GENDER, SECURITY, AND WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN THAILAND:

PERSPECTIVES, NARRATIVES, AND ALTERNATIVES



Amporn Marddent Trin Aiyara Mark B. Ulla Thassanee Thasrabiab



Gender, Security, and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand: Perspectives, Narratives, and Alternatives

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INTRODUCTION

Gender, Security, and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand: Perspectives, Narratives, and Alternatives

Thailand has been recognized as one of the countries that promotes human security among women, especially in the southern part of the country. Thus, on the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, the Council adopted the first resolution entitled "Women and Peace and Security" (WPS). With its adoption, it is essential to reflect on the political, economic, and social issues that the country is facing, particularly on WPS in southern Thailand.

To define security more broadly, an international seminar focusing not only on a political society but also on interdisciplinary research insights was held on 26th September 2020 in Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand. The seminar told stories about Southern Thailand and pushed the agenda on WPS for implementation since women in this region have potentials to be the agents of change. Women play an active role in achieving peace and security.

The speakers of the event offered their ideas, experiences, and results derived from several research studies. The speakers included scholars, practitioners, and representatives from non- governmental organizations (NGOs). The seminar primarily aimed to create academic dialogues covering gender, conflict, security, human rights, art, history, religion, culture, and peace. Each session delivered fruitful discussions. Meanwhile, the sessions served as valuable resources for participants who wished to find networking opportunities. In addition, the sessions intended to help the participants identify the topics or activities which are compatible to their particular personal interests and relevance. Hopefully, the participants will develop their interests in further researches.

This seminar reflects on the stories about Southern Thailand being a region where women are expected to be the agents of change. According to the WPS agenda, women's equal and meaningful participation in peace processes, peace building and security must be promoted and supported as WPS recognizes that women must be critical actors in all efforts to achieve sustainable international peace and security. In addition, National Action Plans (NAPs) are strategic instruments for policymakers to operationalize this international mandate within the domestic context. However, Thailand until todays has chosen to institutionalize the principles of WPS through domestic gender equality legislation whereas the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Resolution has gained enormous support from people around the globe.

A keynote address, a plenary discussion, and selected papers from our seminar and in this proceeding present alternative approaches to the established perspectives and the narratives of gender as a social construct, which also determines the distribution of power in Southern Thailand. Although most of the papers specifically describe and explain gender politics in Southern Thailand's context, their descriptions and explanations illuminate the existing arguments and debates about colonialism, communitarianism, and capitalism in a broader picture. In other words, even if the geographical area of Southern Thailand is unique, the area still faces a number of same challenges and issues as other parts of the world.

However, the papers included in this proceeding illustrate that Southern Thailand has its own unique experiences related to colonial legacies, communal-based actions, and capitalist development. In spite of different topics, each proceeding paper directly or indirectly deals with at least one of these mentioned issues. Furthermore, the papers explore the social and political life of women living in the Deep South of Thailand and they shed light on the impacts of internal colonization organized by the Siamese State since the latter half of the nineteenth-century demarcation.

Additionally, some papers have responded to questions and changes from community development. These papers also examine the roles of women in community engagement for collective actions such as the promotion of traditional performing arts and handicrafts as well as the management of the micro-community enterprises. These papers mainly emphasize the knowledge and experiences as important factors that lead to innovation and improvisation, and thus representing gender in the cultural context in this region. Moreover, other papers indicate that the status quo of women is both active agencies and passive subjects in the domain of cultural heritage such as women's roles in song lyrics and in the world heritage campaign.

Generally, the papers in this proceeding revolve around two central themes: women's abilities as agencies and the representation of women in specific contexts. Firstly, some of these papers particularly reexamine the security and women's human rights and discuss how women in various digital platforms promote political and cultural awareness in specific contentious areas. Secondly, there are other papers that present women as agencies who are actively engaged in social activities in the public domain and these papers will inform readers about how women are actively involved in various projects. Thirdly, a few papers describe how women have manifested in the spheres of love songs and peace processes. Lastly, the discussions on the security needs of women to promote their participation in conflict prevention have also been emphasized.

Brief summary of the round table discussions and papers: agencies and representation under the conditions of colonial legacies, communal changes, and capitalist development

Although the participants/researchers implicitly discuss the broader issues in gender studies, the papers and the plenary discussion presented in this proceeding tackle specific questions on gender issues in Southern Thailand. The issues consist of three themes: colonialism, communitarianism, and capitalism. Furthermore, while these papers limitedly provide arguments contributing to the theoretical debates in international academic circles, they present valuable field data that future works can utilize to construct further arguments.

The theme of colonialism echoes in the plenary discussion in which honorary scholars and practitioners delivered. The plenary discussion offered some exciting findings of women's conditions and situations in Thailand's Malay far-south, where women have continually suffered from the practices of internal colonization. Remarkably, the discussion presented four findings revealing women's limited participation in peace processes. First, women's experiences in the contentious areas have highlighted the importance of human security and women's livelihood and social opportunities have been taken into account rather than putting emphasis solely on traditional state security. Second, although women have seldom played some informal processes of the peace negotiation, women have been able to utilize informal channels in civil society to contribute to peace processes. Third, the formulation of the peace processes in the Deep South conducted by some state organizations, i.e., King Prajadhipok's Institute, has hardly surveyed the attitudes and aspirations of women. Fourth, the situation of the COVID-19 outbreak has intensified the vulnerability and insecurity of women in the Deep South of Thailand. In other words, the contents of the discussion can help understand how women have emerged as political actors in the peripheral region, at least in the eyes of the Siamese/Thai elites, where women have unfortunately been placed and treated as underprivileged groups.

The papers emphasizing communal activities perceive women as agencies who are actively engaged in collective activities in their communities, whether in specific geographical locations or particular cultural guilds. Ratchada Ruangsarakul conducted field research, including informal conversations and in-depth interviews with women in Panangtung Village, located in Phatthalung Province, where the governing body of the village promotes small and micro community enterprises. Ratchada points out that elderly women can benefit from and contribute to community enterprises promoted by the governing body of the village.

Similarly, Manirat Kamlangkuea's article illustrates the roles of women in the production and preservation of Nora bead handicrafts. Based on her in-depth interviews and group discussions with bead manufacturers in the provinces of Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkla, Manirat states that female groups employ bead handicrafts to reproduce the social and cultural meanings of the Nora performance. Both Ratchada and Maneerat's works portray women as profit-driven entrepreneurs who contribute to their communities economically and who play vital roles in maintaining the sustainability of their communities.

The papers focusing on economic activities raise the question of whether women are agencies or objects in capitalist development. The papers of Vithaya Arphon and Phatcharaporn Salee try to answer this specific question differently. Vithaya examines women's actions in promoting Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan (a Buddhist temple) to be the world heritage site awarded by UNESCO. Vithaya's work has shown that Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan certainly promotes the religious and cultural tourism in Nakhon Si Thammarat province, and if awarded as the world heritage site the temple will promote Thailand as a tourism destination for travellers worldwide. Despite the fact that women are active agents involving in various projects, Vithaya reveals that women have played a limited role in the management of Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan due to the embedded masculine bias, and this is because women mainly participate as facilitators rather than decision-makers. In contrast, Phatcharaporn's work perceives women as passive actors in Thai folk songs. According to forty-seven songs adopted in her research, Phatcharaporn has found that the representation of women in Thai folk songs has changed over time due to the changes in the socioeconomic status of Thai women in real-life situations. Phatcharaphon concludes that recently released Thai folk songs have projected women as assertive and confident actors, not obedient housewives or family members.

> May 2021 Dr. Trin Aiyara Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Marddent

 \vee i | Gender, Security, and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand: Perspectives, Narratives, and Alternatives

Gender and Culture in Southern Thailand: Body and Embodiment on Different Research Paths

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Claudia Merli

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Claudia Merli

Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology Uppsala University

I am very happy and honored to be at Walailak University again even if, unfortunately, I cannot attend in person. And I am pleased to see some of the colleagues that I met during previous conferences. I would also take this opportunity to thank Aj. Amporn Marddent for her kind invitation. After listening to this morning's interesting contributions, I would like to highlight one important question also in my presentation: the connection between the empirical research (or researches) and the production of policy. And I hope to address this relevant question by analyzing, as mentioned in my presentation's subtitles, 'Body and Embodiment on Different Research Paths'.

I would therefore like to go through my research which started in 2003 in southern Thailand and look at how different aspects of body and embodiment speak to us about gender, culture, politics, and violence in southern Thailand. There are five different research paths that I would like to identify. First, I would say that my original path was to study traditional midwives *mhothamyae* (Muoginue) in Thai or *bidan kampung* in Malay (also called *bomoh bidan* or *tok bidan*). In Satun, where I based most of my research (but I also started doing my research in Nakhon Si Thammarat in 2014), the local population often use two languages thus I will refer to both Thai and Malay terms in addressing traditional medicine in my presentation.

Second, I had a mid-path change during the conduction of my research that brought me to focusing on hospital and hospital statistics, public health, demographic statistics, and Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR). I will

show why these more technical and bureaucratic elements are important when considering women's body.

Third, as a late-path development, I have been focusing on *sunat*, in its specific forms as *sunat perempuan* and *sunat lelaki* (the latter also called *masuk Jawi*), female genital cutting and male genital cutting in southern Thailand.

Fourth, the end-path of the research on reproductive health had to do with the treatment of the placenta and how this ritual is important for gender formation and especially for the configuration of the father's figure. The placenta is, moreover, related to a phenomenon that many Thai people will recognize which is called *Luuk Krok* (annson) (while in Malay it is called *anak pinang*). It is a form of mummified fetus which occurs physiologically and that receives a special place within southern Thai culture.

Fifth, I will briefly also say something about the 2004 tsunami and gendered bodies in relation to forensic identification.

I tried to elaborate and analyze these aspects that I am considering here today in several publications, especially in my book Bodily Practices and Medical Identities in Southern Thailand. For me, it is very important to focus on the bodies when we talk about gender and human rights, gender and culture in southern Thailand, because these terms tend to remain quite abstract. Instead, it is important that we look at the empirical situations, and at the empirical facts of how gender is made. I would like to show you two pictures taken in 2003 and 2004 in which there are two Tok bidan, together with a much younger version of myself. At that time, these two women were the oldest midwives in Satun province, but they have since passed away. They were both Malay speakers and I learnt from them guite a lot about the practices for women, especially those concerning the postpartum period. Tok bidan are very important because they maintain certain traditions that speak of a different kind of body (or a different understanding of bodies). The way they relate to 'the body' of women is not of course the same that we encounter in biomedicine. It is a body that is open to communication with the spiritual world, and which is approached with a lot of tactility. The touch of the midwife's hands on the woman's body takes preeminence, rather than a scientific analysis of the woman's body.

As an example of this difference, I would like to show you some statistics that describe Maternal Mortality Ratio, and how these numbers impact on the way women's bodies are treated in hospitals where active management of birth (which means with the direct intervention of the gynecologist or the obstetricians to increase contractions, 'to extract' the baby, to push the women to give birth quickly), and use of cesarean section are associated with a specific kind of statistic fear about the very high Maternal Mortality Ratio in Satun. There is a lot of pressure also on the doctors, gynecologists, and obstetricians to be careful about the levels of Maternal Mortality Ratio in the province. This pushes them to be more technically aggressive, in a sense, in the management of birth. This is a very helpful example of how women's bodies are put under a certain control, which we would not consider otherwise.

An example of how statistics are used to shape bodies in the south is given by a fertility rate's table, which I assembled by using several sources: one is the National Statistical Office of Thailand 2001, another one is the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific 1990-2000, and the last one is the National Statistical Office Census of 2010. In this table we can compare the four southernmost provinces' fertility rates and how they are meant to show certain trends; for example, Satun has experienced the biggest change in fertility among the four provinces. When Thailand's National Statistics present southern fertility rates is presented, it also tends to portray southern Muslims as having excessively large families and women as having too many children. There is a fear of an increasing Muslim population. Another example of how this statistic fear is implemented is via Maternal Mortality Ratio. Maternal Mortality Ratio is a very interesting indicator because it is a projection of possible risk, it is not an account of the actual deaths. Whether it is calculated per 1,000 live births (meaning babies who are born alive), or in the general scale per 10,000 live births, these numbers tell a specific story about the relation between the state and women.

This table illustrates the variation of Maternal Mortality Ratio calculated per 1,000 live births in Satun hospital over the years. It was 1.33 in 1998, about the same 1.39 in 1999, 0.44 in 2000, 1.52 in 2001, 0 in 2002, and 0.77 in 2003. This means that in the whole Satun province, which is the province with the smallest population in Thailand, there have been between 0

deaths in 2002 and three actual deaths when it reached the highest level in 2001. The ratio is partly dependent on the population numbers in the province and it is calculated by dividing number of deaths per live births. This means that a few deaths in a relatively small province will result in much higher mortality ratios than the same number in a larger province. When this measure is transferred to the National Statistics Office and the projection is made onto a scale of either 10,000 or 100,000 live births, Satun province's Maternal Mortality Ratio of 1.52 becomes 152. One gets the impression that for every 100,000 babies which are born alive, 152 women die. But this is not a real number. Three women died in 2001 and the projection of the initial ratio to a scale of 100,000 live births makes Satun province's Maternal Mortality look at the same level of some countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Local doctors know the specific circumstances of the three cases that died in 2001, and in some of them women came from the islands off the Satun's coast, from where 3 to 5 hours travel by boat and subsequent road transportation are required to reach the hospital. Some of these unfortunate deaths were due mostly to the long distance between the woman's place of residence and the time that took her to arrive at the hospital. Doctors at Satun provincial hospital are put under considerable pressure by seeing a Maternal Mortality Ratio of 152 as a real negative public image, it might possibly lead to litigations or lawsuits. They feel compelled to resort to Caesarean Sections in order to avoid unfortunate deaths (since Caesarean Sections allow greater control of the birthing process). There is therefore an increase in Caesarean Sections in order to prevent maternal deaths. A high number of Caesarean Sections, as many of the women who work in southern Thailand and in policy-making setting would know, is also related to an increase in female sterilizations, since after a certain number of caesarean sections a gynecologist would advise a woman to undergo tubal ligation in order to avoid further pregnancies. There is therefore, in my opinion, a connection between: a) Maternal Mortality Ratio's statistics game, b) the increase in cesarean sections, c) the increase in female sterilization, and d) the decreasing fertility in southern Thailand. This, too, is how gender is made.

I am now going to address *sunat perempuan* and *sunat lelaki*. In 2004 I was invited to be present during a *sunat perempuan*, a form of female genital cutting. In the picture I am showing there are white round marks on the baby girl's body that are made with *tepun tewar*, a paste made of a mixture

of talcum and water. These marks are a form of protection that is locally referred to as buang cangrai in Thai, or 'getting rid of bad luck', we might say. Sunat perempuan is a gender-exclusive practice, performed privately with only women who belong to the girls' family allowed to attend. On this specific occasion there was no real cutting performed, but only a superficial scratching of the clitoral hood without removal of tissue. This is generally the type of female genital cutting that is performed in southern Thailand, obviously with some variations. The male mass circumcisions that I was invited to are very different, they are performed once a year, free of charge, so the family does not have to pay for their performance, both women and men attend, they are organized at a public or accessible place. In 2006 I was able to attend one at the central provincial mosque, where the boys were put lying down on lined-up tables in the courtyard, with public health officers and nurses from Satun hospital in attendance and helping performing up to 100 circumcisions in one morning. They would be using local anesthetics, antibiotics, and suturing which are not part of the same technique in the format that is performed by the traditional male circumciser (tok mudin). I started doing research about the performance of masuk Jawi, the sunat for the boys, also in Nakhon Si Thammarat in 2014.

It is interesting to see how the *masuk Jawi* is conceptualized in several official messages of the southern provinces. I propose that we can witness a 'folklorization' of *masuk Jawi*, which instead of being presented as a religious ritual is framed as a cultural traditional aspect and it is publicized as such on the provinces' websites. Yala is the only province where I could not find the *masuk Jawi* mentioned in the list of the festivals that every year are arranged. On Pattani province's webpage from 2009 instead the list of festive celebrations in the calendar for the year mention พิธีลาซัง (Lasang ceremony), วันซิงเปรต หรืองานเดือนสิบ หรืองานสารทไทย (Chingpret), ประเพณีลาก พระ (Laakpra), and a category devoted to ประเพณีของชาวไทยมุสลิม (traditions of Thai Muslims), with specifically การเกิดและการโกนผมไฟ (birth traditions, including first hair shaving), and *khao sunat* (การเข้าสุหนัด). On the website of Narathiwat province, the list of festivals of 2014 includes a list of Muslim celebrations, in which the names are given in Malayu and transliterated in Thai; this list includes *Make pulo* (มาแกปูโละ), *masuk Jawi*, Mawlid (วันเมาลิด),

and Ashura (วันอาซูรอ). In Satun province there is a similar setup, presented with these words: 'the cultural traditions of Satun people include *khao sunat*, *nikkah*, *lamad*, folk play, and traditional floating boat of the Chao Le' (ประเพณี วัฒนธรรมต่าง ๆ ของชาวสตูล คือ การเข้าสุนัต การนิกะห์ การละหมาด การละเล่นพื้นบ้าน ประเพณีการลอยเรือของชาวเล). The point that I want to make is that certain practices that are very important for the formation of the male bodies, the gendering of the male bodies, become part of the 'folklorization' of Islamic culture in southern Thailand.

