The Formation of Peace Discourse and the Politics of Recognition in the Patani Peace Process

Peace-building efforts are considered discursive processes that bring about simultaneous and successive discursive objects that are named, described, analyzed, appreciated or judged in terms of relations. Constructing objects of discourse, the peace-building in Thailand’s southern violence, needs expanded interactive networks of civil society organizations, academics and communication networks. In fact, the process features the interplay between the formation of objects of discourse in order to transform the conflicts through ideas and thought. By interplay, new agents are constructing the fields of play for the social forces within and without the stretches of the deep southern region, bringing about a common ground for conflict transformation, presupposing that the existence of conflict may be an indispensable element of social change and development, while violence is avoidable. It does not see the “resolution” of conflict as the most important or ultimate goal of engagement. The peace process is an effort for formulating structures to support and contribute to peace, which influence causes of conflict. Building public space for constructing discourse or objects of discourses would thus facilitate peace-building. Creating powerful and persuasive discourse involves discursive processes, the interactions between thoughts, representing ideas and perceptions, and language, comprised of words and sentences. The interplay of thoughts and language has been long-windedly mediated through fields of exchange in the safe and sound public space. This process is going on now in the Deep South provinces amidst the protracted violence.
ruling military regimes had on society. Despite the oppression, civil actions pushed human security to the forefront of Thailand’s national agendas, and noteworthy among these actions were the student-led demonstrations in 1973 and the Black May demonstrations in 1992. These events helped substantially improve human security in Thailand, particularly concerning freedom from want, political participation, the emergence of civil-society organizations, and the promotion of human rights. However, Thailand is likely to fall short of achieving satisfactory freedom from fear, another element of human security. This situation has led to the Thai government’s rhetorical rather than substantive support of the creation of the ASEAN Community (AC), a people-oriented version of ASEAN emphasizing the spirit of human security. The current study’s analysis comprises three sections. In the first section, I will briefly introduce the term “human security,” covering both its role in academic discourses and its detractors, and I will then lay out my argument on human security. The next section will explore how human security has improved in Thailand. I argue that the public demonstrations of 1973 and 1992 acted as turning points. Therefore, my examination will focus on why these events occurred and what their short-term and far-reaching results have been. In the third section, I will analyze why the Thai government cannot meet the objective of substantively improved freedom from fear and how this situation has influenced the government’s response to the creation of the AC.

Chelsea K. Hampton
PhD student, Department of Communications, North Carolina State University

Countries in Our Blood: Thailand’s Red Shirt Protests and the Politics of Space

This paper examines the ways that space is implicated in relations of power using Thailand’s Red Shirt “Blood Sacrifice” in March 2010. Theorists, such as Shome (2006) and Massey (2005), postulate a reengagement with the conceptualization of space as an active component in power relations. Assuming that “space” is constructed out of social relations, I argue that Thailand’s “nation-space” is fundamentally created out of the tensions arising from the politically motivated actions of its citizens. In this study, I will examine the role of Internet media in creating and maintaining particular constructions of space and social relations in Thailand’s Red Shirt crisis through an analysis of four English-language news sources and their coverage of the Red Shirt protests. My analysis will demonstrate that the “oppositional” view of power and social agency provided in the media coverage of these protests is overly simplistic. The Red Shirt Protests of 2010 demonstrate how social relations are structured through human agency to create social space, and the media coverage of these events exemplify how events are simplified to service dominant social narratives.

