promising approach; however, the basic facilities and effective services must meet the expected standard. 3) Thai state agencies must be restructured to develop the state service; for instance, visa application and extension service agencies must reduce redundant regulations and provide more precise procedures. 4) Seriously control

nominees' use to open a business, including issuing additional rules to promote local products, such as requiring the tour companies to visit centers of local OTOP products, etc.

Chinese factories have advantages in production technology and marketing; Thailand gains benefit from Chinese investing from expanding the market in China. However, local small and medium-sized factories could not compete with Chinese factories because of the advanced technology and market approach. The situation is obvious in the Longan industry. Several local factories have been closed and take over by Chinese investors. Only a few Thai dried fruit factories have remained; the survived factories adapt the business strategy in co-operating with Chinese factories. Meanwhile, the local Longan farmers have been affected by the uncertain buying price, which the buyers mainly determine.

In the manufacturing sector, the government should promote the integration of enterprises in the neighboring areas to construct concrete bargaining power as well as support the modern production technology for community enterprises. To protect Thai farmers in the short term, the government should consider and set the standard purchasing price of raw materials. For a long time, the government should also study the registration of geographical indications of Longan to protect the benefit of farmers from bringing Thai longan breeds to growing and cultivation in other sources.

Education opportunity is one of the key strategies that will drive Thailand's economic growth in the educational industry. The maintaining and raising international school standards should go in rigorously. And it can also develop other levels of international education to accommodate international student groups from China and neighboring countries. Higher financial status people, Chinese migrants, might have more opportunities in accessing limited public resources, especially public health services. The higher demand in commodity consumption might result in the escalating living cost, which unquestionably affects local people. Lastly, the growth of cost pursuing migrants might cause some social conflicts between Chinese and local people from the differences in socioeconomic status. To prevent those struggling, all stakeholders and the government should carefully consider the management strategy and balance between economic boost and social sustainability.

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