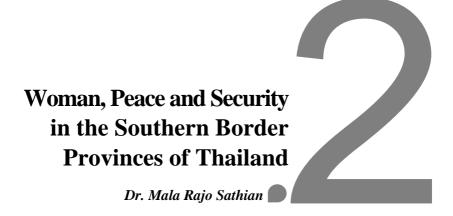
I would like to say something about how women's bodies are part of a broader spiritual world that is related to the Mu ∂ M ∂ M ∂ M and traditional midwives, which has to do with treatment of placenta, *uri* in Malay and \Im in Thai, and the making of fathers. The term that I used in one of my articles is 'patrescence' that means the making of the father. This patrescence is traditionally related to putting the placenta in the ground. This practice is not just found among the Muslims of southern Thailand, but is something that we encounter all over South East Asia, and was performed by Buddhist men in other parts of Thailand, that traditionally bury the placenta. The local men that I interviewed in Satun and were Malay speakers refer to the practice as *bubuh uri* (to put the placenta in the ground) or *tanam uri* (planting the placenta). This was a very important aspect of becoming a father, in the transition from being a young husband to a different gendered moment of becoming a father.

This custom has been transformed into and substituted by registering the baby via the bureaucratic process in the hospital, the registering of birth. Sometimes, the fathers still ask nurses at the delivery ward to take the placenta from the hospital back home for the possibility to perform the burial. The ritual is important to some of the Muslim communities in Satun because putting the placenta in the ground plants the identity of the baby in the territory. I want to call your attention onto the fact that the body, and how parts of the bodies are used, become important into rooting the identity in the territory. The placenta is also occasionally a dangerous element for the woman's life and body. In the stories told by traditional midwives, and which doctors confirm as a phenomenon more common in Southeast Asia than the Western world, women might have certain kind of pregnancies without a fetus where the placenta is not smooth and round but presents with several lumps. In Thai, there are specific names given to these placenta formations; one term is mod khai plaa (มดไข่ปลา), and another one is khai khaangkhog (ไข่คางคก). A Buddhist midwife told me that these names have to do with the appearance of the placenta, as it looks like fish eggs. Other times the presence of this placenta is related to the existence of a small fetus that has become calcified inside the uterus, very hard, like a stone. This kind of phenomenon is called in Thai luuk krook (annson), whereas in Malay it is called anak pinang (and anak pinang kotek when it is a male fetus). These calcified fetuses that become like stones were traditionally presented to Buddhist temples so that they could be preserved within that context. These are very special bodies that make also the mother's body a place where different cosmologies, different spiritual worlds can express themselves in different physiologies. Women who have *luuk krook* become often a specific kind of spirit mediums referred to as 'mother of *luuk krook*'. These women claim to be able to help people in several ways, solving problems, advising and so on. They recount that during their performance as spirit mediums, they are possessed by the spirit of the baby, speak with the baby that they have lost, even speak in their baby's voice.

The last part of my research that I will share today concerns gendered bodies in the tsunami. I was in Satun between November 2004 and March 2005, conducting fieldwork. Several of the fishing villages where I worked were affected by the tsunami. Fisherman lost their boats and means of living; houses were completely destroyed. In 2005–2006 I followed the construction of a seawall in Tungwa (ทุ่งหว้า) district in the northern part of Satun province. I interviewed two women (portrayed here In some photographs) who were selecting and collecting stones from tall mounds to fill metal-net cages that would become the seawall's foundations. The construction of the wall became an important opportunity of income for the fishermen who had lost their boats and could not go fishing, some of them were so traumatized that they could not imagine venturing out at sea anymore. They could work with the engineering company and be paid by the day to set up the cages. Women would be paid much less because they could not fill as many cages as men would complete in one day. Women could be paid either by the cage or by the day because they could not carry and move the largest stones, so they had to fill the cages with smaller stones, requiring more time to finish. There was

therefore an enormous disparity in the amount of money women and men would get by doing this heavy work.

Another gendered aspect of the tsunami was visible in Phang Nga, where a wall was covered with pictures of disfigured bodies that were retrieved in the water. It was impossible to tell the person's identity and all these bodies and images were carrying just one message written on white labels: *puying* or *puchay* (woman or man). The only identification that was possible at first referred to the sex of the cadavers. During the identification process, the bodies of victims in the tsunami were associated to aspects of human rights, the inequality in socio-economic conditions and citizenship marked the differences in the possibility to promptly identify Thai bodies and foreign bodies.



10 | Gender, Security, and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand: Perspectives, Narratives, and Alternatives

Dr. Mala Rajo Sathian

Southeast Asian Studies University of Malaya

I would like to present some of my ideas and thoughts on the topic of WPS within the context of global and local/national scenarios. First, the UN Resolution 1325 turns 20 years old today and at the same time the renewed conflict in southern Thailand has been ongoing for almost 20 years now. Since 2004, we have been witnessing increasing number of people killed and injured and the question that arises is where is the justice? The question of justice should be contextualized from the perspective of rights. In my presentation today, I discuss human rights within the framework of security laws as I feel that is a primary concern in the Deep South taking into consideration the gross violations and abuses of the people's rights there.

If you look at the UN Resolution 1325, there are four main pillars under the WPS, namely prevention (of violence), protection (from sexual and gender based violence), participation (in peace process and decision making) and role in relief, recovery and peace building.

Much has been discussed on preventing conflict and protecting women, children as well as all other victims. To me, the third and fourth pillars which are about participation and role are important and needs deliberation. Participation must be meaningful in the context of the role that women and civilians play in peace building. I will briefly discuss the third and fourth pillars and highlight what has and can be done to move forward.

There are four main key areas. The first one is *prevention* and in the case of UN Resolution 1325, the idea was basically about preventing conflict and victimization in reference to violence. The second issue is about

protection and most people have spoken about protection particularly in the context of gender-based violence. There has been a lot of work and research on victims of gender-based violence conducted by Dr. Amporn Marddent and her team at the Center of Excellence on Women and Social Security (CEWSS) at Walailak University (WU). The play that we watched a little while ago also touched on the issue of gender-based violence. The third issue of the pillar is participation and here is where I think most of us today are going to be presenting our ideas on meaningful participation in the peace process and decision-making. In the context of participation of women, it is not just in southern Thailand but the whole of Southeast Asia. Their participation in the peace process is indirect and underrepresented. It is a scenario of women not seen at the discussion table, not constituting a significant part of the peace negotiations, with some rare exception, of course. Women are mostly behind the scene, but they have a significant albeit indirect role to play and I hope to elaborate on this. The last point is the role in relief and recovery and peacebuilding where the majority of civil society organizations in southern Thailand are doing a great job. Local CSOs visit people, extend help and assistance, and allocate funding. There are also platforms through CSOs for people to seek justice and address their loss.

The second context is the local scenario relating to the southern border provinces; Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat which has been the site of renewed violence since 2004. The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda has been employed through the CSOs in the context of the south. On the national front, the political will to push forward a National Action Plan has been somewhat lacking, as with most other countries in the ASEAN region (Philippines being the exception).

The third context is more of a progress review, we look back to understand the significance of the UN Resolution 1325 and how much of the WPS agenda has facilitated in empowering and including women as peace makers and builders. The CSOs and activists involved in providing assistance and advocacy in the Deep South have faced much challenges because the security laws generally do not protect the rights of the people. The Emergency Decree 2005 and the Internal Security Act of 2008 have subjected people to injustice, fear, intimidation, violation, threat to personal security, leading to heavy handed tactics by the police and death in custody. Laws that have been introduced tend to punish the victims rather than the perpetrator, even activists have faced intimidation, subjected to police surveillance and brutality. From the death in custody cases to disappearance of activists, all point to the personal security threat faced by activists and civilians. These are setbacks that prevent justice and by extension led to the stalled peace process there. The present global pandemic has made it much more difficult; the hardship and sufferings have doubled in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic. Angkhana Neelaphaijit would be speaking about the experiences of women during the pandemic and how this is preventing women and girls from access to help, healthcare, support and mental wellbeing, in fact it amplifies their vulnerability to potential gender based violence from being lockdown at home. Refugee women and children are cut off from food and other necessities when movement is restricted.

Regarding women and peace in the southern border provinces, it is important to highlight the challenges faced in this area. Everything has remained status quo. There has not been much improvement in the sense that people are still marginalized, vulnerable, and not protected. There were many cases pointing to rights abuse, for instance the case of the judge from the south who shot himself because he was dissatisfied with the discriminatory judgement practices in cases involving Muslims in the south. There are ample evidences that indicate that in the case of southern Thailand, the victim is the one who is punished. The security laws give the military and police unchecked powers to assault, detain and torture.

In the Deep South, the role of women in peace and security has been largely indirect, operating within a strongly patriarchal and conservative community background. Leadership continues to be seen within this traditional context. How women operate amidst these issues needs some reflection. How do women deal with gender inequality, hardship, and suffering? What kind of strategies, norms and practices or intervention can be implemented within the community? The types of intervention can be policies or any kind of community empowerment that co-opts women into the decision making process and gives them the agency to change for a better life. It is important to have inclusive policies that create credible institutions to govern, protect, and prevent. Nepal and some war torn countries have been successful in empowering women through their National Action Plans (NAP). In situations where there is a lack of political will, credible institutions will be unlikely formed through the government. This is by no means a dead end: communities can engineer or create these institutions, *prevention*, where the people give or share for the common good. I will briefly mention how this can be done.

I am suggesting community-based solutions rather than policies such as decentralization that might not be so easily achieved at present. At the local level, what we can think about is how community creates solidarity, mechanisms and policies. It could be indirect in association with multiple stakeholders to actually provide this common good. You could have peace and security, well-being, health, economic prosperity, sharing of resources, and ways of mitigating environmental crisis. For instance, in Pattani, the majority of people who rely on fishing suffer because of the environmental crisis there. When men are not able to go to the sea, then obviously their families, the women, and children are affected. This is a vicious cycle that needs to be overcome, perhaps via community-based solutions.

I come back to the idea of meaningful participation because I remember two years ago when I attended the conference organized at WU, Rekindle the Logic of Women and Security in Southeast Asian Conflict Conference (2018), the term meaningful participation was used rather liberally. What kind of participation? How can it be made meaningful? In the context of WPS, there are two tracks to providing peace and security. Track one deals with the formal institution, so it could be engaging with the state, UN agencies, or ASEAN. This is not under our control, but track two is the one that we can avail benefits from. This is the soft approach through which we can bring about some kind of governance mechanism via the engagement of the civil society organizations and academia. In the Deep South, many of the civil society organizations and academic groups have done a great job in trying to bring relief to people facing hardship. In fact, this mechanism has been far more effective than track one approaches. What other ways of moving forward or indirect engagements can involve women's meaningful participation? One of them is entrepreneurship. Women who are involved in entrepreneurship such as small-scale business, microfinances and home industries facilitate sales of products or even village-based industry. This kind of entrepreneurship gives women public space. Their visibility in the public

empowers them. It gives them credibility in a way that it will also give them some kind of hegemony; control and power.

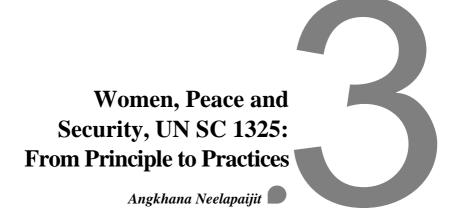
Another approach is related to indirect engagement via group solidarity through CSOs. There are plenty of examples from the south where women have rallied to provide solidarity. Angkhana Neelaphaijit, for example, founded a group that provided a platform for people seeking justice from victimization at the hands of the state apparatus. Anchana Heemmimah led another group, followed by many others. This solidarity has moved forward now with another kind of activism that has attracted young people or youth because in some sense, it is informed and 'viralized' by social media. The Generation Z who have been demonstrating on the streets of Bangkok have engaged in new and impactful participation via poetry and the arts. Using characters and gestures borrowed from popular movies and through ideas such as peace education, the generation Z have pushed the boundaries of meaningful ways of highlighting injustices and demanding change. In the play that was performed at the beginning of the program just now, the performers were trying to send a strong message. These are ways of trying to engage with the idea of peace and these seem to be far more impactful than traditional protests. Over the last two weekends in Bangkok, scenes from Harry Potter to Marvel and Les Miserable were reenacted to send the message of demands for change. Obviously, this kind of popular culture adapted for activism seems to be very effective. This is my third point that one could meaningfully engage using the arts in order to get some kind of visibility.

Finally, the one which is probably the top most in meaningful engagement is advocacy. More than providing temporary relief and aids, what needs to be forthcoming is an active role in peace making and peace building. There must be meaningful engagement to discuss and demand for the end of the draconian laws in the Deep South. These laws basically *remove* rights from the people, rights from being represented and rights from receiving justice. There needs to be a transformation from culture of reaction to culture of prevention.

From the many studies that provide the statistics and evidence that point to injustices, rights violations etc, effective policy recommendations should follow. For a start we may consider the connections or overlaps between WPS as listed in the UN Resolution and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). SDG 16 deals with peace, justice, and strong institutions (community and local governance) while SDG 5 is relevant to gender equality and SDG 10 aims to reduce inequality. Perhaps we can move forward from the framework of WPS and UN Resolution 1325 to engage further or to connect with the SDGs. The point is justice and well-being are cross-cutting. If you look at SDG16, it deals with peace and justice while SDG 5 and 10 refer to gender equality and reducing inequality. All these seem to be overlapping, so perhaps by looking beyond WPS, we can actually start engaging on human rights violations and work towards justice *because peace is not a condition of no war, but it is a condition that provides justice.* We need to speak in a way that this can be embraced.

The Human Rights Watch World Report (Thailand) (2018 and 2019) and Amnesty International Report (Thailand, 2020) and many other research and survey outcomes have reported on the human rights violations in Thailand. While there has not been any major policy change on the part of the state, social movements in the south deserve much credit for mitigating the impact of violence on women; from providing aid to assistance and counsel, their roles have shaped meaningful inclusion of women in the peace agenda. Indeed, they are the potential drivers of change and transformation in the conflict zone of the south.

On that note, I end my talk. Thank you.



Angkhana Neelapaijit¹

Thank you very much Dr. Amporn and thanks Walailak University for having me today.

Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh, and Good morning everyone.

I will speak in English as Dr. Amporn asked but will speak some Thai for ours Thai students. I want to start my speech after listening to the panelists, I am not surprise why in the survey we found that most Malayu Muslim women love to work on wellbeing and development because this is the nature of women and most women maybe they do not want to work on torture because maybe they do not want to challenge with the police or the state officer. That is very challenging, especially for the women in conflict area but if any of you have opportunity to travelling to southern Thailand, if you visit the hospitals, if you visit the military barracks or the prisons, and most of the people whom visited are women. We can see women everywhere, in the markets, in the hospitals, in the military barracks, which everywhere are women. So it's very challenging.

Today my speech will focus on women peace and security (WPS). I will focus on the case study from principle to practices. I will talk about women's peace and security in the human rights lens from my experiences and I think we cannot talk about UN Security Council Resolution 1325 without talking about the international law. In 2012, the CERD committee has raised their concerned to Thai Government as the State Party that - "Malayu women are facing double discrimination in many fields of political and social

¹ Angkhana Neelapaijit is Chairperson of Justice for Peace Foundation, former Commissioner National Human Rights Commission Thailand and Founder and Steering Committee of Southeast Asian Network of Women Peace Negotiators and Mediators.

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life (art. 2, 5(d))". The Committee also gave recommendations to Thailand that;

"Bearing in mind the intersectionality of ethnicity and religion in certain circumstances and taking into account the Committee's general recommendation No. 25 (2000) on gender-related dimensions of racial discrimination, the Committee urges the State party to take the necessary measures, including legislative ones, to ensure, in accordance with the Convention, the equal treatment and non-discrimination of Malayu women."

I will try to go fast and I welcome your questions or comments. I think we have very good progressive for Muslim women from The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the OIC declaration on women² were under the meeting of Ministry of Women of OIC Member States. The OIC encourages the members' state to encourage Muslim women, for example, to accept the justice for wellbeing, for the reproductive rights of women and to include women in the peace process and especially for the decision making policy. The latest declaration of the meeting of Ministry of Women of OIC happened in Burkina Faso, it insisted on the adoption of specific laws to fight violence, and for the prevention of violence in respect for the human dignity of women in all its physical and moral dimensions.

This year, we celebrated 20 anniversary of UN Security Council 1325 and actually, for Thailand under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, Thailand has strategy, this strategy on women's peace and security, I think, this strategy was announced maybe last couple of years but until now, there is no action plan, no budget and nothing. So, there is only strategy to reply to the international community that Thailand must provide protection mechanism for women in conflict area. I will not explain about 1325 because I think, Ajarn.Mala already talked a lot. For UN SC 1325, I think the students can search in Google, so that you can understand this resolution. UN SC 1325 mention about women in the conflict area, how women can engage to peace's process or to be involved in the decision-making policy. In Thailand actually it did not apply only for women in southern border provinces but also in the north at the border, the refugees, asylum seeker's women or maybe in Bangkok or in other parts of our country

² https://www.oic-oci.org/confdetail/?cID=35&lan=en

that now we have a lot of protests. So, it's this like some of the conflict area that now we can see the world and the country so that why we need women.

As I mentioned earlier that 1325 alone cannot properly manage if it did not include the international human rights laws. For example - CEDAW and UN SC 1325, the CEDAW has very good recommendations for the women in southern border provinces of Thailand. May I code on the article 11, paragraph F, state that - "... ensure that religion and customary justice systems harmonized their norm, procedure and practices, did the convention and provided capacity building on women rights."

And in article 23, paragraph b, it is said "... increase its effort to end the conflict in the southern border provinces and ensure that the military, law enforcement official, and non-state armed groups international humanitarian and human rights law in particular with regard to the protection of women and girls who are not engage in conflict from all kinds of violence."³

So now I will raise some of cases studies to share with you because during COVID-19 pandemic as you know that women are poorest of the poor so that most women in our country effected a lot by COVID-19 but I will highlight only Malayu Muslim women in southern border provinces.

