

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the discussion of background, research question, objective of research, theoretical framework, literature review, hypothesis, methodology of research and system of writing

### A. Background

Border crossing management has become increasingly important because the sheer volume of global travel puts border management systems under constant pressure. Border management systems especially in land border checkpoint areas have been confronted with additional risks associated with these movements. Mass-causality terrorist attacks; rising illegal immigration and human trafficking have exposed weakness in the states' ability to manage their borders effectively. Increased security has slowed the flow of goods and people and increase frustration of businesses and travelers. These disruptions are serious because they threaten to undermine economic opportunities in the border region. As a result, in the last decade there have been a huge government investment to implement new border management frameworks and collaborate across borders to accomplish several competing aims: the facilitation of legitimate travel and trade, the prevention of terrorism and transnational criminality, and reductions in illegal migration especially Southern Thailand between Thailand and Malaysia.<sup>1</sup>

Thailand and Malaysia border consists of both a borderland across the Malay Peninsula and maritime boundaries in the Straits of Malacca and the Gulf of Thailand or South China Sea. Malaysia lies to the south of the border while Thailand lies to the north. The Golok River forms the easternmost 95 km stretch of the land border. The land border is based on the 1909 (Anglo-Siamese Treaty) The treaty also defined the border between British and Siamese territory, Great Britain and Siam signed another agreement in Bangkok. The agreement ceded the states of Kedah, Kelantan and Terengganu to Great Britain while Pattani remained in Siamese hands. The four states had earlier been under Siamese control. Four Malaysian states about the border. They are Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan. The four Thai provinces which

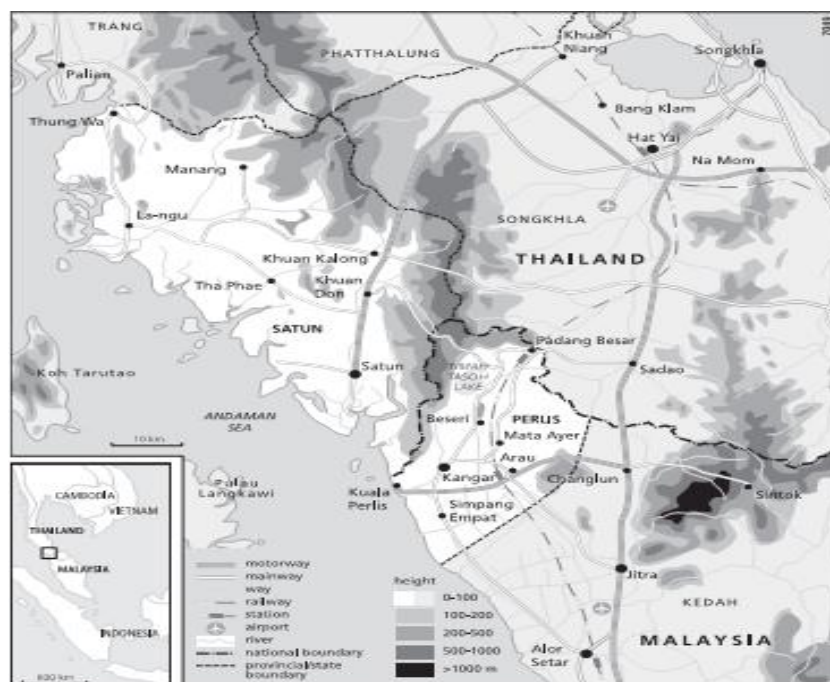
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<sup>1</sup> Boriboonrat, P. (2013). Collaborative Border Management in Thailand. Thailand. International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences Mahidol University. Consulted 3 July 2015

about the border are Satun, Songkhla, Yala and Narathiwat.<sup>2</sup> The treaty, defined the border between British and Siamese territories. This border ultimately became today's border between Malaysia and Thailand. The border between Thailand and the sultanates of the Malay Peninsula (Peninsular Malaysia) has varied throughout history according to the influence the kingdom over the sultanates. The southern border of Siam has always been populated by Malays and traditional Malay sultanates of Kedah (of which Perlis was part), Kelantan, Pattani (which consist of the areas of Singgora, Yala, Ligor and Setul) and Terengganu came under Siamese suzerainty in the 19th century. The Malay states too immediately to the south, namely Perak and Pahang were independent sultanates until the British started asserting influence over them in the late 1800s. The frontier between the states was largely imprecise and not well defined.

Picture 1.1

Map of Satun and Perlis.