Dan Pojar
PhD student, Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University

Failed State Integration: A Fresh Look at Thailand’s Troubled South

The conflict in the southernmost provinces of Thailand continues. Elements of a Malay-Muslim population have been resisting state integration since 1902 when Siam first officially annexed the former region of Patani. Scholars have developed a fair-sized body of academic literature on this subject. The Thai policy-making community has proposed and initiated a number of policies intended to alleviate or resolve the problem. Yet, this all seems to have accomplished little. This paper takes a fresh look at the conflict. In particular, this paper takes a state-centric approach
that focuses on state institutions in comprehending the separatist sentiments and related violence in Thailand’s South. At the same time, it also deeply considers how cultural institutions and international factors interplay with state institutions in an effort to understand the complete picture. This research utilizes process-tracing in attempting to reveal how particular explanatory factors leads to specific outcomes. The end result is a rigorous endeavor that establishes a causal equation to explain the trouble in Thailand’s South. This paper is part of a larger project, the author’s current doctoral dissertation research, which is a comparative historical analysis of separatist movements in Thailand, Philippines and Indonesia.

Andrea Molnar
Presidential Engagement Professor, Department of Anthropology, Northern Illinois University

Discourse on “Peace” among NGOs in the Deep South of Thailand – inclusivity or reaffirmation of political ideologies and divisions?

Since 2004 there has been a proliferation of a range of civil society organizations (which may be loosely referred to as NGOs) that focus on peace and conflict issues in the Deep South of Thailand. My research in the region since 2007 has primarily focused on Muslim women’s political engagement through such newly emerged NGOs. What were initially loosely structured and scattered women’s networks over the years became more formally organized and these women’s NGOs are thoroughly networked with larger local and national NGOs. Over the past seven years there is also an increasing presence and engagement of International Organizations with these local Southern NGOs. Peace building efforts and activities have rapidly grown at the same time and have become the focus among most of the NGOs of the Deep South. This paper will examine the discourse on ‘peace’ and ‘peace building’ among these civil society actors in the on-going peace building efforts. I will address to what degree such discourse may be actually a reaffirmation of ethnic-religious divisions and political ideologies and to what degree such discourse crosses boundaries and encourages inclusivity. The paper will also consider the impact of discourse and therein embedded ideologies on peace building form foreign international agencies on such discourse among the peace building NGOs of Southern Thailand.

SATURDAY, October 19

PANEL II: NORTH, NORTHEAST and (LOCAL) KNOWLEDGE

Micah F. Morton
PhD candidate, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Resignifying the Nation in Terms of Diversity?: Indigeneity, Multiculturalism and the Politics of Difference in North Thailand

Indigenous identity politics has increased in Thailand in recent years, as has been the case in many other parts of Asia. Since 2006 a growing network of “hilltribes” and “ethnic peoples” hailing from various parts of the country has organized an annual sub-national celebration of “The International Day of the World’s Indigenous Peoples.” These efforts are occurring in conjunction with theThai state’s efforts to resignify the nation as a “multicultural” society composed of diverse ethnic groups. In this paper I provide a genealogy of the growth of the concept of “indigenous peoples” in Thailand, as well as an analysis of how the global indigenous
movement is morphing as it is being adopted in the local context of Thailand. I further discuss the particular contexts wherein indigenous politics is gaining acceptance and encountering resistance. Last, I discuss how different groups, particularly “hilltribes” in the north, are positioning themselves in relation to the concept of “indigeneity.”

Haiying Li  
MA student, Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), Chiang Mai U

**Neo-Traditionalist Movements: A Case Study of a Multi-Religious Akha Community in Northern Thailand**

Most members of the Akha ethnic minority group living in Thailand today have converted to Christianity and no longer practice *Aqkaqzanr* or traditional Akha culture. At the same time, however, some Akha are continuing to carry their traditional culture. As a result, many divisions and tensions have arisen within Akha communities. For example, many Christian Akha refuse to participate in the rituals of traditionalists. In addition, debates have arisen among Akha as to the relationship between ethnicity and religion. For example, on one hand many traditionalists argue that to be Akha is to carry *Aqkaqzanr* and that individuals carrying the *zanr* of other groups are no longer Akha. On the other hand, many Christians argue that religion and culture are different parts of their identity and that their conversion to Christianity has not changed their culture or identity.