The first case: The case of Suhaida

The case of Suhaida, this happened on 2nd April this year (2020). At the beginning of COVID-19 widespread in southern border provinces, one of Suhaida's family members returned from neighboring country and after that he was found that he was affected by COVID-19. So when it was reported the Public Health Team in the province ask him for self-guarantee in order for prevention, the family was not allowed to go out of house and the village and was closed. Suhaida is only one who didn't stay at home as her work with some NGO on gender equality in Pattani. When the guarantee happened the family not know how to do, who will give them food or water or other things that they can survive during this situation. Then she complained to her colleague who is a journalist called "*Patani Note*" the Patani Note wrote some articles about Suhaida about how difficult for her and her family to

³https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDA W%2fC%2fTHA%2fCO%2f6-7&Lang=en

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access the food or other accommodations but after the article was post on the website, she was attacked by so many people not only her but also the "*Patani Note*". They were attacked by the medical health team that Suhaida should not say any bad words to medical health team, later the journalist was forced to withdraw that article from the website. After that academics and Civil Society Organizations more than 150 persons and groups released the statement to support Suhaida that this is the press's freedom and freedom of expression and without this people cannot access any assistance during the pandemic of corona virus.

The second case

This was happened on 9th of April, the case of a wife of the village headman in Pattani, when one man in the village was back from Dawa' mission from the neighboring country, then it found that he was affected by COVID-19. The district government then close the village, and when the village was closed villagers has questions how can they access to food or other things e.g. clean water, milk powder, medicine or others. Then the wife of the village headman posted a video clip in social media asking for milk powder for babies, the sanitary for women who having period, napkins for children and she also asked for food for all the villagers because the villagers cannot go out of the village. And when the video clip was viral, she was attacked by the state officers that she made the bad impression to the provincial and she was forced to withdraw her clips from social media.

The third case: The case of Rohingya women in detention facility

In May 2020, 26 Rohingya women and children who were detained in detention facility in Sadoa District Songkhla Province were affected by COVID-19⁴, we are deeply concerned because UN Secretariat General often raise his concerns to all member states over the world to pay more attention to all people, all prisoners especially those who were detained at the IDC. For Thailand, actually, Thailand has MOU that IDC will have no children detention since January 2019⁵, that mean children with their mother will not

 $^{^4\} https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1910688/virus-sparks-bid-to-transfer-26-detained-rohingya$

 $^{^5}$ https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/1619638/time-to-end-the-detention-of-children

be detained, I am quite surprised why the Sadao's IDC still has children with their mother and 26 women and children who affected by COVID-19 that have no family to be visited, now they are still detained. I asked that why women and children were not allowed to stay outside the IDC, the officer reply that the shelter for women and children not has enough space for the refugees.

The fourth case: The online harassment

This is the case of online attacked to women who stayed at the state quarantine. A woman who was back from neighboring country and she had to stay under the state quarantine then she received some texts from the official, actually the people who back from other counties have to give their telephone or Line or Whatsapp sharing with officers so they can communicate via the massager box, this women received the message about sexual harassment. It believed that the man who sent her was the soldier and he asked to have sexual intercourse with her. When she complained to her colleague outside the state quarantine, she felt guilty because many people said that she spoke something that might have like bad impression to the state officer who work very hard. The military from the ISOC 4 said the man who sent message to her was not the one who work at the state quarantine, he was not in that area but nobody can investigate how this message come to her telephone, at the end she felt very upset and she did not want to ask for justice anymore.

The fifth case

This case just happened recent this year, in July a women was arrested under the martial law because the soldier said that she allowed the insurgent to stay in her house. She has four or five children while she had run away, this is her house actually but her younger brother brought his friends to stay in the house, she cannot say no. There were some militaries searched in her house, then they were fighting and that man died. Then she was arrested, actually under the martial law, the military can arrest the people without any charges. And after she was detained at military barrack, she was sent to the court, and she was convinced to confess that she allowed the insurgent to stay in her house. The question is when she was arrested under the martial law and if the soldier wanted to charge her with the criminate code, she had rights to visited by lawyer and the persons that she trust, regarding to constitution and ICCPR she has rights not to give any information against herself, but she cannot access her lawyer when she went to the court and the judge asked if she wanted to have some volunteer lawyers, she said no, she was really exhausted, and she only wanted to back to her house then the judge state that she must imprisoned for 3 months but as this is her first guilty so she was under probation for 1 year.

The sixth case

This is a woman I visited last year who stays with 5 children, her husband ran away to the neighboring country and she stays alone with her children, before COVID-19 she often go to visit her husband, and she has very small children. She said that at night time, the military often visited her house when she was alone with her children, she survived by earning some money as a dress maker, every time when the military visited, there're many soldiers around her house and they love to took her children apart, she was really scared that the military would take her children. Actually, the military forced her to tell them where her husband was. And when she was pregnant, she said that many often asked her how can she got pregnant while her husband did not stay with her. So you know that this is women human rights, women can pregnant without telling anybody who is her husband but for women in the separatist movement, they were forced to tell where their husband are.

The seventh case: Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence: we have a lot of cases of incest; this is the picture the girl I visited. This family has around four daughters, all of the four were raped by their farther, but how mother solved the problem was she forced her daughters to married with some men in the village. But this is her youngest daughter, she cannot force her to marry because when she found her daughter pregnant it was around 30 weeks pregnancy so now this girl was send to a shelter in Yala to take care of her.

The eight case: Child marriage

Child marriage is very popular in Narathiwat, recently the 14 years old girls was forced to get married to a Malaysian man who was many year older than her. Actually her parent work with him in Kelantan. When you heard the story like this, you might be anger that why we allow it happened? Most of the cases we know after the girls were already forced to married. When I anti the child marriage most people asked why I want to separate her from her husband and this is Islam. For me I think Muslim men in southern border provinces do not understand Quran and Hadith, they enjoy polygamy and not concerned how old the girl of the bride. Since this case happened, the Sheikul Islam gave recommendation that the girls under 17 should not allow to marry but this is only recommendation and it cannot force.

The ninth case: Gang rape in Muslim community

A 14 years old girl in one of the upper south province who was raped by around 20 men in Muslim village, now her case is at the Supreme Court and more than 10 men received around 20 years sentenced and one found death sentence regarding to the appeal court verdict and now the case is at the Supreme Court. The most interesting thing is that when it happened in Muslim's community, and the victim stayed in the shelter under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, and she stay in the shelter. The president of Provincial Islamic Committee asked to have a meeting with her, it's not only him but around 10 people went to the shelter with him and asked to meet with the victim they asked victim's mother for negotiation and to allowed the victim to marry (nikah) with one man who raped her and stop filing the case to the court. The president of Provincial Islamic Committee said that this problem must be solved by Islamic way not Thai judiciary. As the Human Rights Commissioner I called the shelter that please take care of the victim and the shelter must not allow any people that is not their duty to meet with the victim.

The next slide in my presentation, this is a very popular man, he is an English teacher in the SBPs, he is a rapist who raped around 5 girls under 15 years old, now he escapes after bail.

The female circumcision is one thing I want to mentioned, the CEDAW committee and OIC recommended that no one can make the circumcision to the baby girl but actually, in SBPs most of the person who do that they used to be the midwife and they operated it by use the blade to cut the clitoris of the girl but nobody know how damage it was. Most women and girls in SBPs experienced circumcision but nobody wants to stand up and say no to this practice. For all women and girls, they have rights to enjoy sexual

life so why some people allowed to forced them for circumcision on behalf of Islam.

Last but not least, my question is how we can endure these, there're a lot of serious human rights violation to women and girls in our society, while we have a lot of NGOs but without gender lens, without human rights lens. I think is difficult to protect the rights of women and girls, it's challenged to colleagues and friends who said that they are human rights defender or work on women human rights and if we allow these repeatedly happened. in my life, I never use to see any of the Islamic leader stand up and say no to all kinds of violence against women and girls, I think it really challenge for all of us.

Thank you very much.



King Prajadhipok's Institute and Peace Studies in Southern Thailand

สถาบันพระปกเกล้ากับ งานด้านสันติภาพในชายแดนใต้

Wilasinie Sopapol

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King Prajadhipok's Institute and Peace Studies in Southern Thailand

สถาบันพระปกเกล้ากับงานด้านสันติภาพในชายแดนใต้6

Wilasinie Sopapol

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การเสนอผลงานประเด็น gender (เพศสภาพ) ของดิฉันเองยังมีไม่มากมากเท่ากับ ท่านอื่น ๆ ครั้งนี้ถือว่าเป็นการแลกเปลี่ยนแนวคิด ประสบการณ์ทำงานที่สถาบันพระปกเกล้ามา ประมาณปีเศษ รับผิดชอบงานวิจัย Peace Survey และถอดบทเรียนของผู้ที่เก็บข้อมูล พบว่ามี หลายประเด็นที่น่าสนใจ เช่นมุมมองของผู้หญิงในเรื่องการเป็นพนักงานเก็บข้อมูลของ Peace survey วันนี้มาในตัวแทนของสถาบันพระปกเกล้าในฐานะเจ้าหน้าที่ของรัฐที่เป็นหน่วยงาน ภายใต้การกำกับของรัฐสภาซึ่งอิงกับการเมืองระดับชาติค่อนข้างสูง ทำให้เราได้เห็นอีกมุมมอง อีกมิติหนึ่งที่เราได้สัมผัสว่าความเป็นเพศมีผลต่อการขับเคลื่อนในเชิงนโยบายจริง ก่อนอื่นจะทำ ให้เห็นภาพคร่าว ๆ เรื่องสถาบันพระปกเกล้ากับงานด้านสันติภาพชายแดนใต้ ก่อนแล้วค่อย เชื่อมโยงไปว่ามีประเด็น gender ที่ขาดหายไปหรือไม่

สถาบันพระปกเกล้าเป็นสถาบันวิชาการในด้านประชาธิปไตยธรรมาภิบาลและสันติ วิธี ซึ่งดิฉันเองทำงานสังกัดสำนักสันติวิธีและธรรมาภิบาล รับผิดชอบงานที่สามจังหวัดชายแดน ภาคใต้เป็นหลัก สถาบันพระปกเกล้ามีสำนักที่ทำงานการให้ความรู้ กำหนดผ่านการจัดหลักสูตร เสริมสร้างสังคมสันติสุข หรือ 4 ส. เป็นหลักสูตร 4 ปี ทั้งเป็นหลักสูตรใหญ่ซึ่งจัดโดยสถาบัน พระปกเกล้าเอง ทั้งที่สำนักงานและจัดในสามจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ด้วย รวมถึงการจัดเวที สาธารณะต่าง ๆ เพื่อรวบรวมประเด็นความคิดเห็นจากประชาชน แต่สิ่งที่จะมาพูดวันนี้คือ ประเด็นของงานวิจัยเป็นหลัก

⁶ In the beginning of Wilasinie's talk, she started that as the researcher of King Prajadhipok's Institute, there are more than 10 works of the institute. Peace survey is one among the studies that can be shared and discussed where the gender perspective in peace process in conflict area.

งาบวิจัยที่สถาบับพระปกเกล้า ให้ความสำคัญเป็นอย่างสูงจากที่ดิฉันได้ ทำการรวบรวบ หรือทบทวนสถาบภาพ องค์ความรู้เกี่ยวกับกระบวนการสร้าง สันติภาพในจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ที่สถาบัน พระปกเกล้าทำมาเมื่อเริ่มโครงการตั้งแต่ ้ปี 2549 ซึ่งดิฉับยังไบ่ได้บาทำงาบที่บี่ ทำ ให้เห็นภาพรวมว่างานตั้งแต่ตอนนั้บเป็น อย่างไร บีอะไรที่เราจะต้องเติบเต็บหรือ แก้ปัญหาช่องโหว่ ในฐานะงานวิชาการ เราจะเห็นว่างานของสถาบันพระปกเกล้า ที่เกี่ยวกับสามจังหวัดชายแดนใต้มี ประมาณสิบงาน ซึ่งเป็นงานของนักศึกษา 3 ชิ้น งานวิจัยรวมถึงงานสรุปเอกสารเวที สาธารณะด้วย ได้แก่ ทัศนคติเรื่องความ ขัดแย้งของประชาชนใน 5 จังหวัด ชายแดนใต้ และทางเลือกอื่นในการ แก้ปัญหาความขัดแย้งในภูมิภาค (วันชัย วัฒนศัพท์ และคณะ 2549). ปัญหาความ ไม่สงบในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้: บท วิเคราะห์และแนวทางการแก้ปัญหาเชิง รุกที่ยั่งยืนด้วยสันติวิธี (4ส รุ่นที่ 1, 2552), เสวนาการเมืองการปกครองที่ เหมาะสมในจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ภายใต้ รัฐธรรมนูญไทย (2553), สันติธานี วิถี วัฒนธรรมสู่สันติภาพชายแดนใต้ (4ส รุ่น



ที่ 2, 2554), ปัตตานีมหานครภายใต้รัฐธรรมนูญไทย: ความพยายามในการแสวงหาแนวทางการ อยู่ร่วมกันอย่างยั่งยืนในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ผ่านการปกครองท้องถิ่นรูปแบบพิเศษ (2554), สนทนาชายแดนใต้/ปาตานี: บทสังเคราะห์จากการสัมมนาเชิงปฏิบัติการวิเคราะห์ความขัดแย้ง (ครั้งที่ 1 - 5) (IPP, 2555), โครงการวิจัยว่าด้วยการแปรเปลี่ยนความขัดแย้ง (Conflict Transformation) (สำนักสันติวิธีและธรรมาภิบาล และมูลนิธิซาซากาว่า, 2555 - 2560), เครือข่ายสตรีเพื่อสันติสุขในพื้นที่ชายแดนใต้ (สำนักสันติวิธีและธรรมาภิบาล, 2556), สันติสุข เกิดได้ภายใต้ความแตกต่าง (4ส รุ่นที่ 6, 2559), การสำรวจความคิดเห็นประชาชนต่อ กระบวนการสันติภาพจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ (เครือข่าย Peace Survey, 2559 – ปัจจุบัน)

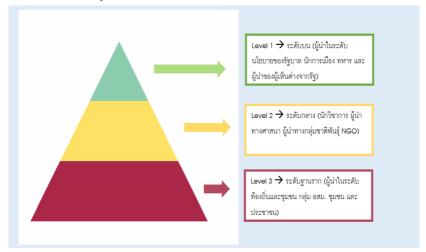
งานแรกเกี่ยวกับการสำรวจความคิดเห็นของประชาชนมีความสำคัญมาก เรื่องแรกที่ เกี่ยวกับจังหวัดชายแดบภาคใต้ คือเรื่อง ทัศบคติเรื่องความขัดแย้งของประชาชบใบ 5 จังหวัด ชายแดนใต้ และทางเลือกอื่นในการแก้ปัญหาความขัดแย้งในภูมิภาค (วันชัย วัฒนศัพท์ และ คณะ 2549) การสำรวจความคิดเห็นของประชาชนมีการสำรวจมาตั้งแต่ปี 2549 ตอนนั้นสำรวจ ้ความเห็นประชาชนชายแดนภาคใต้ประมาณ 900 คน ในพื้นที่สามจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ จากนั้นปี 2552 มีงานของศิษย์เก่ารุ่นที่ 1 ซึ่งคณอังคณา นีละไพจิตร ก็อยู่ในนั้นด้วย ศึกษา เกี่ยวกับปัญหาความไม่สงบในจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ โดยนำมาเป็นบทวิเคราะห์และแนวทางการ แก้ปัญหาเชิงรุกซึ่งหลายข้อถูกเอาไปปรับประยุกต์ใช้ในงานเชิงนโยบายว่าด้วยเรื่องของ ปัญหา ้ความไม่สงบในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้: บทวิเคราะห์และแนวทางการแก้ปัญหาเชิงรกที่ยั่งยืน ด้วยสันติวิธี (4ส รุ่นที่ 1, 2552) รายงานชิ้นนี้นับว่ามีประโยชน์อย่างยิ่งในการวิเคราะห์ตัวแสดง ที่หลากหลายเนื่องจากในบทแรกได้กล่าวถึงการวิเคราะห์สภาพปัญหาซึ่งกล่าวให้เห็นถึงคู่ขัดแย้ง ้ว่าใครขัดแย้งกับใคร ทั้งตัวแสดงหลักที่ขัดแย้ง และตัวแสดงรองโดยใช้แนวทางการวิเคราะห์ตัว แสดง (Actor analysis) ที่ทำให้เห็นตัวแสดงที่หลากหมายมากขึ้น เช่น กลุ่มผู้มีอิทธิพลผิด กฎหมาย และกลุ่มแสวงหาผลประโยชน์จากงบประมาณ และกองกำลังไม่ทราบฝ่าย (ที่ไม่ใช่รัฐ และไม่ใช่กลุ่มผู้เห็นต่างจากรัฐ) และยังได้วิเคราะห์ให้เห็นถึงรากเหง้าปัญหาความขัดแย้ง เช่น ความรู้สึกไม่ได้รับความเป็นธรรม ความไม่ไว้เนื้อเชื่อใจ ความทรงจำบาดแผลทางประวัติศาสตร์ และโครงสร้างการบริหารการปกครอง ด้านกฎหมายและนโยบายทางการเมือง เศรษฐกิจ และ สังคมวัฒนธรรม อันเป็นนโยบายกลางของรัฐ ที่ไม่สอดคล้องกับพื้นที่ และไม่เอื้อให้ประชาชนมี ส่วนร่วมโดยตรง