Source: Map produced by Geomedia, UU based on various sources

<sup>2</sup> Adam Burke, The Contested Corners of Asia: Subnational Conflict and International Development Assistance, The Case of Southern Thailand 2013, Consulted 5 July 2015

Satun is a small provinces, mountainous province on the west coast, bordering Malaysia. Satun is one of the four provinces of Thailand which have a Muslim majority: 67.8% are Muslim and 31.9% are Buddhists. Most of the Muslims have some ethnic-Malay ancestry, though only 9.9% of the population claims to be ethnically Malay. The Malay dialect used in Satun is distinctly different from Patani Malay and is much closer to the Kedah dialect of Malay, with a significant admixture of Thai influences.<sup>3</sup>

Since Satun had belonged to the Kedah Sultanate, which had a strong relationship for many centuries with both Ayutthaya and Siam under the Chakri dynasty, its Malay Muslims commonly intermarry with Thai Buddhists without serious religious hesitation. This custom has created a distinct social group known as samsam, meaning a mixed person. Most samsams, but not all, are Muslims.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike the other Muslim majority provinces in Thailand, Satun does not have a history of political confrontation with the central power in Bangkok or of tension with the Buddhist population which makes up the majority of Thailand as a country. Malay Muslims in Satun are substantially assimilated and rarely sympathize with separatism from Thailand, in contrast to the Malay Muslims in Pattani, Narathiwat, and Yala.<sup>5</sup>

The state of Perlis is also the small state in Malaysia. It is located at the northern part of the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia, bordering Thailand with Satun and Songkhla Provinces in its north. In 2010, the total population was recorded at 245,636 persons with a density of 276.5/km<sup>2</sup>, placing it 4th out of the 14 states in terms of population density.<sup>6</sup> The capital city of Perlis is Kangar and the Royal capital is Arau. Wang prajan is a town located between Perlis (Malaysia) and Satun (Thailand) border.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Satun province, Thailand information center of Satun province <http://satun.kapook.com/> consulted consulted 20 June 2015

<sup>4</sup> Ahmat, S. (1984), *Tradition and Change in a Malay State: A Study of the Economic and Political Development of Kedah 1878-192*. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Consulted 3 July 2015

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Goh Hong Ching, Tan Wan Hin, Ching Fei Ern, *Border town issues in tourism development: The case of Perlis, Malaysia*, 2014 page 69 consulted 20 June 2015

Thailand and Malaysia and its institutional arrangements which have determined the economic history of both countries, the province of Satun in Thailand and the state of Perlis in Malaysia. Satun and Perlis have including major years for the Thai and Malaysian history. Until 1909, the Anglo-Siamese Treaty political and economic developments of Satun and Perlis were highly coalesce with each other's history, and Kedah. It is known that at least since the 8th century A.D. Kedah included the areas of what is now called Satun, Perlis and Penang Island. Between the 8th and the 11th century Kedah was a major region for trading, until now especially the Wang Prachan border between Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia) this is the importance route to exchange goods and service between Thailand and Malaysia.

The history between Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia) has the close relationship for example culture, religion, language etc. In the past, Perlis was part of Thailand, but after Anglo-Siamese Treaty between the Kingdome of Thailand and British, Perlis became the part of Malaysia for both countries that can make clear the sovereignty territory of those countries. On 24 June 1940 the MOU between Thai and Malaysia Government in Bangkok signed about boundary of both countries that people wanted to go and came they should use passport and border pass. On the other hand, the local government used frontier especially Satun and Perlis to see that the relationship between people in that location never lose from the past until now. The people of both places always go to the Wang Prachan and Wang kelian border to get the job or buy some goods. The goods are very cheap and no need to pay tax. From the past until now, they never use passports or border pass, for example, when people from Satun province want to go to Perlis, they just go and never use the passport or border pass and vice versa, it is because they are the local people in local who have the same culture, same daily life, and their families live both in provinces. It means that they can go and come every day, every week or every month. The immigration just gives free or use frontier for them who are the local people between Satun and Perlis people. But the big problem is the immigration officer of both countries gets difficulties to define who are the Satun people or who are the Perlis people because they have the same language, culture, daily life etc. And also both never have the conflict after the Anglo-Siamese Treaty spared them to be part of Thailand and Malaysia. The big issue is the people outside come to this place for transit to go to the other countries because the people of both between Satun and Perlis always come and go every days that is why the polices get difficult to manage this place.

Thailand is a source, transit, and destination country for human trafficking. It is a destination-side hub of exploitation, for both sex and labor exploitation, especially Thailand is

the transit of Rohingya people to go to Malaysia or Indonesia.<sup>8</sup> Satun and Perlis are the good place for them to transit or human trafficking because there have lower security more than the other border. Therefore, in 1 April 2015 Malaysia closed the border and a back to use the MOU of 24 June 1940. It means that every people who want to come and go need to use passport and border pass, there are no frontier again. How about Thailand? This is the big question for Thai government because Malaysia already close this border.

## **B. Research question**

Based on the background and the understanding of the background problem above, the research question is formulated as follows,

*How did Thai government respond to Malaysia's new border policy?*

## **C. Objective of Research**

**The purposes of this research as follow:**

1. To understand the phenomena of Malaysia's new border policy.
2. As requirement to fulfill one of subject in international relations studies.
3. To describe Thai government policy to manage border issues: a case study in Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia).
4. To describe the response of Thai government policy to manage border issues: a case study in Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia).
5. To implement the political theories that are relevant to the problem.