Ian G. Baird  
Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**The Hmong, the Communist Party of Thailand and Counter-Insurgency in Northern Thailand**

Between the late 1960s and the 1980s, large numbers of Hmong joined the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) in opposition to the government of Thailand. Despite the importance of Hmong involvement in the CPT in northern Thailand, there has been surprisingly little scholarship produced about their crucial role in the CPT. Although the CPT disintegrated as a result of battlefield defeats, internal conflicts, discontinuation of support from China, and general amnesties in the early 1980s, there has been little written about the way counter-insurgency played out in Hmong areas in northern Thailand. In this presentation, I consider the Hmong role in the CPT and counter-insurgency strategies organized against them by the Thai state. In particular, I examine the Civil-Police-Military (CPM) counter-insurgency strategy, and how it was implemented in parts of northern Thailand.

W. Nathan Green  
Graduate Student, Center for Southeast Asia Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**Rethinking Local Knowledge and Participatory Research as Process: Tai Baan Research in the Lower Songkhram River Basin of Thailand**

In 2003 four villages in the Lower Songkhram River Basin of northeastern Thailand conducted participatory research as part of the Mekong Wetlands and Biodiversity Program to document and disseminate local knowledge of the ecosystems and rural livelihoods in the basin. The principle research method used was known as Tai Baan Research, which emerged out of the
contestation over the Pak Mun dam as a counter-hegemonic research approach wherein the research topics, data collection and writing of the results are carried out by the participants themselves. However, participatory development projects that draw upon local knowledge have been critiqued on epistemological, political, and anti-political grounds. In this presentation I seek to tease out the points of contact and departure between the literature on local knowledge and participatory research and the unique methods employed by Tai Baan research. My argument is threefold: first, local knowledge should be analyzed with an eye towards the multiple scales and situated contexts in which it is produced and disseminated. Second, the process of knowledge production is as equally relevant as the knowledge itself for imagining alternative development strategies. Third, examinations of participatory research should take as a starting point the fact that state power is diffuse and diverse and at times actively sought out by local people. I conclude with reflections on the limitations of my analysis and suggestions for future research on Tai Baan and similar projects.

Rattana Lao
Postdoctoral Fellow, the University of Hong Kong

*The Logic of the Thai State and Higher Education Reforms*

This paper offers a critical examination of contemporary higher education reforms in Thailand that is situated in broader historical, socio-economic and political changes. Through a qualitative case study with three methods of inquiry – documentary analysis, 80 semi-structured interviews and a three-month internship at the Office of National Educational Standards and Quality Assessment (ONESQA) – I analyze why a “global education policy,” such as quality assessment (QA), has resonated in Thailand (Verger et al. 2012). Grounded in policy borrowing and lending (Steiner-Khamsi 2004), I argue that historical legacy, policy contexts and belief systems of policy elites matter. Historical analysis shows that the Thai state has always been an active borrower of western policy and has often used the threat of “external forces” to legitimize national reforms. The relationship between the Asian Economic Crisis and the promulgation of National Education Act 1999 epitomized this. Furthermore, policy preferences amongst Thai elites on positivist and scientific paradigms also contributed towards Thailand’s bias for neoliberal and market-based policy solutions.

**PANEL III: MIGRANTS**

Thomas Rhoden
PhD student, Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University

*Political or Economic Migrants to Thailand?*

This paper takes an initial step toward understanding how magnitudes of material differences across Thailand’s land borders affect international migration flows. By comparing migration patterns into Thailand with those of others across the globe, we find both some similarities and some stark differences that require greater research. What is most surprising is that an emphasis on extreme material differences across land borders holds the possibility of predicting the direction of net migration not only for migrant laborers but also for political refugees. The normally advocated bifurcation between political and economic migrants appears less tenable than past theorization suggests. The case of international immigrants into Thailand argues that
many migrants may be both: legitimate asylum seekers by UNHCR standards and low-skilled economic laborers by Thai government regulations.