ในปี 2553 มีการสัมมนาศึกษาแนวทางการปกครองที่เหมาะสมกับจังหวัดชายแดน ภาคใต้ภายใต้รัฐธรรมนูญไทย ปี 2554 มี 2 งานที่น่าสนใจก็คือสันติธานีเป็นวิถีวัฒนธรรมสู่ สันติภาพชายแดน ซึ่งเป็นรายงานการศึกษาว่าด้วยการสร้างโมเดล (ต้นแบบ) เพื่อการอยู่ร่วมกัน อย่างสันติสุขในพื้นที่จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ ของนักศึกษาหลักสูตรการเสริมสร้างสังคมสันติสุข รุ่นที่ 2 ใช้วิธีวิทยาเชิงคุณภาพผ่านการสนทนากลุ่มกับประชาชนหลากหลายกลุ่มอาชีพ ทั้งหมด 45 คน ได้แก่ นักการเมืองท้องถิ่น ผู้นำศาสนา บุคลากรทางการศึกษา บุคลาการทาง สาธารณสุข สตรี เยาวชน นักเรียน นิสิต และนักศึกษา เป็นกลุ่มตัวอย่างในการพูดคุยในเรื่อง ความต้องการและความคาดหวังของประชาชนต่อรูปแบบการจัดการบริการของหน่วยงานรัฐ ที่ มีความสอดคล้องกับวิถีท้องถิ่น และยังได้ศึกษาตัวแบบหน่วยงานภาครัฐ ได้แก่ โรงพยาบาล โรงเรียน และสถานีตำรวจ เพื่อหารูปแบบ (โมเดล) การจัดบริการที่สอดคล้องกับวิถีวัฒนธรรม ท้องถิ่นด้วย โดยแนวคิดหลักที่นำมาใช้ในการศึกษาคือความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรม (Cultural Diversity)

งานปี 2553 ที่พูดถึงเรื่องการปกครองก็คือปัตตานีมหานครภายใต้รัฐธรรมนูญไทย ้นับเป็นความพยายามในการแสวงหาแนวทางการอยู่ร่วมกันอย่างยั่งยืนและสันติในจังหวัด ชายแดนภาคใต้ผ่านการปกครองท้องถิ่นรูปแบบพิเศษ ซึ่งเมื่อปี 2556 มีงานสนทนาชายแดนใต้ ที่นำบทสังเคราะห์จากการสัมมนาเชิงปฏิบัติการมาวิเคราะห์ความขัดแย้ง ในปี 2555 มีงานที่ ้น่าสนใจอีกชิ้นคือ Conflict transformation (การแปรเปลี่ยนความขัดแย้ง) ซึ่งได้รับ งบุประมาณจาก SASAKAWA Peace Foundation งานนชิ้นนี้ได้ลงรายละเอียดให้เห็นถึง ้ปัญหา รากเหง้าที่เกี่ยวพันกันหลายประเด็นในสามจังหวัดชายแดน ที่ตั้งอยู่บนการไม่มีเสรีภาพ และไม่มีความยุติธรรมในเรื่องราวทางประวัติศาสตร์ ชาติพันธุ์ และศาสนา ระหว่างรัฐไทยและ กลุ่มผู้ที่เห็นต่างจากรัฐ โดยจุดมุ่งหมายหลักของโปรเจคนี้เป็นไปเพื่อริเริ่มให้เกิดกระบวนการ พูดคุยสันติภาพ/ สันติสุขขึ้น และทำให้มันยั่งยืน โดยเป็นการประชุมลับกับกลุ่มผู้ที่เกี่ยวข้องกับ กลุ่มผู้มีส่วนได้ส่วนเสียที่เกี่ยวข้องกับปัญหา เป็นการร่วมแลกเปลี่ยนในสามหลักการในการ ทำงานร่วมกัน คือ ทำงานกับหลากหลายตัวแสดง (Multi- partiality) การดึงคนเข้ามาร่วม (Inclusivity) และ ความไม่ปรากฏ (Invisibility) ซึ่งยุทธศาสตร์ร่วมของสถาบันพระปกเกล้า และ SASAKAWA Peace Foundation ในแง่ของความขัดแย้งนั้นจะทำงานร่วมกันทั้ง 3 tracks โดยที่สำนักสันติวิธีและธรรมาภิบาล มีฐานจากนักศึกษาหลักสูตรประกาศนียบัตรชั้นสูง การ เสริมสร้างสังคมสันติสุข (4ส) ที่มีความกระตือรือร้น และมีเครือข่ายของผู้ทำงานระดับนโยบาย และนักศึกษาหลักสูตรการเสริมสร้างสันติสุขจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ (4ส ใต้) ที่กระจายตัว ทำงานกันอยู่ในพื้นที่สามจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ ทำงานร่วมกันใน track 3 โดยมีคลังสมอง คือ สถาบันพระปกเกล้าและ SASAKAWA Peace Foundation เป็นตัวกลางในฐานะกระบวนกร ระหว่างรัฐไทยและผู้เห็นต่างจากรัฐ โดยมีเครือข่ายภาคประชาสังคมในสามจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ เป็นผู้สนับสนุนข้อมูล

ในปี 2556 มีงานน่าสนใจที่เกี่ยวข้องกับผู้หญิง นั่นคืองานเครือข่ายสตรีเพื่อสันติสุข ในพื้นที่ชายแดนใต้ มีงานชิ้นเดียว งานวิจัยนี้เป็นงานสัมภาษณ์เครือข่ายสตรีในพื้นที่จังหวัด ชายแดนใต้จำนวน 136 องค์กร ในสามจังหวัดชายแดน และสี่อำเภอในจังหวัดสงขลา โดยมี กลุ่มเป้าหมายคือกลุ่มผู้นำสตรีในชายแดนใต้ ผ่านการถอดบทเรียนด้วยการสนทนากลุ่มใน ประเด็นสตรีกับสันติภาพใน 7 ประเด็นด้วยกัน คือ สตรีกับการเมือง สตรีกับเศรษฐกิจและการ เสริมสร้างอาชีพ สตรีกับกระบวนการยุติธรรมและสิทธิมนุษยชน สตรีกับศาสนา การศึกษา และ วัฒนธรรม สตรีกับการเยียวยา สตรีกับการถดความรุนแรง และสตรีกับการมีส่วนร่วมใน กระบวนการสันติภาพ

นอกจากนั้นแล้ว ตอนนี้ที่กำลังทำมาร่วมสองปีคือการสำรวจความคิดเห็นประชาชน ต่อกระบวนการสันติภาพจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ซึ่งทำร่วมกับเครือข่ายหลากหลาย โดยมีสถาบัน พระปกเกล้าเป็นผู้สนับสนุนหรือให้ทุน จะเห็นได้ว่าเพราะมีงานวิชาการด้านสันติภาพ มีการ จัดการความรู้มากมายซึ่งสามารถนำมาแก้ไขปัญหาชายแดนใต้ (ได้จริงหรือไม่?) เป็นความ พยายามที่สำคัญ พร้อมกับการนำแนวคิดต่าง ๆ เข้ามาจับเช่นกรอบข้อเสนอของ John Paul Lederach ประเด็นวิเคราะห์งานทั้งหลาย 10 กว่าชิ้น ได้ตอบโจทย์การทำงานในกระบวนการ หรือลู่ทาง (Track) 1, 2 และ 3 ว่าเป็นอย่างไรบ้าง จะเห็นได้ว่า งานของสถาบันพระปกเกล้าชิ้น แรกว่าด้วยปัญหาความไม่สงบในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ อีกชิ้นคือ Conflict Transformation ที่ทำร่วมกับกลุ่มนักการศาสนา อีกชิ้นคือ Peace Survey ที่จะพูดถึงต่อไป เพราะงานทั้ง 3 ได้รับความสนใจจากผู้ทำงานกำหนดนโยบายเป็นอย่างมาก



ระดับที่ 1 (track 1) เกี่ยวข้องกับคนที่ทำงานในระดับนโยบาย คนคิดนโยบายและผู้ที่ ทำงานด้านนโยบายขับเคลื่อนด้านความมั่นคงของภาครัฐ ในรายงานหลายชิ้นพบว่าแม้ตอบ โจทย์ track 1 แต่ไม่ได้ให้ความสนใจต่องาน gender ประเด็นบทบาทผู้หญิง เช่นกระทรวง ยุติธรรมรวมไปถึงคณะเจรจาพูดคุยสันติสุข/สันติภาพ คณะเจรจาพูดคุยๆ ชุดใหม่ได้ไปขอข้อมูล ซึ่งในรายงานหลายชิ้นเมื่อเราไปนำเสนอต่อนโยบายต่อภาครัฐ จะมีคำถามต่อว่าใช่หรือไม่ เราจะ เห็นได้ว่า แม้มันจะตอบ track ที่ 1 ก็จริงแต่ขาดมุมมองของผู้หญิงไปค่อนข้างมาก เพราะเมื่อเรา ไปนำเสนอหรือเล่าเรื่องการทำ Peace Survey หรือว่างานอื่น ๆ ที่เกี่ยวข้องก็ตาม โดยเฉพาะ ส่วนที่ต้องการขับเคลื่อนในระดับนโยบาย มันจะถูกผูกขาดการนำเสนอเกี่ยวกับเรื่องสามจังหวัด ชายแดนภาคใต้เสมอ เช่น อนุกรรมาธิการฝั่ง track 1 นำโดยผู้ชาย ซึ่งในวงไหนก็จะมีเพียงผู้ชาย หากมีผู้หญิงก็มีไม่กี่คนที่นั่งร่วมวงอยู่บ้าง ในนั้นก็คือดิฉัน ดิฉันเป็นคนตัวเล็กตัวน้อยมาก ๆ ใน พื้นที่ตรงนั้น ไม่ได้มีบทบาทในการนำเสนอ มีบทบาทเป็นเพียงอยู่ในฐานะผู้รับฟังมุมมองกลับ นั่นแสดงว่าผู้หญิงถูกจัดวางไว้อย่างไรในระดับนโยบาย

ระดับที่ 2 (track 2) เป็นสิ่งที่พระปกเกล้าทำงานเยอะมาก เป็นเรื่องของการผสาน เครือข่ายต่าง ๆ ในภาคประชาสังคม (Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) เครือข่ายวิชาการ เห็นได้ว่างานพระปกเกล้ามักเชื่อมโยงกับระดับบนแล้วก็ระดับล่างเพื่อที่จะให้งานสันติภาพขยาย ออกไป ขยายงานสันติภาพออกไปสู่ทางระดับบนแล้วก็ระดับล่างด้วย โดยอาศัยเครือข่ายจาก ระดับกลาง โดยที่ Peace Survey เป็นหนึ่งในนั้น งานนักศึกษา 4ส ซึ่งงานนี้ทั้งพิสูจน์และก็เป็น หนึ่งในนั้น เพราะว่าเราอาศัยเครือข่ายจากหลายมหาวิทยาลัย กลุ่มนักศึกษารุ่นที่ 6 อยู่ในจุดที่ 2 เหมือนกันรวมถึงการจัดสัมมนาต่าง ๆ ที่สถาบันพระปกเกล้าร่วมกันระหว่าง Academic Centers และกลุ่ม CSOs ต่าง ๆ ที่เข้ามาร่วมเพื่อให้มีการจัดเวิร์กชอป (Workshop) การ สัมมนา (Seminar) ฝึกอบรม (Training) เพื่อก็ไห้ความรู้ ใน Track ที่ 2 จึงมีค่อนข้างมาก

ระดับที่ 3 (track 3) จะเห็นว่าเป็นกลุ่มคนที่มากที่สุดในฐานของพีระมิด แต่ว่า การศึกษาของสถาบันพระปกเกล้ายังไม่ได้ครอบคลุมถึงขั้นนี้และคนกลุ่มนี้มากนัก เพราะว่างาน สถาบันพระปกเกล้าจากที่เราเห็นเป็นอย่างที่พูดเมื่อสักครู่คือเน้นไปทางการสำรวจความคิดเห็น ประชาชน แม้เราได้ยินการส่งเสียงของประชาชน แต่ยังมีข้อจำกัดค่อนข้างมาก เพราะยังไม่มี งานวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพเกี่ยวกับภาคประชาชน ซึ่งอาจต้องทำงานส่วนนี้มากขึ้น เพราะพวกเขาเป็น คนส่วนใหญ่ เป็นคนที่เข้าใจ และได้รับความทุกขึในพื้นที่จริง ๆ ยังขาดการได้ยินเสียงประชาชน ยังไม่มีงานเชิงคุณภาพเข้าไปจับความเข้าใจ ใน Track นี้ อีกเรื่องที่ทางสถาบันพระปกเกล้าทำก็ เป็นเรื่องการสำรวจความคิดเห็นอีกเช่นกัน เป็นการสรุปเอกสารจากการจัดเวทีสัมมนาในพื้นที่ ทำให้เห็นว่าเรายังไม่มีงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวกับภาคประชาชนจริง ๆ ในงานของสถาบันพระปกเกล้า เนื่องจากคนกลุ่มนี้เป็นคนที่เข้าใจความทุกข์ทรมานในพื้นที่ แล้วเราต้องการได้ยินเสียงของเขา จริง ๆ ต้อง coding หรือถอดรหัสเสียงออกมาให้ได้เพื่อที่จะสนับสนุนเสียงของเขาอย่างแท้จริง แม้ทำ survey แต่เราต้องการแก้ปัญหาความขัดแย้ง รหัสคำพูดของผู้คนยังไม่สามารถทำออกมา ให้ได้ ว่าทำไมมันถึงเป็นแบบนั้น จะเห็นได้ว่างานที่พูดไปทั้งหมดมีงานเกี่ยวกับผู้หญิงแค่ชิ้นเดียว กรอบการมองเรื่องราวของผู้หญิงและเพศสภาพที่ขาดหายไปทำให้เราต้องมานั่งพิจารณาว่า ทำไมมันถึงหายไปได้ขนาดนี้

คำถามมาสู่เรื่องนโยบายหรือว่ายุทธศาสตร์ที่เป็นตัวกำหนดกรอบงานวิจัยของ สถาบันพระปกเกล้าเอง ทำให้ละเลยประเด็นเรื่องความเสมอภาคทางเพศไปด้วยหรือไม่ หาก พิจารณาเห็นว่าสถาบันพระปกเกล้ามีแผนยุทธศาสตร์ของตัวเอง แผนนี้ถูกครอบด้วย SDGs (กรอบการพัฒนาอย่างยั่งยืน) และแผนยทธศาสตร์ชาติ ซึ่ง SDG 16 ถูกหยิบเอามามาตราเดียว ้ว่าด้วย Peace and Justice แค่ถูกหยิบยกมาแค่เพียงบางส่วนของ SDG 16 ประเด็นของ ยุทธศาสตร์ชาติ ในสำนักสันติวิธีและธรรมาภิบาลถูกกำหนดในยุทธศาสตร์ด้านความมั่นคงที่ เกี่ยวข้องกับสามจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ ซึ่งใน 70 หน้าของยุทธศาสตร์ชาติมีคำว่าผู้หญิงเพียง 3 คำ เท่านั้นอยู่ในย่อหน้าเดียวกันด้วย นั่นแสดงว่าการให้น้ำหนักน้อยมาก ไม่ได้ให้ความสนใจกับเรื่อง ผู้หญิงเท่าที่ควร ในแผนยุทธศาสตร์ที่ครอบแผนสถาบันนั้นมีการให้คุณค่ากับผู้หญิงน้อยขนาดนี้ จึงทำให้เรื่องของความเสมอภาคทางเพศในงานต่าง ๆ น้อยลงไปด้วย หรือแทบไม่ได้กล่าวถึงเลย ด้วยซ้ำ แต่เบ้บไปที่การเสริมสร้างสถาบับทางประชาธิปไตยให้บีความเข้มแข็งใบลักษณะที่ขาด มิติความหลากหลายทางเพศ หรือความเสมอภาคทางเพศด้วย ซึ่งเมื่อเราพูดถึงประชาธิปไตย การสร้างระบบหรือให้คุณค่าต่อสันติภาพ สันติวิธี และความยุติธรรมนั้นต้องมีต่อคนทุกเพศทุก ้วัย ซึ่งหากเริ่มให้ความสำคัญกับเรื่องเพศ จะทำให้งานที่ออกมามีน้ำหนัก สร้างความมั่นคงให้กับ สังคมและผู้หญิง แล้วก็จะเกิดการให้คุณค่าต่อเรื่องเพศที่หลากหลายได้จริง สร้างการตระหนักใน เรื่องความเสมอกาคทางเพศมากขึ้น

ดังที่อาจารย์ฟารีดาเสนอ Peace Survey ไว้แล้ว การสำรวจช่วงแรกตั้งแต่ปี 2559 จนถึงปี 2553 นับเป็นปีที่ 6 ที่เราจะทำต่อเนื่อง เป็นการศึกษาเชิงคุณภาพเสริมเข้าไปด้วย ก่อน หน้านี้ไม่มีมิติงานผู้หญิงเข้ามาเลย เพิ่งจะมีมิติในเรื่องของผู้หญิงเข้ามาในปี 2562 ในครั้งที่ 5 ศูนย์ความเป็นเลิศด้านผู้หญิงและความมั่นคงทางสังคม มหาวิทยาลัยวลัยลักษณ์ที่เข้าไปร่วมด้วย ช่วยกันขบคิดว่าในครั้งนี้ควรที่จะทำความเข้าใจการมีบทบาทของผู้หญิงในการสร้างสันติภาพ ซึ่ง ในข้อคำถามนั้นของ Peace Survey เราพบว่า ผู้หญิงในพื้นที่ชายแดนภาคใต้ควรได้รับการ สนับสนุนบทบาทการดำเนินงานด้านส่งเสริมอาชีพ การพัฒนาสังคม คุ้มครองสิทธิเด็กและผู้หญิง และเยียวยาฟื้นฟูผู้ได้รับผลกระทบจากความรุนแรง งานส่วนที่การศึกษาพบว่าผู้ให้ข้อมูลเห็นว่า ผู้หญิงไม่ควรมีส่วนร่วมคือ บทบาทในการเคลื่อนไหวเรื่องปกป้องสิทธิผู้ถูกซ้อมทรมาน และ ลำดับสองหญิงคือตัวแทนร่วมในการเจรจาสันติภาพ หรือการผลักดันงานด้านสันติภาพบนโต๊ะ เจรจา ที่น่าสนใจคือทำไมผลของ Peace Survey มีผลการศึกษาว่าที่ผู้หญิงไม่ควรมีบทบบาท ในเรื่องนั้น ๆ นอกเหนือจากแค่งานสังคมสงเคราะห์ แต่กลับพบว่าบทบาทในการขับเคลื่อนงาน เชิงนโยบาย และเป็นตัวแทนการเจรจาสันติภาพ Peace Survey เป็นไม่ควรมีบทบาท ครั้งนี้จึง ต้องหาคำอธิบายส่วนนี้ให้ได้