## **D. Theoretical Framework**

In order to understand the Thailand government policy to manage border issues: a case study in Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia), the writer takes a theory. Mochtar Mas'ood explains that the term of theory comes from the Greek means to see or to show. Here, theory can be simply understood as a view or perception of what has happened. Mochtar Mas'ood further argues that theory is the most common form of explanation that tells why things happen

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<sup>8</sup> Newspaper, Thairath, catch human trafficking Rohingya, 7 May 2015, <http://www.thairath.co.th/content/497262> consulted 21 July 2015

and when something predictable will happen.<sup>9</sup> One of the concepts of theory proposed by Mochtar Mas'oe'd stated that the theory in the International Relations shaped through the development of propositions. For instance, rational behavior based on a dominant motif such as power. That sort of theory is established to describe the political behavior of rational actors.<sup>10</sup>

Here, to analyze the problem, by looking at the background and research question, then the theoretical framework in this research is using border, decision-making theory and reciprocal, especially foreign policy decision-making. Decision-making theory is kind of important theory and is presumably quite right in analyzing the actions of a state, in this case is Thailand government policy to manage border issues: a case study in Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia)

#### **D.1. Border**

The National border is an increasing extent no longer only a line delimiting the territory of a states and its territorial waters. The development of communications and international trade generates borders inside state territory: in transportation nodes, around special custom areas, and free economic zones. In many countries police can check the papers of supposed illegal migrants anytime and in any geographical point of a country. As a result of these processes, border spaces are no longer exclusively at physical limits of the state. In terms of transformations of state sovereignty, it is possible also to distinguish between different degrees and types of territorial control that do not necessarily conform to traditional state. For example, territorial control can be of very different types (coercive, political, ideological and economic legal or criminal), patterns (full or sporadic control, by clusters or networks) and temporalities (continuing, temporary, seasonal, etc.). Territorial control can be exercised in scattered pockets connected by space-spanning networks.<sup>11</sup> Power can, furthermore, be generated through association and affiliation while local elites can wrest control from established states or create new state-like areas with or without external support.

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<sup>9</sup> Mochtar Mas'oe'd, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi* [science of international relations: discipline and methodology], 1990, Yogyakarta, LP3ES, p. 185-186 consulted 15 July 2015

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Vladimir Kolosov et James Scott, Selected conceptual issues in border studies, 31 octobre 2013. URL : <http://belgeo.revues.org/10532> consulted 18 September 2015

### **D.1.1. Security approach**

Security is about survival; it is when an issue, presented as posing an existential threat to a designated referent object, justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them.<sup>12</sup> “Security is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics”.<sup>13</sup> The foundation of such an understanding of security lays social constructivist assumption that security threats do not exist independently from the discourse which marks them as such. Ideas and language as their expression form the reality; therefore the language exists prior to security. Moreover, security is conceptualized as a speech act in the securitization theory. “Security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real; the utterance itself is the act. By saying the word, something is done”.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, security is not a subjective perception which refers to something more real, externally given, independently existing from this perception; speech act refers only to itself. By verbal labeling an issue a security threat, it becomes one. In that sense, the speech act is, by itself, self-referential structure, the structure that refers to itself. This way the dichotomy between the subjective and objective definition of security has been put in the brack. In the traditional sense the concept of security is based on safeguarding the national identity, territorial integrity and independence. Previously there were two approaches vis-à-vis the attainment of security; i.e. peace and power. Lasting peace would provide the security for all, and power to reach a dominating position to acquire security.<sup>15</sup>

Treating something a security issue is always a matter of choice political choice. This choice is being actualized through securitizing discursive practice of labeling something a security threat. However, the power of constructing the security issue through speech act shouldn't be put in the single person's hands. Should that be the case, there would be no difference between the speech act and the subjective perception and interpretation of the security threat, and the framework of the dichotomy of the subjective/objective definition of

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<sup>12</sup> Buzan, B., Weaver, O. and de Wilde, J. (1998) *Security A New Framework for Analysis*, Colorado: Lynne Rinner Publishers, Inc., Boulder. consulted 29 September 2015

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> It is beyond any doubt that as the main inspiration for assuming this kind of attitude concerning security Weaver took John L. Austin's theory of speech acts. Main idea of this theory is that certain statements do not describe things, tangible reality. Instead, with these statements particular actions are being performed (like betting, making a promise), and as such, they cannot be assessed true or false. Meaning of these statements lies in their usage, and not in something we define according to what would be best.