Sirima Ussawarakha  
Lecturer, Kasem Bundit University, on study leave for PhD work, Humboldt University zu Berlin, Germany

Addressing Inequality in Thailand: A case study of Burmese migrant workers in Samut Sakhon

Samut Sakhon contains approximately 400,000 migrant workers mainly contributing to seafood industries in the province. However, only half of them are legally registered. In this situation, migrants face plenty of adverse factors that contribute to their precarious social position, such as low quality of life, lack of employment, hunger, human rights abuses, arbitrary taxation, conscription, as well as limited access to resources and healthcare. This presentation proposes to study unequal social resources and the resulting precarious position of Burmese migrants in Samut Sakhon. The presentation will illustrate how the situation of Burmese migrant workers in Samut Sakhon, Thailand, creates and reproduces social inequality and the negotiating approaches of migrants. The presentation focuses mainly on social inequality and consumption behavior of Burmese migrant workers in a changing society where the supremacy of postnationalism and localism is inevitably shaping the role of state and community. For this purpose, Bourdieu’s class theory will be used for the analysis and a qualitative approach, especially habitus hermeneutics interviews will be explored as the main research methodology.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Duncan McCargo  
University of Leeds and Columbia University

Dispensing Justice? The Work of Thai Police Investigators

The duty officer in every Thai police station is known as the roywaen, part of the sopsuan team tasked with investigating crime and sending cases for prosecution. In reality, however, these officers have very little time to spend on substantive investigations; in Bangkok, they are swamped with routine paperwork which often makes it impossible for them even to visit crime scenes in person. Most police investigators are not graduates of the police academy, and are effectively outsiders within their own organization. As part of their attempts to boost their standing and status, as well as to reduce their workload, investigators put a great deal of effort into achieving resolutions between contending parties – serving as judge and jury in mini-cases heard within the walls of the police station. Drawing on extensive ethnographic research carried out in 2012, this paper examines the ways in which police investigators seek explicitly to ‘dispense justice’ rather than simply to serve as a cog in the larger judicial machine.

Duncan McCargo is Professor of Southeast Asian Politics at the University of Leeds. He is best known as a specialist on contemporary Thailand, where he regularly conducts extended fieldwork, most recently for the whole of 2012. McCargo divides his time between Britain and New York, where he is a Visiting Scholar at the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University, and an Associate Fellow at Asia Society. His ten books include Politics and the Press in Thailand (Routledge 2000), Media and Politics in Pacific Asia (Routledge 2003), The
**PANEL IV: THAI ART**

**Coral Carlson**
Lecturer, History, Benedictine University, Illinois

**The Sold and the Beautiful: The Pre-Modern Trade in Siamese Ceramics**

Two pre-modern Siamese kilns, Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai, have been noted for their massive trade in ceramics during the Chinese Ming Gap (1368-1567). Although Siamese export wares have dominated recent discussions of the history of these kilns, this paper builds on the work of historian Derek Heng to postulate the kilns produced high-value and low-value wares for both export and domestic trade. The low-value wares produced by these two Siamese kiln sites during this critical period entered the great stream of trade on the maritime routes both to the East and to the West to fill the demand for high-fired wares in the pre-modern global ceramics trade disrupted by the Ming Gap. The Westward distribution of low-value Siamese ceramics along the maritime spice trade routes led to such wares reaching Renaissance Europe; an example was depicted in a fifteenth-century painting now in the Louvre by an important Renaissance artist before European explorers reached Asia. This paper hypothesizes that it was the vast demand for low-value export ceramics that led to the founding of the Sukhothai kiln site. The Si Satchanalai kilns continued to produce some low-value wares for export but also produced high-value wares to replace those unobtainable due to the Ming Gap. These ceramics produced primarily for domestic trade have been less studied in recent years.