ดิฉันมองว่าที่ประชาชนในการศึกษาให้มุมมองเช่นนี้เป็นการแช่แข็งบทบาทของ ผู้หญิงให้อยู่ในการส่งเสริมอาชีพ แต่ในพื้นที่และการทำงานจริงดิฉันเห็นว่าการขับเคลื่อนเชิง นโยบายผู้หญิงก็สามารถทำได้ แต่ทำไมประชาชนมีทัศนคติเช่นนี้ และผู้หญิงเองมีมุมมองอย่างไร จะด้วยทัศนะของสังคมชายเป็นใหญ่หรือไม่ที่ทำให้ผู้หญิงที่ตอบคำถามเราก็ไม่เชื่อมันและไม่ มั่นใจในศักยภาพตนเอง ทั้งนี้ผู้หญิงไม่ควรกำหนดการทำงานตนเองแค่งานสังคมสงเคราะห์ เหตุ นี้ Peace Survey ครั้งนี้จึงต้องมุ่งวิเคราะห์ด้วยมุมมองของเพศสภาพที่ยังขาดโดยเฉพาะใน หลักการและนโยบาย ตลอดจนกรอบของยุทธศาสตร์ที่ครอบนโยบายรัฐไว้ ซึ่งเรื่องนี้เราต้อง ศึกษาและทำงานขับเคลื่อนกันต่อไป โดยสิ่งที่จะต้องผลักดันต่อไปในงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับ สันติภาพชายแดนใต้ของสถาบันพระปกเกล้าคือ 1) งานศึกษาด้านสันติภาพนอกจากจะให้ความ สนใจในเรื่องของผู้หญิงแล้ว ควรหลุดออกจากกรอบของความเป็นชายเป็นหญิง (binary) และให้ ความสนใจเรื่องความหลากหลายเรื่องเพศเพิ่มขึ้น 2) มีการเสริมสร้างความเสมอภาคทางเพศใน ระดับนโยบาย 3) ต้องขจัดการเลือกปฏิบัติในแทบทุกมิติ (Entire Discrimination) ค่อยจะ สามารถสร้างสันติภาพหรือสันติสุขให้เกิดขึ้นได้อย่างแท้จริงได้

Gender in Research and Operation in Southern Border Provinces of Thailand: Incident and Case Studies

มิติหญิงชายในงานวิจัยและภาคปฏิบัติการ ชายแดนใต้: เหตุการณ์และกรณีศึกษา

Fareeda Panjor

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มิติหญิงชายในงานวิจัยและภาคปฏิบัติการชายแดนใต้: เหตุการณ์และกรณีศึกษา

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จากงานวิจัยของสถานวิจัยความขัดแย้งและความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรมภาคใต้ มหาวิทยาลัยสงขลานครินทร์ วิทยาเขตปัตตานี ในเรื่องของฐานข้อมูลความรุนแรงเชิงปฏิบัติการ เพื่อหนุนเสริมสันติภาพในพื้นที่ความขัดแย้งในจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ ให้มุมมองของการศึกษาวิจัย จากการเก็บข้อมูลตัวเลข ตอนนี้มีผู้บาดเจ็บและเสียชีวิตประมาณ 20,000 กว่าคน และเสียชีวิต ประมาณ 7,000 กว่าคน บาดเจ็บอีกประมาณ 13,000 คน ซึ่งสถิติตรงนี้เราเก็บเป็นข้อมูลรายวัน ตั้งแต่ปี 2547 ถึงปี 2563 ส่วนงานวิจัยที่มีความเกี่ยวข้องกับเพศสภาพ มิติหญิงชายในช่วงปี 2558 เมื่อศึกษามุมมองของผู้ชายเรื่องของการประเมินสถานการณ์ของผู้ชายและเยาวชนชายใน พื้นที่ความขัดแย้งชายแดนใต้ของประเทศไทย ซึ่งความกดดันที่เกิดขึ้นในสามจังหวัดชายแดน ภาคใต้หากมองในเรื่องของความรุนแรงแล้วไม่ใช่แค่กระทบในเชิงของกายภาพ แต่ว่าจะกระทบ ในเรื่องของสังคมวัฒนธรรมในเชิงโครงสร้างต่าง ๆ

เราจึงสนใจศึกษากลุ่มผู้ชายและเยาวชนชายซึ่งเป็นเพศที่ได้รับผลกระทบจากความ รุนแรงมากที่สุดในเหตุการณ์ ไม่ว่าจะเป็นในเรื่องของสาเหตุผลกระทบ ทั้งในในทางตรงและ ทางอ้อมไม่ว่าจะเป็นกลุ่มชายที่ถูกจับกุมคดีความมั่นคงซึ่งก็จะมีประเด็นต่าง ๆ ที่เขาได้รับ ผลกระทบไม่ว่าจะเป็นภายในชีวิตเรื่องอิสรภาพ ศักดิ์ศรี การสูญเสียสภาพทางสังคม การไม่ได้ รับความเป็นธรรมและความไม่เชื่อมั่นต่อกระบวนการยุติธรรม ในเรื่องของการใช้กฎหมายพิเศษ การใช้กฎอัยการศึก การเฝ้าระวังของรัฐถือว่าเป็นสิ่งที่เกิดขึ้นในชีวิตจำวัน การวิจัยนี้เสนอวิธีที่ จะลดความหวาดระแวงของเจ้าหน้าที่ นอกจากนี้ก็ยังมีกลุ่มเยาวชนชายที่สูญเสียบุคคลใน ครอบครัวจากเหตุการณ์ไม่สงบซึ่งที่ได้รับผลกระทบทางจิตใจโดยมีมาตรการการช่วยเหลือ รวมถึงกลุ่มเยาวชนชายว่างงานซึ่งได้รับผลกระทบจากความรุนแรงทำให้ขาดรายได้เนื่องจาก เศรษฐกิจที่ชบเซาจากเหตุการณ์ความไม่สงบ นอกจากนี้ งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้พยายามเสนอแนะในเชิง นโยบายต่าง ๆ ที่จะสร้างความเข้มแข็งให้กับกระบวนการยุติธรรม ทำให้มีการปรับทัศนคติของ เจ้าหน้าที่รัฐเพื่อประสิทธิภาพในการเยียวยาด้วย

ทั้งนี้ พบว่าเพศหญิงจาก 20,000 กว่ากรณีได้รับผลกระทบทั้งบาดเจ็บและเสียชีวิต 2,472 คนเป็นผู้เสียชีวิตผู้รับบาดเจ็บ จำนวนผู้เสียชีวิต 650 คน ประเภทเหตุการณ์ที่ผู้หญิง ได้รับความรุนแรงมีหลายประเภท ทั้งทางตรงและทางอ้อม ความรุนแรงสุดโต่งการซุ่มโจมตีกัน ้ปล้นทรัพย์คุกคามลักพาตัว 652 เคส นอกจากนี้ก็ยังมีเด็กที่อายุต่ำกว่า 18 ปีที่รับผลกระทบทั้ง เสียชีวิตและบาดเจ็บเป็นเพศชาย โดยสัดส่วนและผู้หญิงน้อยกว่า จากการสำรวจความเห็น ประชาชนตั้งแต่ปี 2559 เกี่ยวกับชีวิตความเป็นอยู่ ทัศนคติต่อกระบวนการสันติภาพ จากกลุ่ม ตัวอย่าง 7,953 คน พบว่าผู้หญิงมีสัดส่วนมากกว่าผู้ชาย 55.4 เปอร์เซ็นต์ ส่วนใหญ่เป็นมุสลิม อายุส่วนใหญ่ 41-50 ปี ส่วนใหญ่จะประกอบอาชีพเกษตรและประมงและปศุสตว์ ระดับ การศึกษาส่วนใหญ่เป็นประฐมศึกษาและมัธยมศึกษา 30 เปอร์เซ็นต์, 20 เปอร์เซ็นต์ ตามลำดับ ้ผู้หญิง 55.7 เปอร์เซ็นต์ ไม่มีการศึกษาเรื่องของศาสนามากกว่าผู้ชาย ในการศึกษาสามัญผู้หญิง ้จะได้รับการศึกษามากกว่าผู้ชาย รายได้ต่อเดือนที่ประมาณ 5,500 ถึง 10,000 บาทและ ประมาณ 3,000 และ 5,000 บาท รองลงมา มุมมองของผู้หญิงในการสร้างสันติภาพว่าผู้หญิง ้ควรมีส่วนร่วมหรือไม่มีส่วนร่วมในการสร้างสันติภาพ โดยบทบาทที่สำคัญของผู้หญิงอันดับหนึ่ง ้เป็นในด้านการส่งเสริมอาชีพรายได้และ พบว่า 35 เปอร์เซ็นต์ตอบในเรื่องของบทบาทในการ เคลื่อนไหวคุ้มครองสิทธิและการฝึกถูกซ้อมทรมาณเป็นบทบาทที่ผู้หญิงไม่ควรจะมีส่วนร่วม ซึ่ง บักสาบทางกับคาาบเป็นจริง

ทั้งนี้มีการทำงานร่วมกับนักวิชาการจากมหาวิทยาลัยได้ศึกษาเจาะลึกลงไปในเรื่อง ของประเด็นการสร้างกระบวนการสันติภาพของผู้หญิงด้วยเป็นการศึกษาของอาจารย์ดวงหทัย บูรณเจริญกิจ มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล มองว่าในแง่ของความสำคัญของผู้หญิงในการสร้างสันติภาพมี หลักฐานงานวิจัยยืนยันว่าผู้หญิงมีส่วนสำคัญมาก ทำให้ข้อตกลงต่าง ๆ ในโลกสำเร็จ แต่ใน ชายแดนใต้จะเห็นได้ว่าผู้หญิงไม่มีบทบาทโดยตรงต่อโต๊ะเจรจาแต่ว่ามีบทบาทที่หลากหลาย ด้วยกันไม่ว่าจะเป็นผู้หญิงที่ทำงานในฐานะผู้ปกป้องเยียวยา และเป็นการเป็นนักปกป้องสิทธิ ชัดเจน ในกรณีของคุณอัญชนา หีมมิหน๊ะ อย่างกรณีกลุ่มเยาวชนที่ออกมาปกป้องสิทธิ์กลุ่มนิสิต นักศึกษา กลุ่มผู้หญิงที่เป็นผู้สร้างความไว้วางใจเป็นผู้อำนวยความสะดวกระหว่างกลุ่มขัดแย้ง ต่าง ๆ ในชุมชนและสังคม มีกลุ่มผู้หญิงในกองกำลังความมั่นคงที่ทำงานเป็นสะพานเชื่อม ระหว่างชุมชนกับกองทัพ

จะเห็นได้ว่ามีกลุ่มต่าง ๆ เกิดขึ้นในพื้นที่แล้วก็เป็นผู้หญิง มีกลุ่มทหารพรานหญิง ใน พื้นที่คุณผู้หญิงที่ทำงานเรื่องเครือข่ายสันติภาพเยอะมากในกลุ่มภาคประชาสังคม ผู้หญิงที่ นำเสนอวาระเพื่อสร้างข้อตกลงในการคุ้มครองพื้นที่สาธารณะต่อการพูดคุยสันติภาพก็เป็น ข้อตกลงร่วมกันเป็นข้อตกลงในเชิงสาธารณะว่าเราจะต้องปกป้องคุ้มครองพื้นที่ต่าง ๆ ประชาชน ได้เข้าไปใช้ในพื้นที่ตรงนี้ซึ่งมีบทบาทแล้วก็มีนัยยะสำคัญต่อการพูดคุยสันติภาพแล้วก็ผู้หญิงมี ผู้หญิงที่ทำงานอย่างเป็นทางการในฐานะผู้แทนรัฐบาลไทยและการส่งเสริมการพูดคุยกับหนึ่งก็มี แต่ว่าถ้าถามว่าบนโต๊ะเจรจาไม่ได้มีแต่เรื่องของคณะกรรมการต่าง ๆ ในพื้นที่ เรามีผู้หญิงจำนวน มากอันนี้เป็นตัวอย่างงานของผู้หญิงตั้งแต่ปี 2004 ถึงปัจจุบันที่นำเสนอมีแค่ 2017 ก็จะเห็นว่า ผู้หญิงก็อาจจะเน้นเรื่องของการเยียวยาผู้ได้รับผลกระทบต่าง ๆ จนพัฒนาตัวเองมาการเป็น กระบอกเสียงให้กับพื้นที่ให้กับผู้หญิงที่หลากหลายที่มีความหลากหลายในพื้นที่ 3 จังหวัด ชายแดนใต้

เราจะเห็นได้ว่าผู้หญิงมีความสามารถมีศักยภาพในการสื่อสารมาก ในช่วงเวลาตั้งแต่ ้ก่อนการพูดคุยสันติภาพมีเยาวชนผู้หญิงที่พยายามที่จะปกป้องให้พื้นที่สาธารณะต่าง ๆ ไม่ว่าจะ เป็น วัด โรงเรียน บ้าน มัสยิดต้องเป็นพื้นที่ปลอดภัยไม่ใช่เป้าหมายโจมตีกลุ่มพราวเป็นอีกกลุ่ม ผ้หญิงที่รณรงค์เรื่องของการทำงานสร้างสันติภาพอันนี้เป็นตัวอย่างที่ดีใจได้พยายามที่จะทำงาน กับสังคมเรื่องของการจัดเวทีสาธารณะนี่คือตัวอย่างที่เราได้เชิญนักเคลื่อนไหวจากอาเจะห์ มา บรรยายให้เราฟังเรื่องของสถานการณ์ในพื้นที่อาเจะห์ ในช่วงของความขัดแย้งรนแรงและ บทบาทของผู้หญิงในช่วงของปี 2560 จากผู้นำหญิงในช่วงความขัดแย้งของให้ข้อสังเกตว่า จริง ๆ แล้วทรัพยากรของผู้หญิงชายแดนมีมาก แต่ยังขาดการปฏิบัติการจริง จะทำอย่างไรให้เกิด ผลกระทบอันเป็นประโยชน์สังคมปัตตานี ไม่ว่าจะเป็นเรื่องของการพูดในเรื่องของความรุนแรง ในเชิงวัฒนธรรมต่าง ๆ ทำให้เกิดผลในเชิงปฏิบัติได้จริง นั้นเป็นข้อคิดเห็นในปี 2561 ตอนนี้ อาจจะพัฒนาไปแล้วก็ได้ วิทยากรมองว่าปัตตานีต้องไม่ล้มเหลวในการนำประเด็นปัณหาซึ่งไม่ เหมือนอาเจะห์ตอนนี้ ปัญหาปัตตานีและปัญหาความรนแรงที่เกิดขึ้นกับผู้หญิงนำไปส่พื้นที่ใน ้ส่วนกลางหรือยัง คนส่วนกลางรับรู้ปัญหาชายแดนใต้มากแค่ไหนโดยเฉพาะปัญหาของผู้หญิงใน สามจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้เอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการทำงานของผู้หญิงยังขาดแคลน งานเชิง เอกสารทางวิชาการการทำงานวิจัยเอกสารโครงการต่าง ๆ พบว่าเราไม่ค่อยเขียน เขียนไม่ค่อย เป็น เราจะต้องพัฒบาใบเรื่องบี้