<sup>15</sup> Barry Buzan and Gowhar Rizvi *South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers*, London: MacMillan, 1986. 27 November 2015

security would remain largely intact. Securitization is “essentially inter-subjective process”. It is the course of the ongoing negotiations between securitizing actor, who puts the issue on the agenda, and the audience, who has a choice of either accepting or declining given agenda. Securitization cannot be imposed. Only the audience’s consent justifies the application of extraordinary measures, which include breaching of regular political procedures, all in order to neutralize the threat. “Thus, security (as well all politics) ultimately rests neither with objects nor with subjects but among the subjects”.<sup>16</sup>

So, security theory best on Thai government to manage border policy the writer tend to focus about the conservative Security in Thailand for example Wilson, offered an amalgamated definition of conservatism as “resistance to change and the tendency to prefer safe, traditional and conventional forms of institutions and behavior”.<sup>17</sup> However, Wilson and Patterson’s Conservatism Scale which is the psychological instrument that has been most widely used to measure conservatism combines non-political stimuli that are meant to elicit general attitudes concerning uncertainty avoidance and stimuli that have explicitly political references such as death penalty, legalized abortion, socialism, religion etc. The fact that such a seemingly heterogeneous scale would exhibit reasonable psychometric properties with respect to reliability and validity suggests that Wilson and his colleagues were accurately perceiving a link between general epistemic motivations and conservative ideology Nevertheless, theoretical and empirical efforts are generally hampered by the failure to distinguish clearly between psychological and ideological variables.<sup>18</sup>

Treating political conservatism solely as an individual difference variable neglects growing evidence that situational factors influence the experience and expression of conservatism. If classic personality theories are correct in posited that character rigidity and motivational threat are related to the holding of conservative attitudes, then system instability and other threatening circumstances should also increase conservative tendencies in the population as a whole. In an effort to stimulate innovative approaches to the study of situations as well as dispositions that foster ideological conservatism, the writer casts a wide net in

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<sup>16</sup> Buzan, B., Weaver, O. and de Wilde, J. (1998) *Security A New Framework for Analysis*, Colorado: Lynne Rinner Publishers, Inc., Boulder. consulted 29 September 2015

<sup>17</sup> Nias, D. K. B. (1973). Attitudes to the common market: A case study in conservatism. In O. D. Wilson (Ed.), *The psychology of conservatism* (pp. 239 - 255). New York: Academic Press. Consulted 13 November 2015

<sup>18</sup> Sniderman, P. M., & Tetlock, P. E. (1986). Symbolic racism: Problems of motive attribution in political analysis. *Journal of Social Issues*, 42, 129-150. Consulted 13 November 2015



reviewing the understanding life in the borderlands, by regulatory focus, and terror management. Thus, the writer argues that tendencies toward political conservatism are influenced by a multiplicity of social cognitive motives.

### **D.1.2. Human approach**

The Commission on Human Security<sup>19</sup> (CHS), in its final report Human Security Now, defines human security as: "...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. The concept of traditional security is restricted up to the military arena and is the ability to just defend the border.<sup>20</sup> So, over the last few decade the concept of security and threat broadened, in addition to securing borders, peoples, values and institutions we have come to understand the dangers of environmental pollution, transnational terrorism, massive population movements and infection diseases such HIV Aids.<sup>21</sup> According to Mahbub ul Haq, human security means; first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, diseases and repression and second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life.<sup>22</sup> According to UNDP's definition 'human security includes issues such as unchecked population growth, disparities in economic opportunities, migration pressures, environmental degradation, and drug trafficking and international terrorism. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations.<sup>23</sup> It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. the need for a new paradigm of security is associated with two sets of dynamics:

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<sup>19</sup> The Commission on Human Security was established in January 2001 in response to the UN Secretary-General's call at the 2000 Millennium Summit for a world "free from want" and "free from fear." The Commission consisted of twelve prominent international figures, including Mrs. Sadako Ogata (former UN High Commissioner for Refugees) and Professor Amartya Sen (1998 Nobel Economics Prize Laureate). Consulted 30 September 2015

<sup>20</sup> Shrikant Paranjpe, 'The Center and Periphery: Understanding Comprehensive Security from Regional Perspective' consulted 4 November 2015

<sup>21</sup> V.R Raghvan, 'Emerging Perceptions on Non-Traditional Security in South Asia', Consulted 4 November 2015

<sup>22</sup> Sadia Mariam Malik, 'Mahbub Ul Haq Perspective on Human Security in South Asia', Paper read at the International Seminar on Security in South Asia in the Non-Traditional Spheres and Human Security, organized by the Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad October 31-November 1, 2006. Consulted 4 November 2015

<sup>23</sup> V.R Raghvan, 'Emerging Perceptions on Non-Traditional Security in South Asia' op. cit. consulted 4 November, 2015

First, human security is needed in response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone.

Second, human security is required as a comprehensive approach that utilizes the wide range of new opportunities to tackle such threats in an integrated manner. Human security threats cannot be tackled through conventional mechanisms alone. Instead, they require a new consensus that acknowledges the linkages and the interdependencies between development, human rights and national security.