**Alan Potkin**
Team Leader, Digital Conservation Facility and Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University

**Catherine Raymond**
Associate Professor, Art History and Director, Center for Burma Studies, Northern Illinois University

**The Most Celebrated and Revered Lao Buddha Images in Thailand: Visualizing, Mapping, and Understanding them and their Sheltering Temples**

A peculiarity of Siamese culture — extending through the present — is that certain Lao religious artifacts are regarded as having spiritual attributes and totemic strengths outclassing domestic cult objects, which may have been weakened by modernization, westernization, and ethnic dilution. While the Phra Keo Morakot (PKM), the palladium of the Chakri dynasty and thus, the most important Buddha image in Thailand, is historically associated with Lao (where it was sheltered at the Ho Phrakeo in Wiang Chanh/Vientiane for a century and a half), nobody seriously asserts that the PKM’s origins and iconography are demonstrably Lao. However, Buddha images of Lao provenance play an important role in highly prestigious Thai monasteries. Notable amongst those are a group called the “Lao Brother Buddhas”: between three and six Buddha images, the best-known of which — the Phra Serm (or Phra Soem); the Phra Saen; and
the Phra Sai — are now at Wat Pathumwanaram ("Srathum") in Bangkok, and have been there since the temple’s completion in the late 1850s CE by King Mongkut (Rama IV). They were originally seized either during the first Siamese invasion of Lao Lane Xang, in the 1770s; or alternatively in the 1820s, when the Lao Lan Xang kingdom and dynasty was terminated and Vientiane completely razed and depopulated. It is widely believed that these three images at least, were cast during the reign of the great Lao king Sethathirath and were taken by the Siamese expeditionary armies back across the Mekong, and eventually to the then-new capital in Thonburi. A fourth Buddha image, the Phra Souk, ended up lost in the river but another sunken Buddha image of certain Lao origin — known locally as the Luang Pho Phra Sa — was salvaged and eventually installed at Wat Po Chai, in Nong Khai, as illustrated in the mural paintings there. Another much-treasured, possible Lao Brother Buddha image is at Wat Hong Rattanaram, in Thonburi, Bangkok: like Srathum, also a Royal Monastery. In visualizing the peregrinations of these Lao Buddha images — perhaps even prior to the 17th century — and their particularity, this initiative contextualizes the “Lao Brother Buddha” sites in still, video, and virtual reality (VR) formats, with the supportive interactive mapping already well underway.

PANEL V: ASSOCIATIONS

Larry Ashmun
Southeast Asian Studies Librarian, University of Wisconsin-Madison

_The Unknown Warrior Association 333 . . . and Gen. Withun Yasawat_

The Unknown Warrior Association 333, or Samakhom Nakrop Niranam 333, is the organization of Thai military and paramilitary veterans who served with the Joint Forces Command 333, or HQ 333, in Laos’ “Secret War” during the Second Indochina, or Vietnam, War. Formally “volunteers,” the thousands of Thai personnel were supported by the United States. The secret unit was led by Gen. Withun Yasawat, referred to as Thep 333, for nearly their entire time in Laos. The UWA presently organizes annual meetings, has published a quarterly newsletter, and, until sometime in 2012, maintained a website with information about its history and membership, for example. Among its members are many well-known Thai military men, including some who also played significant political roles. Retired Generals Chavalit Yongchaiyudh and Chamlong Srimuang are two who are very familiar in Thai Studies circles. Gen. Withun, while seemingly not an active member of the UWA 33, was nonetheless clearly a very key “Unknown Warrior”; he passed away in October 2012, at age 87, in Thailand and was cremated in February 2013.