้นอกจากนี้ การทำงานที่เกี่ยวข้องกับผู้หญิงทั้งหมดต้องมีศูนย์ซึ่งการที่ศูนย์กลาง รวบรวม เช่นของอาจารย์อัมพรก็เป็บบิมิตหมายอันดีที่จะทำให้เกิดการรวบรวมเอกสารของใน การทำงานของผู้หญิงในชายแดนใต้ด้วย มีคำถามกับตัวเองว่าเมื่อผู้หญิงออกมาเคลื่อนไหวใน เรื่องของการปกป้องพื้นที่ปลอดภัยพื้นที่สาธารณะแล้ว ประสิทธิภาพของการใช้พื้นที่ทาง การเมืองด้านต่าง ๆ ของผู้หญิงเป็นอย่างไร ไม่ว่าจะเป็นในเรื่องของเศรษฐกิจในเรื่องของสังคม ้วัฒนธรรมการเมืองใดมีความต่อเนื่องมากแค่ไหน ซึ่งงานของอาจารย์ดวงหทัยอาจจะให้แค่เรื่อง ของคุณลักษณะของผู้หญิงที่ทำงานกับเพื่อนในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ แต่ว่าเรายังไม่ได้มีการ ศึกษาวิจัยในเรื่องของการประเมินประสิทธิภาพการใช้พื้นที่ทางการเมืองการผลักดันไปส่ สาธารณะ อาจจะต้องมีงานวิจัยได้ทำในช่วงของปี 2561 ซึ่งไปศึกษาในพื้นที่หลังจากความ ขัดแย้ง หลังจากการมีข้อตกลงสันติภาพและผู้หญิงเขาขับเคลื่อนอะไรก็ได้รับบทเรียนมามากมาย จากการทำงานของผู้หญิงจับจากอาเจะห์ ประเทศอินโดนีเซีย เขาสนใจเรื่องของการใช้กฎหมาย อิสลามในพื้นที่ที่มีผลบังคับใช้ไม่ว่าจะเป็นการการบังคับเรื่องของการแต่งกายในต่าง ๆ แม้ว่าไม่ สามารถลงโทษได้อันนี้เป็นเรื่องสังคมวัฒนธรรมแต่ว่าทางภาคประชาสังคมชายที่นั้นก็พยายามที่ จะผลักดันศึกษาแล้วก็ใช้หลักสากลเข้ามาร่วมเปลี่ยนแปลงเปลี่ยนแปลงสภาพสังคมในตรงนั้น ้แล้วก็ทำให้การทำงานปกป้องคุ้มครองเด็กจากการใช้กฎหมายที่ถูกตีความโดยสังคมชายเนี่ย ้ค่อนข้างที่จะเกิดขึ้นอย่างอย่างมีอย่างชัดเจนแล้วก็สามารถที่จะทำให้ผู้นำศาสนายอมรับว่าเรา ควรใช้กฎหมายที่เหมาะสมกับบริบทในปัจจุบันได้อย่างไร แล้วก็ทำวิจัยต่าง ๆ มากมายซึ่งเราก็ ได้เรียนรู้ว่าในช่วงของความขัดแย้งความรุนแรงมีผู้หญิงที่ไม่จดทะเบียนแต่งงานด้วย และไม่มี การนับเป็นรายครอบครัว ไม่มีหนังสือการรับรองแต่งงาน ซึ่งความขัดแย้งเห็นถึงปัญหาที่ตกไป ถึงลูกหลานว่าลูกหลานไม่มีหลักฐาน ไม่สามารถที่จะไปโรงเรียนหรือว่าภรรยาหย่าร้างก็ไม่ได้มี ทรัพย์สิน ตรงนี้ก็ควรจะเจาะลึกเข้าไปในปัญหาของผู้หญิงที่เป็นเรื่องส่วนตัวของเขาด้วยเรื่อง ของชีวิตเรื่องของความเป็นอยู่เรื่องของสภาพเศรษฐกิจสังคมของเขาเลยจริง ๆ มีการศึกษาที่ เกี่ยวข้องกับการลงโทษด้วยการเขียนบทลงโทษซึ่งงานวิจัยเขาก็บอกว่าความเครียดมันทำให้ ผู้หญิงรู้สึกอายแล้วก็ผู้คนไม่ยอมรับ

งานวิจัยนี้พยายามที่จะเผยให้เห็นผลกระทบจากความรุนแรงที่เกิดขึ้นจากการใช้ กฎหมาย เราเลยย้อนกลับมามองตัวเราว่าเราได้มีการศึกษา ผลกระทบที่เกิดขึ้นจากการใช้ กฎหมายหรือว่าใช้หลักการศาสนาในพื้นที่อย่างเพียงพอแล้วอย่างอันนี้ก็คิดว่าน่าจะเป็น ประโยชน์ต่อการทำงานของราชการ หรือภาคประชาสังคม ประเด็นปัญหาเรื่องของผู้หญิงใน จังหวัดชายแดนใต้มีไม่มาก สุดท้ายแล้วเรื่องของการสร้างสันติภาพของภาคประชาสังคม โดยรวมตอนนี้เรามีการรับรู้ข้อมูลในเรื่องของการสร้างสันติภาพค่อนข้างจำกัด อยู่ในเรื่องของ การมีเวทีสาธารณะ การใช้สื่อโซเซียลมีเดีย แต่ยังไม่มีเรื่องของการสร้างหลักสูตรในเรื่องของ กฎหมาย เรื่องสิทธิมนุษยชน ความรู้ในประเด็นต่าง ๆ ไม่ว่าจะเป็นชุมชนกับภัยพิบัติ เรื่อง ผลกระทบต่อผู้หญิงยังขาด ความรู้ในตรงนี้ต้องกลับมาเป็นประเด็นการพูดคุยเจรจาที่ยังไม่ได้ให้ ความสำคัญนัก

การสำรวจความคิดเห็นของภาคประชาสังคมที่มองในเรื่องของการใช้องค์ความรู้ การ แบ่งปันข้อมูลความรู้ และการสร้างความรู้ในพื้นที่สามจังหวัดชายแดนใต้ที่อยู่ในพื้นที่ มีตัวอย่าง ดี ๆ จากงานอาจารย์อื่น ๆ เช่นเรื่องหลังความขัดแย้ง ผู้หญิงทำงานอย่างเป็นรูปธรรมมาก ซึ่ง เป็นกรอบที่เห็นว่าในช่วงที่ผ่านมาผู้หญิงเน้นไปที่กระบวนการเยียวยา แต่ว่ากระบวนเจรจานี้ ผู้หญิงจะต้องเข้าไปมีส่วนร่วมมากขึ้น ในเรื่องของกฎหมาย เรื่องการหาข้อเท็จจริง หรือว่าทำ ยังไงที่จะป้องกันความขัดแย้งและความรนแรง หรือเข้าไปเกี่ยวข้องกับนโยบายของรัฐมากขึ้น

ในเรื่องของความมั่นคงในสามจังหวัดชายแดนใต้เป็นข้อท้าทายที่สังคมสามจังหวัด ชายแดนภาคใต้ที่มีความรุนแรงในเชิงนามธรรมซ่อนอยู่มาก ไม่ว่าจะเป็นเรื่องของสังคม ศาสนา วัฒนธรรม ถือเป็นอุปสรรคที่ช่วยให้ขบคิดว่าจะทำอย่างไรที่ให้เกิดวิธีการที่เหมาะสมในการเข้า ไปทำความเข้าใจ และแก้ไขความรุนแรงในเชิงวัฒนธรรม ซึ่งสืบเนื่องจากกระบวนการสันติภาพ ตอนนี้หยุดนิ่ง แต่อย่างไรก็ตามความจริงมันทำงานอยู่ ซึ่งจะทำให้ผู้หญิงต้องขบคิด เข้ามาทำ ความเข้าใจเรื่องงานการเมือง การขับเคลื่อนทางการเมืองต้องขยับให้มีความชัดเจนมากกว่านี้ ไม่ใช่ทำงานในเชิงของอำนาจอ่อนอย่างเดียว การสร้างอำนาจต่อในเรื่องของการพัฒนาศักยภาพ พัฒนาคุณภาพชีวิต ปรับใช้หลักการสากลเพื่อจะปกป้องผู้หญิงจากความรุนแรง ซึ่งเป็นการ ทำงานเชิงรุกมากขึ้น และนำไปสู่ผลในเชิงปฏิบัติที่เป็นรูปธรรมทั้งในพื้นที่นี้และในส่วนกลาง เพื่อให้รับรู้ประเด็นปัญหาในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้มากขึ้น



The Role of Women in Nora Bead Crafts

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Abstract

This paper is a part of my study entitled "Nora Bead Crafting: Cultural Capital and Creative Folklore". It is in the process of developing analytical description on women's role. Therefore, in this study, it is aimed to map the role of women in Nora bead handicraft. I have collected data from in-depth interview and focus group discussion with women participating in Nora bead crafters in Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla Provinces, Southern Thailand. I found that Nora bead craft has modified current form of the original Nora costume to a new handicraft as an accessory as well as home decoration. Women play an important role in Nora bead handicrafts in three following functions. First, women have the knowledge on the origin and reason for performing rituals. Second, they hold the role of educator to transfer this local value to new generation. And third, women create the joyful space and find solution to reduce the stress of community members through crafting.

Keywords: Role of woman, Handicraft, Beads, Nora

Introduction

Nora is a beautiful and unique local performing art of the southern part of Thailand, as Chuan Phet Kaew, an important scholar of southern Thai culture, stated that Nora is a dance that represents living reality of people in this region is still alive (2016, 6). The relationship of Nora with the way of people's life reflected the identity of the southerner. Horstmann (2012, 103-114) elaborated that Nora shows the way people communicate with their local spirits. They hope that the spirits can influence the direction of their lives in favorable directions. The communication and interaction with the spirits is facilitated and enacted by professional mediums that are possessed by specific deities. Therefore, Nora is accepted as a traditional performing art that required body movement to follow the rhythmic patterns.

Nora dance art also shows many characteristics which are unique in a way which the dancer wears the beads. Beading is the use of beads with various colors to make Nora's costume unique and colorful. Ratree Srisuwan (2542, 20-28) elaborated that the beads are made from the components of threading plastic beads and string. It is crafted in colorful pattern from a refined aesthetic art. This is a living culture that the media reflects that this genius of artists is a traditional inventor in the southern lineage.

In the area of Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla, the Nora beads are used as costumes in the panorama show. The handicrafts are also used as ornaments and home decorations for example, lanterns, bags, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and earrings. In some stages of Nora performance and crafting, women have participated tremendously. In terms of handcraft, women spend time to design and create Nora costume. It requires neatness and meticulousness in their embroidery. Stringing the Nora beads in Nakhon Si Thammarat is a local knowledge and wisdom passed on for generations in the Nora families. In addition, there have been beliefs that the spirit can connect into the beads. To preserve this kind of local culture, women need to respect and learn how practice even during bead stringing and wearing. This shows the respect of their ancestor and knowledge transfer to new generations.

Objective

To study the role of women in Nora culture, particularly Nora bead craft.

Research method

This article employs William Bascom's conceptual role (William Bascom, 1954 cited in Siraporn Na Thalang, 2014, 359) to describe the role of women in Nora bead crafts. The researcher has defined the study as follows:

- 1) The scope of informants is Nora artists, producers of Nora bead crafts, including Nora bead handicrafts.
- 2) In the scope of content, the researcher studied the role of women in Nora bead handicraft. The methods of the study were observation, interview, and participation in group activity in Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla since these two provinces are main locations of Nora bead handicraft manufacture.

The results of the current study

From women's participation in local Nora beads handicraft, there are three main areas represented women's roles.

1) Historical knowledge and performing art and ritual

Women have role in explaining the origins of the craft and related ideas. This set of knowledge is associated with ritual performance that women know about its step and its philosophy.

Nora is a local art and culture that reflects the self and beliefs of the southern people. Nora shows several elements of people's and non-human's lives. The beliefs and procedures for performing the rituals connect with imagination of spirits and current revitalization. At the same time, the production of Nora bead handicrafts refers to the origin of Nora epos which is related to the faith in how their ancestors live and wear. Most of the producers are female descendants of Nora who have learned how to make production. This kind of skill and knowledge is basically women's experience that transfer to direct family members more that the extended one. Women revealed that this kind of structure created sense of belonging to the Nora family who has knowledge and expertise. Women have come into inheritance of the wisdom from one generation to the others.

Nowadays, the traditional Nora beads have been transformed into a new kind of handicraft, with women playing an important role in mobilizing activities and businesses in many areas. The women build up space to produce handicrafts and they themselves became creators and designers of crafts. The bright and beautiful colors are given in beads which reflect Nora's distinctive identities. Moreover, women play an important role in the process of telling Nora's narrative of state building in southern Thailand. The story then spread out into external bound. Although the traditional Nora bead handicraft has been transformed into other forms of handicraft, it still retains the original beliefs and values.



Photo 1 Nora Bead Handicraft (Source: Manirat Kamlangkuea, 2020)

2) Role of women in educating and transferring local value to new generation in the society

At present, Nora bead handicrafts are disseminated from the cultural capital, a local wisdom, into mass cultural product. Women in these two research areas who have involved with Nora bead handcrafts exchange their ideas and learn from each other. Many of them set up group to train people in their own villages. Their learners are also involved students in many levels and visitors who come to the site to learn how to produce and create Nora bead crafts. To establish a learning center in the community is a choice for those women who are capable and interested in arts and crafts. Their products were sold in shops around community and shopping centers in the city. Bead handcraft products finally display in the fashion show events. Women's creativity helps Nora bead products to be publicized in national exhibitions. This platform can promote local handicrafts to more well-known circles.

In addition to changing Nora beads into other forms of handicrafts, they modify the designs to meet the needs of consumers. Their simple marketing surveys conducted from the lists and types of products which become popular in different settings. Most of the consumers are women who are interested in such handicrafts. Women who are working ages, in particular, have purchasing power. However, the group who use and consume this product is various including elderly. Therefore, the patterns of craft products need to apply flowers, leaves or geometric shapes to meet the preferences of all groups of people as well. Moreover, local materials and items are also incorporated into products, such as seashells, stones, and ropes. These things can make the product look outstanding and establish local identity. It also pushes up the price so as to generate income for local people when women maintain their roles to preserve these local handicrafts.

3) Women create the joyful space and find solution to reduce the stress of community members through crafting

Women shared what they have learned about dealing with stress through participating in crafting activity. Their participations do not unduly affect employment growth. However, the networks that they build up in each area consistently influence their perspectives to live the life amidst difficulties. Many women were taken out of permanent job in big cities when they return to hometowns; it was found out that there is a circle of women nearby used value of local culture. Nora beads and local source materials were taken to the trade and fashion shows by women who work to develop local handcrafts.

In this regard, products are prepared for all by concerning every group of customers who are interested in local wisdom products. Nora's traditional beliefs have been modified and developed to assist local believers, especially women to create not only work for them but also preserve their dignity through the spirit of their ancestors. Women revealed that Nora and its bead craft hold their feelings during family chaotic times. In Nora ceremony, traditional beliefs have been modified and developed to assist local believers, especially women. This reflects the original Nora idea to care ancestors and deities through handcrafts. It is also affected on social transformative - contributes to the reconstitution of people in the society.



Photo 2 Nora Bead Handicraft (Source: Manirat Kamlangkuea, 2020)

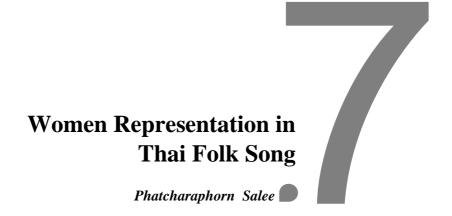
Conclusion

Nora and Nora bead handcraft in the South of Thailand are not only the tranquil ritual that has been described admirably by women in the community of two research areas. Nora and its relevance also have developed a life on their own. They have contributed to enhance the potential power for people through worshiping and wearing handicrafts in which women play important roles to preserve and drive local arts widely broad. Three characteristics of Nora beaded accessories showed the impact of Nora's great ancestor spirits. Women believed that they have been aided in particular aspects. Therefore, they then need to expand this opportunity, being aided, to the society as well.

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the representation of women based on the concept of women's roles and feminism in Thai folk songs sung by female singers from 2016 to 2020.

The results revealed eight aspects of women representation existing in Thai folk songs: construction of sexual negotiation power, love worship, belief and faith, life struggle, wifehood, motherhood, daughterhood, and sisterhood. In addition, the concept of belief and the concept of value and culture were also reflected in Thai folk songs. For the concept of belief, three characteristics emerged: merit and demerit, fate, and sacredness. Likewise, the concept of value and culture consisted of five characteristics; modern femininity, love stability, life struggle, tradition and ritual, and food. Among these characteristics, modern femininity is found the most frequent, while social reality significantly shapes the representation of women in Thai folk songs. The literature creates aesthetic imagery for audiences in all backgrounds that can be appreciated by all generations.

Keywords: Representation, Women, Thai Folk Song

Introduction

Man creates literature to communicate. Boonlua Thepayasuwan (1996: 364) defined literature as "books or documents that have an artistic nature, a pattern, and a content that the author tries to convey to the readers by any means." In addition, Siddha Phinitpuwadon and Nittaya Kanjanawan (1997: 9) explained that "literature is a means of writing poetry and all

writings in prose including article, documentary, novel, fable, short story, play, screenplay, radio script, television script, as well as columns." Therefore, literature consists of prose and poetry created from the imagination and experiences of the author. It varies in form, for example, fiction, short story, nonfiction, poem, and song to offer entertainment, amusement, and joy, especially from songs.

According to a dictionary of the Royal Institute of Thailand B.E. 2554 (2011), the term song refers to tone, melody, musical composition, and sword dance posture. Song literature has been associated with people's way of life in society. Amid changes and advancements in technology, human beings also have a wide range of abilities to live their lives and create songs and music for their entertainment (Music Guitar Zeed School, 2017). This corresponds to a notable excerpt from *William Shakespeare*'s The Merchant of Venice translated into Thai by *King Rama VI* saying, "The man that hath no music in himself, Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds, Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils." Accordingly, music is universal despite people's differences in languages. People somehow appreciate lyrics and harmony.

Pleng Luk Thung or folk songs portray people's lifestyles, which exemplify social conditions like politics, economy, occupation, tradition, and culture that keeps changing all the time. As a result, songs have unique characteristics, especially folk songs, since they possess principled melody and lyrics. Tubtim Chaichana (1982: 1) proposed that "Luk Thung song is a medium of cultural interaction between urban and rural area because it collaborates between art and culture of the two areas. For example, the rhythm of Thai traditional dance was brought to cover western music. Also, the content brings the information to the city from the countryside dealing with values, beliefs, cultures, and traditions that are shared between two places as well as different forms of todays' modernity." Folk songs, which are immensely popular among rural Thais, reflect the lifestyle of the people, living conditions, society, and culture. The language used in the song is simple, straightforward, and uncomplicated that has common characteristics as folk songs do. Today, folk songs gain growing popularity due to wideranging communication tools such as the Internet, mobile phone, television, and radio.