The better of human security is the relationship, the more cooperation each side will get from the other, the more information can be shared comfortably, and the higher the prospects for arriving at a win-win solution. In the case study between Thailand and Malaysia border situations occur where something takes place that is difficult to immediately. This is experienced as something one cannot really understand or relate to. But if it seems important or interesting, if it is something one is determined to acquire, this can take place by means of accommodative. The accommodative style has the opposite strengths from assimilation, emphasizing concrete experience and active experimentation. The main strength of this orientation lies in doing things, in carrying out plans and tasks, and getting involved in new experience. The adaptive emphasis of the state of this orientation is on opportunity seeking, risk taking, and action. This style is called "accommodation," because it is best suited for those situations where one must adapt our country to changing immediate circumstances. In situations where theory or plans do not fit facts, those with an accommodative style will most likely discard the plan or theory, consequently, those with an accommodative orientation tend to solve problems in an intuitive trial-and error manner, relying heavily on other people for information rather than on the government analytic ability.

## **D.2. Decision-making theory**

Foreign policy is an action and commitment of a state to the external environment. It is also the basic strategy to achieve the objectives of national interests to be achieved beyond the borders. Furthermore, the basic strategy is applied in a number of decisions made in the foreign policy of a state. The actors and decision-makers of foreign policy will consider the factors that affect the process of foreign policy decision-making. The individuals that is in this sense a

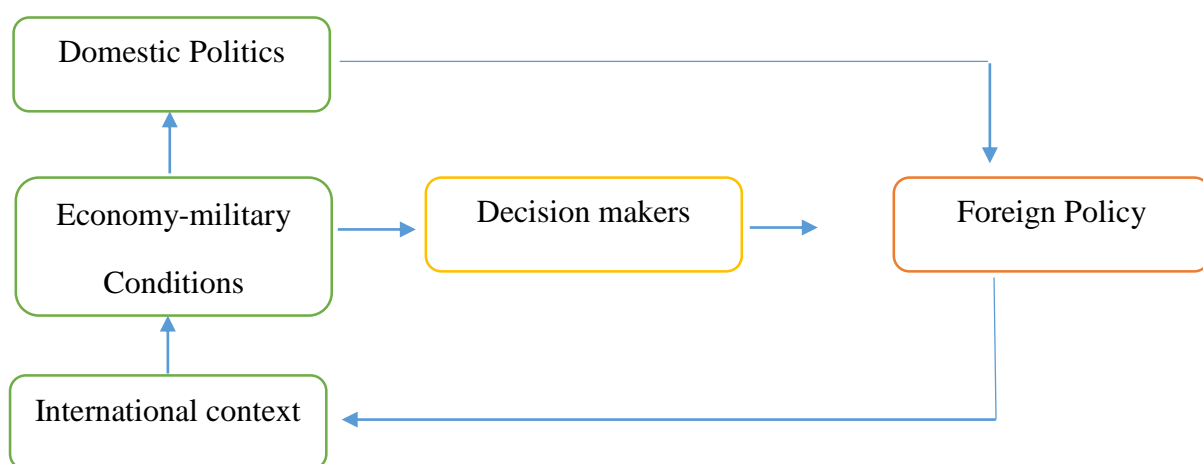
group of people to have capacity to decide policies or decision-makers are actually not able to decide policies without any consideration influencing it.

This basically corresponds with the description of William D. Coplin on the factors that influence the decision makers in deciding foreign policy. According to Coplin in his book titled "introduction to international politic: A theoretical Overview " if we want to analyze the foreign policy of a state, then we have to question the state leader in making foreign policy. It is quite wrong to assume that the leaders of a state (policy makers) to act without consideration.

The foreign policies, instead, as Coplin further explains, are seen as a result of the three considerations that affect foreign policy makers; first, the domestic political conditions of the state, including cultural factors that underlie the human political behavior. The second is economic and military conditions of the state, including the geographic factor that has always been a major consideration in the defense/security. Third is international context, the circumstances of a state that has been goal of the foreign policy and the influence of other states relevant to the faced problems.<sup>24</sup>

To more easily understand the interaction of factors that influence the foreign policy decision-making process, the writer tries to describe it into an illustration of chart form as follows:

**Chart 1.2 Foreign Policy Decision-making Process, according to William D. Coplin.<sup>25</sup>**



<sup>24</sup> William D. Coplin, Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis (Introduction to international politics: a theoretical overview), 1992, Mercedes Marbun, Trans., 2nd Edition, Bandung: Sinar Baru, p. 30 consulted 16 July 2015