Phimmasone Michael Rattanasengchanh
PhD student, Ohio University

_Selling an Image: U.S.-Thai Propaganda during the Cold War_

During the Cold War the United States government was heavily involved in public relations and information warfare in Thailand through the United States Information Service (USIS) and United States Air Force (USAF). The USIS had the two-fold mission of strengthening the image of both the U.S. and Thai governments and building relations between national and local leaders with the rural populations; while the USAF established a psychological-warfare group called PSYOPS to influences peoples in contested areas. Both organizations used many forms of media
to disseminate information: radio, magazine, movies, television, exhibitions, book publications and distributions, library services, posters, and leaflets, among others. USIS and PSYOP officials, with help from the Thai government, developed public relations campaigns that juxtaposed the monarchy and Thai nationalism against the “evils” of communism. The propaganda helped strengthen the Thai monarchy’s and military government’s prestige and influence, the country saw a modicum of stability, and the rise of communism was abated. U.S.-Thai propaganda had many indirect and long-term effects on the people, the country’s politics, and eventual outcome of the Cold War in Thailand.

Paul Chambers
Director of Research (Political Science), Institute of Southeast Asian Affairs (ISEAA), Chiang Mai University, Thailand

Duty and Politics: Thailand’s Military in 2013

The armed forces of Thailand have long been a major political actor standing upon the political stage. Be it as junior partner to absolute monarchs, enjoying absolute power themselves, or currently, as the constitutional guarantors of security to a powerful Thai king, the military remains a crucial opaque entity of enormous clout. Most of the military leadership has, since 2006 been steadfastly opposed to former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. In 2011, the pro-Thaksin Puea Thai party won a landslide election. Since then, an uneasy accommodation has settled across civil-military relations in Thailand. Yet behind the scenes, the “Man in Dubai” (Thaksin) has sought to increase his influence among senior officers in order to strengthen Puea Thai’s hold on power while also gain the support of these officers to support a potential return of Thaksin to Thailand. At the same time, anti-Thaksin military arch-royalists have attempted to hinder Thaksin at every turn. In light of this situation, this paper asks what is the state of civil-military relations in 2013? What is the extent today of civilian control over the military? Will Thailand’s armed forces continue to exert enormous power or will Thailand see any demilitarization? These and other related issues will be discussed in this presentation.

PANEL VI: ECONOMIES

Elena Shih
PhD student, Sociology, University of California at Los Angeles

Freedom Markets: The Moral and Political Economies of Human Trafficking in Thailand

The 2013 United Nations Senior Officials Meeting on Human Trafficking convened overlooking the Chao Phraya River in Bangkok’s lavish Royal Orchid Sheraton Hotel, home to the regional headquarters of the United Nations Inter Agency Project Against Trafficking (UNIAP). This annual meeting gathers ministerial level delegations of government officials from Cambodia, China, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam for two days of country presentations addressing efforts to combat human trafficking, and culminates in the signing of a Joint Declaration on Human Trafficking each year. Though traditionally focused on holding governments accountable to transnational anti-human trafficking measures as outlined in the 2000 UN Palermo Protocol, this year’s meeting theme reflected a new objective in the global movement: “Engaging the Private Sector.” This paper investigates the recent emergence of market-based and private sector engagements with humanitarian intervention in the Thai context.
AEC Connectivity and the Roles of Local Thai Communities in Sustainable Development: A Study of Dawei Deep Sea Port after the Implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community in 2015: Challenges and Opportunities

For the first in almost a decade, the simultaneous growth of trade, capital flow and foreign investment among ASEAN in the implementation of ASEAN Economic Community turned significantly; there have been many efforts to establish ASEAN connectivity. ASEAN connectivity denotes the capabilities of transborder transportation that increase the rapidity with which goods, information, capital and technology move between the region and the world. The Dawei Deep Sea Port is the most significant transborder corridor of the ASEAN connectivity. The port is located in the frontier between Myanmar and Thailand, which is connected to Thailand, the Greater Mekong Subregion and China. It will be the center of ASEAN connectivity. Since the port has had a significant influence on both advantages and disadvantages to local Thai communities near the port, it is important to explore the roles of local Thai communities to this port. My main research question focuses on the roles of local Thai communities on the emergence of the Dawei Deep Sea Port in sustainable development. I will explore this sustainability in social, political, environmental and economic terms.