These communication tools provide the audience easy access to the songs. In fact, the current folk songs have been modified to fit in the modern times and make them more interesting with regard to melody, rhythm, and content. In particular, most of the content lies in love, including couple, gender, and family.

The researcher focused on the representation of women in Thai folk songs sung by female singers between 2016 and 2020 exclusively in Isan (north-eastern region) dialect and standard Thai. The 47 selected songs were recorded as MP3 and were widely available in the market, including Album Luk Thung Pleng Hit Hang Pee 2559, Album Luk Tung Kit Hod Lai, Album Ruam Hit Luk Tung Guitar Waan, Pleng Hit Luk Thung 2562, and Pleng Hit Luk Thung 2563 released yearly from 2016 to 2020 respectively.

All the songs mentioned the role of women, the composer's viewpoint and attitude, and even the realities of society.

Research objectives

The research aims to analyze the representation of women and the composer's viewpoint and attitude on women in Thai folk songs between 2016 and 2020.

Research method

The analysis of the representation of women was conducted in Thai folk songs (2016-2020). It applied qualitative methods as follows.

1. Data collection

The qualitative data for this research was collected from the following:

literature song literature Luk Thung literature songs roles of women Luk Thung songs in Isan and Thai from 2016 to 2020, accounting for 47 songs and 1.6 relevant research.

2. Data analysis

The data was analysed based on the concept of women's roles to investigate the representation of women in Thai folk songs sung by female singers in 2016-2020.

Research results

From the study of women representation in Thai folk songs sung by female singers from 2016 to 2020, the results can be summarized as follows.

Women's representation in Thai folk songs is introduced into eight aspects: construction of sexual negotiation power, love worship, belief and faith, life struggle, wifehood, motherhood, daughterhood, and sisterhood. The followings are the detailed descriptions and example excerpts of each aspect.

1. Construction of Sexual Negotiation Power

There are 22 songs, which were divided into 2 main types: women who possess strength and dignity and women who enjoy freedom of thought.

Half of the songs present about strength and dignity in women; Bok Rak Tae Bo Rusuek Wa Rak, Phan Ma Khae Hai Cham, Muea Khwam Hak Kao Nong Si Ngao Bo, Mia Doe Bo Maen Khwai, Sao Khi Hai Kap Ai Phu Lo, Bo Ngao Bo Khit Hot, Tua Hai Khit Hot, Khon Mi Khu Thiyu Khon Diao, Nong Keng Ka Do, Boet Laeo Bo Hak, and Pan Dai Hia Ma No. And these are another half stating about independent women; Adit Khoei Phang, Pra Sa Sam Phua, Bo Hak Khak Kha, Khit Hot Kot Bo Dai, Khoyuem Khit Hot Nae Doe, Chang Khon Bo Khit Hot, Hak Talot Khit Hot Samoe, Hai Kerry Ma Song Dai Bo, Ta Huk No, Yak Pen Praengsifan Ai, and Mong Long.

... Muea Khwam Hak Kao, Si Ploi Hai Nong Ngao Bo. Si Yang Dai Bin Bo No, Kham Wa Hak Kan Muea Wan Nan Ma. Yang Chap Mue Kan, Khoi Huangyai Kan Bo No Mue Na, Kon Thi Ai Nan Cha Sanya, Naechai Bo Na Wa Ma Chak Chai Ai Bo

(lit. When love is getting old, will you leave me lonely? Will you hear me the word love we used to say long time ago? Will

you hold my hand and care for me? Before you make a promise, are you certain it is from the bottom of your heart?)

(Song: Muea Khwam Hak Kao Nong Si Ngao Bo)

The excerpt "Khwam Hak Kao, Si Ploi Hai Nong Ngao Bo," which literally means "when love is getting old, will you leave me lonely?" presents that both the speaker (a woman) and the listener (a man) already know how their love would go. The question also encourages the listener to make sure that he will love and keep a promise firmly. Unless the man could do so, the woman lived her life on her own.

2. Worship of Love

With regard to love worship, there are a total of 15 songs portraying women who have love worship by waiting, sacrificing, and making accomplishments, which are reflected in 9, 4, and 2 songs, respectively.

Those are the songs about waiting; Sang Namta Mai Dai, Khoi Thang Thi Nangrong, Mer Dai Si Khit Hot, Yak Fang Kham Wa Khit Hot, Koet Ma Phuea Hak Ai, Kho ang Khon Boet Chai, Mia Kao, Na Cho Ro Sai and O Khe No.

The 4 songs about sacrifice are Nong Mi Phua Laeo, Bok Chai Yangngai Di, Bok Chai Yangngai Di, and Yak Luem Faen Khao. Accomplishment in love worship is found in Yu Nai Chai Samoe and Thao Thi Fa Phoen Hai.

"... Nong Koet Ma Chat Ni Phuea Hak Ai Khan Si Tai Ka Hai Tai Kha Ok Phi ..."

(lit. I was born this life to love you. If I had to die, I would die by your side.)

(Song Phleng Koet Ma Phuea Hak Ai)

The excerpt points out that a woman is able to sacrifice her life for a man she loves. She is meant to love him only, and her life is worth devoting for him. 3. Belief and Faith

There are 7 songs presenting about belief and faith, namely: Khoi Thang Thi Nangrong, Tao Ngoi, Sao Amnat Charoen, Ni Lan Don, Thao Thi Fa Phoen Hai, Nong Man Khon Ngo, and Pret Samphawesi.

... Phanom Mue Krap Kom Kho Chok Thi Tao Ngoi Sao Tao Ngoi Rokhoi Ai Tao Ngoi Rokhoi Ai ...

(lit. I pay respect and make a wish at Tao Ngoi. A Tao Ngoi girl is still waiting for you.)

(Song: Tao Ngoi)

The excerpt describes the faith of people, especially those living in a suburban area. They believe that Phaya Tao Ngoi, a sacred giant turtle in Sakhon Nakhon, would grant them a wish; good health, long life, and fortune, for example. For this reason, the composer collaborates between belief and women's role. Since a woman makes a wish from the god, she hoped that her beloved one would return to her and spend the rest of his life with her.

4. Life Struggle

There are 3 songs representing women who struggle to live their lives. These are; Khit Hot Nong Sao, Hak Talot Khit Hot Samoe, and Kho Chai Kan Nao.

... Muea Loek Ngan Doen Ngao, Mi Ngao Pen Phuean Khao Soi, Phu Sao Ban Klai Chailoi, Bo Mi Khon Khoi Khiang Ngao ...

(lit. When I finish my wok, I walk lonely down the lane, accompanied by shadow. A lass being distant from home is absentminded. No one is by her side.)

(Song: Kho Chai Kan Nao)

The excerpt "When I finish my work, I walk lonely down the lane" illustrates women who struggled in living their lives. This suggests that women work in a big city to earn a living not only for themselves but also for their family who are in their hometown. This reflects the economic situation in the country when women and other workers head to Bangkok, where the job market is widely available.

5. Wifehood

Women as wives can be found in 3 songs; Mia Bo Dai Taeng, Mia Doe Bo Maen Khwai, and Jeaw Bong Nai Klong Khom.

... kapkhao mueang yai yan ai kin bo un thong wang wa jeaw bong thi nong prung khong pho chuai wai khaoniao un un cam khoi khoi yam chai haeng lai ...

(lit. I am afraid that food in the city cannot offer you a comfort. Jeaw Bong prepared by me could help you a bit. Gently dip it with freshly cooked sticky rice when you require a great deal of energy.)

(Song: Jeaw Bong Nai Klong Khom)

This depicts a woman and a wife who always thinks of and shows concerns for her husband's living condition. According to the song, the wife cooks and sends food to her husband working in the city. It can be said that cooking and preparing food for the husbands is considered a good wife's duty. In addition, the song refers to Jeaw Bong, an Isan chili paste, which also reflects a food culture.

6. Motherhood

Women also take the role of a mother as well. This can be seen in Pret Samphawesi.

... bunkhun mae pho khuan yo yok sai hua ya cao jong ya khit sao da pho ti mae cam cong cam doe cao khon pon khao phrakhun lai thae ...

(lit. The deepest gratitude should be expressed to our parents. Never hurt them who nurture you since birth as an unconditional love.)

(Song Pret Samphawesi)

The example shows a woman's role as a mother who deliberately fosters her children and never expects in return through her lifetime.

7. Daughterhood

The role of a female and a daughter can only be found in one song: Sao Amnatcaroen.

... dai di yam dai bo ro hai thuang dok na luksao la khon ni si khuen ban hao ...

(lit. Someday when I get successful, never let you (parents) beg, I will return home.)

(Song: Sao Amnatcaroen)

From the example above, the word "luksao la" is an Isan dialect referring to the youngest daughter in a family. With reference to the song, a woman's role as a daughter is to show gratitude to her parents. This reflects the value and culture in Thai society that people still adhere to good deeds and gratitude to those who foster them.

8. Sisterhood

As a sister, there is only one song; Khit hot nong sao.

... thuk khon khit hot nong la ya luem dulae tua-eng thuk khon khit hot nong la phawana hai phra khumkhrong ...

(lit. Everyone is thinking of you. Take care of yourself. We pray for you.)

(Song: Khit hot nong sao)

The example portrays the role of a woman as a sister who always cares for her younger sister. Although they are far away from each other, the bond between sisters exists strongly. Moreover, it also reflects the economic condition that people from other provinces struggle to get employed in the big cities. While they tend to depend on agriculture that cannot scrape a living in their hometown, many of them are forced to Bangkok to work. However, in terms of cultural conditions, they are taught to love each other since childhood resulting in a peaceful co-existence.

With regard to the composers of all the songs, there are a total of 21 people, consisting of 19 male and 2 female composers. The male composers are Sala Khunnawut, Tui Dadat, Ngua noi, Phongsak Thanomcai, Cimmi Surachai Malaiya, Kipke Yureka, Boriboon Canphen, Phaen Phansalee, Silalaeng Atsalee, Sarawut Thungkhilek, Suriyan Paksi, Pingpong Phonganan, Chowanwit Yingyotseni, Panuwat Wisetwongsa, John Kwanchai, Toey nara, Book Supakan, Boen Pathumrat and Nik Saloepi, and female ones are Am Chutima and Luknam Culinsi.

The composers themselves reflect the role of women in the songs composing of belief as well as values and cultures. The following is the discussion about the concepts.

The song reflects the belief with regard to faith, accountability, and true acceptance. All of them emerged to be a crutch for their life. The belief can be mainly grouped as merit and demerit, fate, and sacredness.

The merit and demerit exist in the songs written by Nik Saloepi and Ngua noi while fate is evident in Chowanwit Yingyotseni, Ngua noi, Book Supakan's work. Likewise, the sacredness is mentioned in the work of Aala Khunnawut and Suriyan Paksi.

Value is instilled in human beings to hold onto as a life's goal. Additionally, culture is also regarded as a structure, a sign, a way of life, and a well-behaved practice.

The values and cultures demonstrated five concepts; modern femininity, love stability, life struggle, tradition and ritual, as well as food. For the concept of modern femininity, it can be deeply categorized into women maintaining dignity as noted in work of Sala Khunnawut, Chutima Sodaphak, Ngua noi, Pongsak Thanomjai, Surachai Malaiya, Pingoong Pong Anan, Panuwat Wisetwongsa, and Ginny Phuthai, and women relishing freedom of thought as seen in Kipke Yureka, Ngua noi, Sala Khunnawut, John Kwanchai, Toey nara, Panuwat Wisetwongsa, Book Supakan, Ble Pathumrat, and Luknam Culinsi's. Sala Khunnawut, Ngua noi, Chowanwit Yingyotseni also narrate about love stability while Boriboon Canphen and Sala Khunnawut once again reveal about life struggle. Book Supakan and Ngua noi also elaborate on tradition and ritual and Sala Khunnawut shed light on food.

It can be seen clearly that both men and women craft folk songs. However, male composers appear to play a key role more than female. Their attitude prevails over their creative works that reflect the role of women from social reality, experiences gaining through observation, collecting information, or even in-depth conversation with target women including various contexts. Thus, a sense of emotional touch and appreciation is evident in those songs. For female composers, they also apply their own experiences to reflect the role of women.

Conclusion

The study of 47 Thai folk songs in Isan dialect and standard Thai in relation to the representation of women's role reveals that the construction of gender negotiation power is the most frequently found, followed by love worship, belief and faith, and life struggle. The least frequently found roles are wifehood, motherhood, daughterhood, and sisterhood.

As discussed previously, lyric composers reflect on the belief and values, and culture of Thai society. It appears that the concept of modern femininity is also reflected in Thai folk songs due to the changing times. This suggests that modern women are assertive and confident to think and behave. Furthermore, social contexts also influence the changes among women, followed by love stability, life struggle, tradition and ritual, and food.

Considering the time dimension, Thai folk songs reflect the role of women in all aspects of a dynamic society. This can be attributed to the advancement of technology and modern media, where they play a role in society. Consequently, Thai folk songs reflect life, social condition, economy, education, changing social status, and higher negotiation power.

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Women's Contributions to Micro Community Enterprises to Foster Economic Empowerment



Dr. Ratchada Ruangsarakul

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Abstract

Thailand is one of the few countries in Southeast Asia to have a formal, extensive grass-roots cooperation in more than 130,000 micro community enterprises. Such cooperation, which contributes to the nation's economy, involved members who are mostly women. This study uses a qualitative approach to explain women's contributions to micro community enterprises and how these women have become economically empowered. Furthermore, this study demonstrates women's participation in microcommunity enterprises work, product innovation, and communication that empower them economically. This suggests that women's economic contributions in the upper southern part of Thailand resemble the past, where wives' economic contributions to the families are essential. The researcher contends that women's participation in micro-community enterprises is a process of economic empowerment. Women have a role to play in supporting the growth of sustainable agriculture products of smart farming.

Keywords: Economic empowerment, Women's contributions, Micro community enterprises, southern Thailand

Introduction

The United Nations has launched the sustainable development goals (SDGs), which specified 17 targets to focus on: no poverty in all its forms everywhere; end hunger; achieve food security; promote sustainable agriculture; promote lifelong learning opportunities for all, and gender equality (The United Nation, 2015). In terms of food, women play a key role in addressing and promoting sustainable development. Other SDGs, especially those that recognize women's equality and empowerment, are both

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objectives and part of the solution. However, previous studies argued on certain norms that shape women's economic participation. For example, Le Thi Hong Nhung (2016: 615-633) studied women's roles in agriculture and irrigation management and found that women are a vital labor force in rural Vietnam. Their agricultural production plays a vital role in the economy. In other words, the agriculture sector at the community level is carried out mostly by women.

However, Nhung found that the role of women in rural areas was limited. Women had no power or voice in the implementation and decisionmaking about agriculture and irrigation. This finding is consistent with Galiè, Jiggins, and Struik (2013: 25-33), who defined women's roles and identities as farmers in Syria's rural villages under the plant breeding programmed as participatory. Households and the community have biased gender norms, despite women's substantial farming and agriculture management roles. Men are viewed as farmers and women as their helpers. Identities and gender relations are somewhat fluid and can adjust according to household and various situations in daily life.

Wright and Annes (2016: 545-571) stated that the extent to which value-added agriculture constitutes a venue for women's empowerment is complex, multifaceted, and requires constant negotiation. It can be organized and performed to subvert the empowerment process by confining women to specific social locations that may reproduce oppressive structures. Though women play roles in the economy and agriculture, especially in agriculture in terms of value and skill, they are often ignored and rarely paid for the true value of their work (World Bank FAO, IFAD, 2009).

In some regions, women's participation needs to be addressed in terms of gender equality. Evidence suggests that empowering women may lead to economic benefits for them, their families, and communities (Kabeer & Natali, 2013; Klasen, 2018). Therefore Anderson, Reynolds, Biscaye, Patwardhan, and Schmidt (2021) proposed an empowerment-based guideline to increase women's decision-making authority related to agricultural resources, management, production, and income. In addition to women's economic participation, the challenge is that the empowerment of women leads to sustainable development, particularly gender equality.

Thailand is one of the few countries in Southeast Asia to have extensive grass-roots cooperation in the form of more than 130,000 micro community enterprises. Following the economic crisis of 1997, the Thai government and organizations considered small and micro-community enterprises a way to alleviate poverty. Policies and measures were issued to rebuild the economy based on grass-root economies in which local wisdom was integrated with the communities' natural resources. As defined by the Community Enterprise Act 2005, community enterprise refers to affairs related to producing, providing services, and other activities run by a group of persons (whether or not a juristic entity) that share a common life. These businesses are run by organic farming under the policy "Phatthalung Province, the city of organic agriculture and sustainable ways."

The Bureau of Local Knowledge Promotion and Community Enterprise reported that there are nearly 700 micro community enterprises in Phatthalung Province in the upper South of Thailand. These community enterprises include about 400 plant-producing and product-processing groups. Phatthalung cultivates enough rice for consumption in the province, which creates food security, a priority in many sectors. The context of the National Organic Strategy, and the cooperation of civil society and networks for sustainable development, is that they start with the farmer groups, which can be large but may overlap with others. (e.g., Krajood weaving, curry, livestock, and rubber tree cultivation). The target groups selected were two groups of sustainable agriculture community enterprises in Panangtung village, Patthalung. Although the role and status of women are more recognized than in the past, the notion of rights, freedoms, and economic equality is obstructed by a patriarchal system. Women's dependent economic status is a problem around the world. In addition, there are challenges to women's participation in micro-community enterprises that may affect their values and status. This case study from southern Thailand addresses the questions: How are women involved economically? How does this participation affect a woman's status?