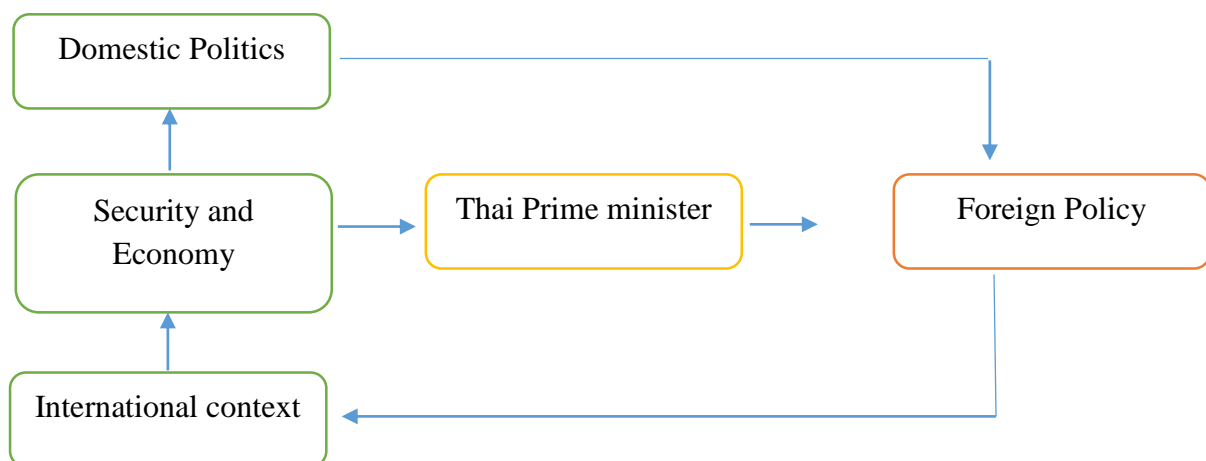
<sup>25</sup> Ibid

There are three considerations that can be explain as follow:

- a) Domestic politic includes condition and circumstance of the justified state will make a decision, namely political of the state related to decision, include cultural factor underlying man's behavior.
- b) Military and economic capability is the situation of military and economic of the state, including geographical factors which always become a consideration of security defense.
- c) International context is a result of foreign politics of all countries in the past, nowadays, and a future which are probably anticipated. In other words, it is a related to the condition of a state which become foreign politic purpose and influence of the other state which are relevance toward the face problem.

The Thai government foreign policy, in this case, is based on the Thai systemt, That Thailand is a country which has prime ministry as head of government, and prime minister has right to judge and take policy in country. So, Foreign Policy Decision-making Process, according to William D. Coplin, the writer applies to Thai government policy to manage border policy issues, the writer illustrate the basic of Thai foreign policy with the following chart.

**Chart 1.3 Foreign Policy Decision-making Process, apply to Thai government policy**



The illustration can be explained based on the theory;

- a) Domestic politics

The domestic politics is the one factor that influences foreign policy decision-making. Also it becomes a consider of the leader of a state, for, instance, in conducting international agenda. Domestic politics even consider as the inextricably interrelated with the international relation realm. It is obvious that the domestics politics can be understood as the dynamics of international policies of a state, or simply the political system adopt. And the way or method of it also has country security, for example persuading, exchanging benefits and etc. Thai government uses method to use soft ways. While Thailand is a country that has a prime minister as the head of government. Prime minister has right to judge about security, and can take policy in country.

b) Economic and Security

Economic and Security capabilities of a state greatly influence the result of the foreign policy decision making. Economic condition of a state is also able to become a deception of the domestic condition of the state. As previous explanation, the international position of a country is strongly influenced by its internal political and economic condition. Coplin, however, sees the economic and Security capabilities are influenced in the process of foreign policy decision making, regardless the long debate about which one more important between both economic and security capabilities. Therefore, this is the reason of Thai prime minister to take care between both, economic and security capabilities.

c) International context

There are three important elements in discussing the impact of the international context of the foreign policy of a country that is geographically economically and politically. International environment of each country consists of the location occupies in relation to the countries. According to this case, international context is a result of Thai foreign policies to day, and a future which is probably anticipated for Thai border especially people between Satun provinces (Thailand) and the state of Perlis (Malaysia).

**E. Literature review**

Mr. William Zarman, in book "Understanding life in the borderlands Boundaries in Depth and in Motion" shows that the understanding of borderlands as dynamic social processes (both active and passive) has relevant policy relevance, for human organisms and power centers will have to deal with the moving phenomenon and need to have a full appreciation of it to participate in it and react to it appropriately. The primary lesson for policy is to appreciate the

changing nature of borderlands rather than try to conceive of them or impose on them a fixed reality. Sharp imposition creates their own reactions, makes imposition even more difficult and starts new dynamics. The characteristics, previous millennia and present dilemmas do not indicate specific policies but rather afford general insights that can serve as a context for policy makers dealing with the problems of the moment. Many of these insights simply emphasize the importance of paying attention to borderlands in their own right, as a subject of policy; other refer to more defined characteristics of the regions.

Borderlands are understood as “sub- national areas whose economic and social life is directly and significantly affected by proximity to an international boundary”. From this point of view, an exact definition of how close an area has to be to the border to be labeled borderland is not necessary since the impact of the border is the defining characteristic. In accordance with this definition, the analyzed case studies predominantly refer to what has also been called “the border landscape” or “border heartland” areas whose social networks are shaped more or less directly by the border. On the one hand, the border as such represents the state. Therefore, it is essential to examine the local view of and relation to the political dividing line. On the other hand, the state is often represented by agents on the ground. Border controls are the most common direct manifestation of the central state at borders. Thus, the encounter and interaction of borderland people with state officials, such as customs officers, border police, and soldiers, is also of great importance of both aspects of state society relations from a borderland.

Boriboonrat (2013) study about "Collaborative Border Management in Thailand and Neighboring Countries: Needs, Challenges and Issues" Boriboonrat argues that many disruptions in border area such as mass-causality terrorist attacks, rising illegal immigration and human trafficking threaten to undermine economic opportunities in the border region. He also argued that as a result, in the last decade there has been a huge government to implement new border management framework and collaborate across borders to accomplish several competing aims: the facilitation of legitimate and trade, the prevention of terrorism, and transnational criminality, and reduction in illegal migration flows. In this journal, Boriboonrat concludes that the main obstacles to the development of land border checkpoint in Thailand consist of five issues consist;

1. Policy; The Border Crossing Management system is an important matter that the country should have a clear policy in terms of balance approach between the economic and security policy, clear policy matters, organizational management and developing

the management resources to be more favorable for work performance. Thailand has the characteristic of a laissez-faire approach rather than security control. It means with the screening efficiency that is still insufficient, for example the verification of documents for border crossing, the efficiency of control and the prevention of entry of unwanted illegal is ineffective.

2. **Process;** Border crossing management of Thailand with its neighboring countries still has perspective of internal management of the country as a main pillar. This means the emphasis is still placed on the internal development and management of the country rather than creating common development policy with neighboring countries. In addition, there is the lack of a main host for managing and developing standard of border crossing between countries as one single measure. There is no key host for negotiating to develop rules and regulations on border crossing with neighboring countries. Various agencies are involved in border crossing mission in Thailand; therefore, it is uncertain which agencies should play a role in being key host in decision-making and integration.
3. **People;** The free of movement of people and goods and the efficiency in screening will be reduced. Officers in border areas need to work hard and the human resources capacity is still not enough for operations. On the basis of the field trip to interview the security agencies in the areas of border checkpoints, He found out that, Thailand is open for free flow of movement of people and goods in accordance with different frameworks of economic cooperation. The government's policy should be developed in various forms to enhance the efficiency in border crossing. The operating units in most areas agree with the government policy.
4. **Information Technology;** The problems about the development of database and information technology of operating units tasked with screening people entry and exist in border checkpoint areas are associated with the lack of necessary database, materials and equipment to improve the screening efficiency.
5. **Infrastructure;** the writer has done fieldwork to observe the current problems in the border checkpoint areas: It has been found that the problems of infrastructure development in the area of border crossing comprise two points: first, the lack of standardized public utilities management system; Second, the problem of congestion. The study has found that border checkpoint between Thailand and neighboring countries that currently exists lacks international standard.

It also shows that the management system for integrated services (One Stop Service) with main agencies of Customs, Immigration and Animals and Plants Quarantine working in the same place. The fact that each border checkpoint lacks the same standard is the obstacle to the development of trade and facility across the border. Furthermore, as the areas of border checkpoint are located in the national parks, national forests or wildlife sanctuaries, the implementation of land is use to extend the transportation ways or construct various buildings at different locations for facilitation encounters regulatory problems about application for using the areas to develop border checkpoint.

Edo Andriessse, (2008) *the Institutions and regional development in Southeast Asia A comparative analysis of Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia) by Netherland Geographical* is concerned with regional development on the Thailand/Malaysia border. Although its primary focus is on human geography, he focuses on Thailand and Malaysia because the body of knowledge on economic institutions in Southeast Asia reveals that institutional arrangements in Thailand clearly differ from arrangements in Malaysia. Malaysia's economy is a typical example of a state-led economy, whereas neo-liberal arrangements are much more important in Thailand. In order to obtain insights on the impact of these differences on regional diversity, the physical geography and resulting resource endowments are similar. The population structure consists of majority of Muslim people of Malay descent alongside Thai and ethnic Chinese minorities. Satun can be explained to some extent by national institutional complementary, but ethnicity has produced a specifically regional institution the Sino-Thai business community concentrated in Satun Town. In contrast, the Malaysian state variety of embedded mercantilism is by far the most important explanation for the institutional setting in Perlis. This variety has even resulted in the marginalization of traditional regional institutions.

The Thai managed variety of embedded mercantilism has created social opportunities through public policy, but inhabitants of Bangkok and surroundings (the core region), get benefit disproportionately from these opportunities. In peripheral regions, entrepreneurs can take advantages of complementary relating to private sector development, but the complementary relating to human development appears to be quite weak. In the case of Satun, this has resulted in a divergence of corporate and worker well-being. The Malaysian state variety of embedded mercantilism has led to a comparative institutional advantage in generating human development in non-core regions. This explains why Perlis is a more advanced region than Satun in absolute terms of economic and human development. New strategies for East and Southeast countries should pay more attention to social security,



participatory policies and transparent accountability. This makes sense especially when policymakers and politicians wish to attain inclusive economic growth, both from the perspective of balanced regional development and social or ethnic divisions. Therefore, countries with managed and market varieties of embedded mercantilism should work towards institutional complementary that are enabling for human development. The disadvantage of a state variety is that it can hamper private sector development in non-core regions as the public sector that sometimes too dominant in certain industries.

Mr. Anusorn Mankaket is (2009) thesis is “Guidelines for management border trade between Thailand and Malaysia: a case study of Wang Prachan checkpoint in Khun Don District in Satun province” khon kaen University. The objective of this research are to investigate the condition of border trade; and to create guideline to develop border trade; to examine the management of border trading; and to propose guideline to improve the border trade that would be appropriate for Wang prachan checkpoint in Khoun Don District in Satun province. Data was collected from primary and secondary sources, and document. The instrument used for data collection were observations, photos, a questionnaire, an interview, and a focus group. The data were classified in categories according to its context, and analyzed by following the objectives of the qualitative research. Results of the study were summarized as follow:

The problem of management border trading at Wang Prachan Checkpoint in Khun Don District in Satun province he found unclear Commercial style, Infrastructure/Transport and communications, Government measures, the trade is not through customs and so on.

The ways of management border trading at Wang Prachan Checkpoint in Khun Don District in Satun province consists of; first, reorganizing Commercial style especially the commercial of the country, second, giving the right to the local government to open the border. If they think this why of the interesting for both side, third, the Thai government needs to give the same budget to develop of every border, fourth, reorganizing infrastructure/transport and communications, fifth, giving the real information to all of personnel of the country.

His suggestions of the Thai government management border trading at Wang Prachan Checkpoint in Khun Don District in Satun province are, first, promoting the relationship between Satun province and the state of Perlis, especially the trade between countries, second, promoting the Thai trade to be the center of trade in South East Asia, third, promoting export

and import with neighbor countries, fourth, creating a job for the local people of border province especially Satun province.

## **F. Hypothesis**

Based on the background and theoretical framework, it mentions Thai government respond to Malaysia's new border policy therefore my hypothesis directly in two point.

1. Thai government is using the conservative approach through policy in maintaining national security of foreign affair and reducing social inequality by creating opportunities to public service
2. Thai government is using the accommodative approach by following the Malaysia policy and legitimation to the local government to solve the boundary issue

Thus, both points above used in describe the Thai government policy to respond border Issues between Satun and Perlis.

## **G. Methodology of Research**

### a) Methodology

This research is used the descriptive by qualitative approach to find the answer of the research question.

### b) Technique of analysis data

According to Miles & Huberman classic research methods, the fundamentals of research design and data management are followed by three ways consisting, collective data, display data and conclusion drawing or verification.<sup>26</sup> To analysis this research it is used pattern inductive of three ways consistent;

1. Collective data talks about the process whereby the mass of qualitative data obtain interview transcripts, field notes, observation etc. It is collective, organized, summed data and so on.
2. Display data. To draw conclusion from the mass of data, Miles and Huberman suggest that a good display of data, in the form of table, map, picture and so on. Conclusion drawing or verification the analysis should allow to develop the

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<sup>26</sup> Sugiyono, 2011. Metode penelitian kuantitatif kualitatif dan R & B, Bandung: Alfabeta. Hal 246 consulted 9 Desember 2015

conclusion regarding my study. Is initial conclusion can then be verified, that is their validity examined through reference to my existing field notes.

c) Method of collecting data

The data of this qualitative research will be sought by doing literature search; means that the writer collects data from the available sources to support the research. The writer then will conduct the following actions:

1. Collecting books and journal such as The Impact of National Institutions on Economic Development in Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia), The Malaysia government in managing military and defense development, Collaborative Border Management in Thailand and Neighboring Countries: Needs, Challenges and Issues, and so on, that relevance with the research title.
2. Clipping document or data about the relationship between Satun province (Thailand) and the state of Perlis (Malaysia) from the local government.
3. Clipping news from daily newspaper about the information or the implement border policies of the government of both country.
4. Browsing the related sites through internet to get additional data.
5. Observation by direct observation in the field. This observation data collection techniques, the writer do various events in the Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia) boundary or Wang Prajan border and Wang Kelian border.
6. Interview. The qualitative research interview seeks to describe and the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say. Interviewing, when considered as a method for conducting qualitative research, is a technique used to understand the experiences of Thai government policy to manage border Issues: A case study in Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia)

d) Location and scope of research

This research is conducted in the Wang Prachan border (Satun, Thailand) and Wang kelian Border (The state of Perlis, Malaysia). The limitation of time in this research is 2008 – 2015. On the other hand, the writer also mentions some historical background to support data of this thesis.

## **H. System of writing**

**Chapter 1:** will explain about the Problem Background, Research Question, Objective of Research, Theoretical Framework, Literature review, Hypothesis, Methodology of Research, and System of Writing.

**Chapter 2:** will explain about the History and the Dynamic Border of Satun (Thailand) and Perlis (Malaysia)

**Chapter 3:** will explain about the Dynamic Transformation Border Policy

**Chapter 4:** will explain about Thailand policy to respond Malaysia border policy.

**Chapter 5:** will explain about the conclusion from all of the chapters and also give a suggestion