Methodology

As this is a qualitative study, the primary method was informal conversation and in-depth interview with 6 women. Women's daily activities were also observed in Panangtung Village, Phatthalung Province, a province that promotes capable farmers according to government policy. The village is located in a remote area where farming houses were visited by the researcher once a month during June-September 2020 to collect data.

Result and Discussion

In Thailand, as discussed earlier, sustainable agriculture is a government policy. The organic agriculture movement started in 1992 and has continued to develop in the area of research until today. The government supported the Organic Development Strategic Structure in Period I (2008-2011) and Period II (2017-2020). The goal was to enable 1) smart farmers, smart groups, and smart enterprises and 2) create a social network of sustainable agriculture workers, i.e., producers, customers, and state officials. The Small and Micro community Enterprise (SMCE)⁸, puts a premium on organic farming method and put rice upon standard. SMCE has been applied to certify rice of Phatthalung's farmers in many communities, including the product that can generate a good income opportunity for small farmers. The idea is to improve the skills of the farmers in different social situations and processes. The organization divided organic farming and rice into two groups: A and B (conversation with leaders of a woman farmer group in the village, June 2019).

Women farmers addressed economic problems by converting conventional production to organic agriculture. Learning about organic agriculture and growing is sustained through the exchange of knowledge. Thus, social networks are essential for the community to produce integrated agriculture. In addition, the community enterprise is one of the guidelines for a sustainable economy, society, and community. In the research area, group A had seven members, with a total area of 45.28 hectares. Group B had six members with a total area of 4.4 hectares. Both groups, mostly women, played a role in managing the community enterprises on the farm and off the farm. It is a traditional group that has grown rice for over 20 years. They started to grow rice at a sustenance level then successfully integrated rice production

⁸ Small and Micro Community Enterprise (SMCE) of Thailand have been advocated by Thai. The beginning was the use of the Community Enterprise Promotion Act B.E. 2548 (2005) to strengthen the economy of communities and to promote people in communities by using their knowledge corresponding to local surrounded environment.

and community enterprise into the development and promotion of the agricultural products of the Phatthalung Rice Research Center.

The majority of the respondents in this study were female at an age between 40-65 years. These women obtained high school education levels, and their husbands were mostly government officials. Their average income per month was between 10,000-20,000 Thai baht. Many female group members had husbands in other occupations or who were unhealthy and unable to work. Gender representation was consistent with overall SMCE membership in the province. The assumption that women contribute to the economies of developing countries is critical. Apparently, it is interesting how women are involved in SMCE as this study discussed related ideas below.

Women's Participation in Sustainable Agriculture Community Enterprises

Multilevel policies link SDGs with sustainable agriculture and gender equality. It is a framework that affects women's participation in sustainable agriculture micro community enterprises in three forms:

1. Women Creating Work

These results were revealed from the in-depth interviews with members of Groups A and B, and observed participation in SMCE. Their participations in creating works related to SMCE are as follows:

1) roles for women as farmers such as Ratree (a pseudonym) include rice standard certification inspector,

2) off-farm roles include meeting with networks and civil society organizations (CSOs) for workshops on management within and outside of the group,

Many women were involved with the tasks of rice standardizing, marketing, and product expanding. Ratree, as the chairman of Group B, once she returned from the meeting, she would share the knowledge and the responsibility with the group members. This action showed the way she could create and develop women's work as well as leadership. In terms of economic empowerment to women, she provided space to share knowledge to improve required skills and build up trust among members. In this case, Ratree had to sacrifice her personal time to work and focus specifically on improving women's engagement in knowledge.

Regarding the roles of off-farm from in-depth interview with Noy (pseudonym), a member of Group B stated that:

"Sometimes I represent the group president, providing knowledge on organic farming and the processing of organic coffee and rice to visitors. I also help take care of accommodation and food during the event" (Noy, 29 September 2020).

Noy spent time for group activities' operations on a regular basis. She believed that members must be prepared to devote time to group activities. They are then able to convey their knowledge to leaders and other members, as well as educate them how to precede each step of works.

2. Women Creating Innovative Local Products

Using local and traditional wisdom to create new product and innovation is a distinctive work of the local area. Porn (pseudonym) brought original wisdom related to rice to offer the public a new menu called Khao Yam, which is a traditional food. To create innovation in organic rice cereal snacks is another product that women in this village have attempted to do. Ratree referred to another local plant that can create a new job and product for the group members, the woven Krajood or mat. This product was made into a package to contain rice for local farmers. The design packaging creatively increased the value of organic rice. Moreover, Noy is another core member who took organic rice to be roasted to become a homemade coffee. While Jane (pseudonym) used local knowledge to process dried sago cycad into a new dessert menu.

3. Women Communicating within the Community and Society

Women's engagement in many levels is an evidence that women are capable not only in product distribution and marketing but also in managing ideas into concrete actions. They have promoted and expanded local markets and off-site sales by using social media, such as Facebook marketplace, to develop the product identities of local groups and communities. In addition, women have capacity to communicate and exchange information at the local and national levels and to appear in public arenas.

The results are reflected in the interview with Jane, a member of Group B. She stated:

"After participating the SMCE, I take more responsibility in many functions such as taking care of visitors, cooking, preparing accommodation and running the learning center activities for children and youth in the local and outside provinces. Sometimes I travel by plane with the group president to sell products and market at Impact Arena Muang Thong Thani in Bangkok." (Jane, 28 September 2020).

The participation of women in creating work, product innovation, and communication in communities and the society through SMCE highlights the existing gender norms. It may be because it was not inadvertently asked and/or acted under masculine thinking. The findings were congruent with the results from Jane's statement:

"I married in my twenties. After I got married, my husband asked me to stay home. I raised a child and did not have to go to work. My husband cared for me and later I helped raise more than 20 cows on the family land. I joined the group two years ago which is now I am 58 years old. I would like to help the organic rice group, which needs someone to work like me." (Jane, 28 September 2020).

The following findings are worth noting. Jane demonstrated the gender division of labor that coincides with

marriage values, where the husband expects his wife to stay at home. The husband is responsible for taking care of his wife while the wife focuses on motherhood. In addition, parents expect their children to have a happy life after they are married. While they are customary and for the common good, these thoughts and practices affect gender roles and sometimes overshadow the rights and freedoms of women's empowerment, as seen from Jane, who joined the group at an older age.

The study found that Ja (Jane's daughter) was treated the same as her mother. Her husband loves and cares for her. In fact, the husband does not want her to work. However, Ja is a modern woman who held a Bachelor's degree in accounting. She applied her knowledge to being a sago cycad entrepreneur. Her brand, Chandra Sago cycad (named after Ja's daughter), generates income and pride for her and her family. These phenomena reflect the protection that women receive. Sometimes women's potential is curtailed. However, Ja echoes the voices of women who want to contribute to economic growth. She shared products with Group B by producing sago cycad. Thus, the social and economic activities of women in this study can confirm that women can increase family, community, and national incomes.

Conclusion

As SDGs have submitted a framework for Thai government policies, they cover sustainable agriculture and gender equality. Women farmers in Phatthalung applied SDGs framework to their hometown that enables policy that is linked to organic agriculture. Farmers are set to adapt to smart farming form as SMCE. The role of women in economic and social development, especially older women, in this case study clearly indicates that women are not only for household chores, but they also play an important role in the enhancement of the rural enterprises. With the comprehensive development of rural women's entrepreneurship, women can contribute to sustainable agriculture and food security during the critical development era.

The government's policy at the provincial level can drive conditions that help empower and enable women to play a role in economics and agriculture in different contexts. The SMCE enhances women's participation in creating work on farming, off-farming, and inclusivity. To create product innovation and communication in communities and society, the process of organic rice farming advanced women's legitimate claims to build women's confidence to participate more effectively in the national economy at the farm and home levels. It is also a challenge to recognize the limited capacity of old age people during life after marriage. Thus, this study shows that women in the older generation still contribute to agricultural development.

Finally, this article provided some recommendations as follows.

1) Communities should create jobs in which women are skilled and able to do so without affecting their rights and freedom in decision making,

2) Members of SMCE should be multiple generations to continue activities that benefit the community and public relations by using a social network,

3) SMCE's plan to develop people in the community must concern that every generation should know the goals and operations of the local wisdom to pass this kind of knowledge that arises to the community and the outside society. This allows the group to be able to survive and continue on its own, even if the older generation has no longer been.

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Managing Cultural Heritage: Why Gender Matters

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Abstract

This article aims to study the role of women in the management of the Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan as a heritage site to be included in the World Heritage List. Although women and men manage the heritage site, women play a minor role in at least three areas. First, the management of Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan has reproduced the culture of masculine society due to the reproduction of the narrative of this heritage site. A maledominated narrative has been represented by the roles of local heroes, the relation of this historical site to the history of the nations, and the genderbiased practices of Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan. Second, male actors have played the leading role in the nomination processes, both state and civil society, while women have mostly acted as facilitators rather than decisionmakers. Third, local women have to be in the periphery status with limited bargaining power, although some are traders or community leaders and members. This suggests that we should provide more room to women in managing the heritage site.

Introduction

It is widely accepted in heritage studies that heritage is gendered, often dominated by a masculine view, especially in valuing, preserving, and interpreting such heritage. The application of the gender roles of women and men in analyzing the heritage can also be seen in archaeology, history, urban

⁹ This article is a *part* of my *Ph.D. thesis* entitled *The Dynamic of Participation among Nakhon Si Thammarat Locals in Nominating Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan to be Enlisted as a World Heritage Site.* I am a student of Asian Studies Program, Walailak University, Thailand.

planning, anthropology, indigenous peoples, geology, environmental studies, art history, and museum studies. In fact, for a long time, these have occurred at least since Sarah Belzoni's archaeological work in the 1820s or Margaret Mead's anthropology (Colella S., 2018, 251-257) appeared.

While I was studying the participation among Nakhon Si Thammarat locals in nominating Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan to be included in the world heritage list as my doctoral dissertation (Vithaya Arporn, 2019 in Thai), I have noticed the importance of this point. However, I did not explicitly write it in that study. Thus, in this article, I explore the role of women and men in the management of Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan as a cultural heritage site. The study method includes collecting information from stakeholders, including owners of the area, governmental and nongovernmental sectors, observing, in-depth interviewing, conducting focus groups, and document analysis from both the primary and secondary sources.

Literature Review

Gender roles in the concept of World Heritage Management

The *World Heritage* was established in the 1970s through a collaboration of experts, politicians, and international government representatives who were concerned about the cultural and natural heritage threatened by both natural decay and changing socioeconomic. The idea was to create a heritage preservation system that had a common global standard to pass on to future generations (Rössler, Cameron, and Selfslagh. 2016, 6). However, the concept of World Heritage is eurocentric, which can be traced back to the ideas of the philosophers who laid the foundations of many modern Western civilizations, such as, Immanuel Kant who sought the universal ethic (Labadi, 2013, 12) to find a clear way to discriminate against right and wrong, and to find the best of the best. This leads to man dominance or patriarchy, deprivation, and collective power.

The man domination characteristic was evident in the early evaluation of World Heritage. In fact, the focus of the heritage at that time was often viewed from the eyes of a man, who defined and interpreted such heritage as adventurous and expeditionary. The role of a great hero or king was praised, as evident in the Great Pyramids of Egypt, Palapakos archipelago, or even Charles Darwin, a male biologist. While there were women who discovered important heritage sites such as Alexandra David Néel (1868-1969), the first western woman to travel to the Potala Palace of Tibet and recorded her impressions, and Maria Reiche, Nasca Line Heritage Searcher in Peru since 1932, the works of those women were not getting any attention in the early stages. It was only until recently that the importance of the role of women and these sources have been reinstated (Rössler, Cameron, Selfslagh. 2016, 6).

The World Heritage concept is operated by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), which aims to create international peace in the hearts of both women and men around the world. It is necessary to respect the diversity of people with different cultural lifestyles. However, in practice, the concept of World Heritage is contradicting itself due to the eurocentric concept of a centralized and discriminatory nature that focuses on the search for similarities according to the western approach. Therefore, when implementing the World Heritage concept in various areas around the world, there is a negotiation from people in different areas, so the criteria of OUV (Outstanding Universal Value) and the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention could always be adjusted. The concept of eurocentric continues to play an important role until today. Additionally, the role of women and men in the management of World Heritage was not given importance in the years 2006-2009, where the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS-International Council on Monuments and Sites) played an important role in advising and evaluating World Heritage sites. This could be attributed to the fact that they had experts up to 70 percent of men (Rössler, Cameron, Selfslagh, 2016). The focus of the gender role in the management of World Heritage only suggests that women also play a significant role in managing heritage sites. Furthermore, in the long run, the creation of narratives that ignore the role of women will gradually disappear, where women will be given an equal role as men in decision-making (Labadi, 2013, 83).

Since no regulations have been established that each source must clearly focus on gender roles, the management of a heritage site is often required to adapt existing regulations or similar regulations. For example, the World Heritage Convention 1972, Article 5, which says the importance of community broadly, does not specify the direct support of gender roles, adoption of The UNESCO Priority Gender Equality Action Plan (2014-2021) or Sustainable Development Goals 2015 (SDG), (Rössler, Cameron, Selfslagh. 2016, 6-9). Therefore, it can be said that the current international concept of World Heritage does not require each heritage site to focus on the female role.

Discussions

The study revealed that people who played a role in managing the heritage site of Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan and nominating it to be included in the World Heritage List were both women and men. However, the role of women was lesser than men, at least in four areas: a narrative about heritage sites, an area management of heritage sites, a group of people in the heritage area, and a group of people who nominate Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan to be included in the world heritage list. This article discussed the above four contents, respectively.

3.1 A narrative about the heritage site

Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan is a cultural heritage site that has long reproduced the culture of a male-dominated society and continued to the present days. Reproduction is done through narratives about the history and the way the heritage should be treated. According to the Buddhist way of the Hinayana sect, there are four critical narratives that reflect a maledominated society. These are the narratives about the creation of the Great Stupa, the narratives about the history of the source depicting local heroes, and the narratives related to national history.

3.1.1 Narratives according to the Buddhist way of the Hinayana sect

The narratives based on the Buddhist way of the Hinayana sect are the main narratives in Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan. These narratives have been transformed into a practice that clearly shows the empowerment of men. In the narrative history, Buddha, who was a man, was weary of the secular world, including women as an obstacle to the attainment of liberation. He fled to enter the Buddhist priesthood to achieve Nirvana. Thus, the history of Buddhism had become a practice for those who entered the monastery to be monks. In the past, Hinayana Buddhism had both female and male priests (monks and nuns). Today, only men can become a priest.

3.1.2 Narratives about the creation of the Great Stupa

It was said that Princess Hemchala and Pince Tontakumar, who were attacked by their enemies, were siblings from the city of Tontaburi. The two then escaped the Buddha's relics by taking the boat to Lanka and hid themselves in Princess Hemchala's bun. When the ship had broken, both landed at Sai Kaew Beach, which is the location of the Buddha's relics the Great Stupa in the present. The narratives about the first stage of the creation of the Great Stupa became the focus on the role of women as well as men. Eventually, the story about the Great Stupa has also become the focus regarding the role of men in constructing, preserving, and protecting the Great Stupa, which was linked to the role of the king and the ruling class.

3.1.3 Narrative about the history of the source depicting local heroes

The narrative of local heroes (heroines), which is related to the important Great Stupa, is the story of Lady White Blood of Wat Mae Chao Yu Hua Version. This narrative said that the Lady White Blood was born around 1745 BE. She was a daughter of a nobleman who had a trading career in Chian Yai District, which is the Nakhon Si Thammarat Province today. Her father was a Phatthalung people of Lankan descent. Her mother was a villager of the Kong village, Chian Yai District, where Wat Mae Chao Yu Hua is located today. The Lady White Blood was a devotee of Buddhism. She was loved by the people generally because she was beautiful. Later, she became the wife of King Si Thammasokaratch, or King Siharat of Nakhon Si Thammarat (as Tambralinga) in Phra Wiang city, which is in the urban area of Nakhon Si Thammarat municipality now. The Lady White Blood was the preserver of Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan. She had also built many temples in southern Thailand until she became the local heroin in many southern regions (Chalo Iamsut et al., 2002 in Thai).

Although the Lady White Blood story gives importance to the female role, it is a role that follows the male-dominated narrative. The Lady White Blood, therefore, plays a role in supporting the status of men. Even though it is said that the Lady White Blood is a woman who achieves Arahants status (Buddhist saint) in the Hinayana way, some people oppose those ordinary people who are not priests, especially women, who cannot achieve Arahants status.

3.1.4 Narratives related to national history

The national history is primarily a formal narrative composed mainly by scholars. The written history of Nakhon Si Thammarat region and the Great Stupa has two important characteristics. One, it is centralized into the center, and two, it emphasized the role of men, especially the king and the ruling class, both in region and central, in the protection, building or restoration of the Great Stupa, or buildings in the temple area since Phraya Sri Thammasokrat during the Nakhon Si Thammarat region until the Sukhothai period, Ayudhya, Thonburi, to the present Rattanakosin period. There is almost no role for women in national history that relates to the Great Stupa.

3.2 Area management of heritage sites

In analyzing the management of heritage sites from a gender point of view, heritage sources can be viewed as social and cultural performance, where social and cultural values and meanings are recognized, accepted, negotiated, rejected or competed, until the emergence of something that was placed in the source. This is consistent with Judith Butler gender role concept that proposed a framework based on social sanction and taboo as a social practice for social relations to maintain women and men inequality (Colella S., 2018, 253).

In the Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan area, the arrangement of the temple area shows symbols of masculinity and the centralization of the state. Inequality is found in various practices in the temple area, with women still having a secondary status. The management of the temple area is based on the mentioned four narratives as follows:

The management of the temple area according to the narrative of the Buddhism way in the Hinayana sect can be found in the stucco, which is a very prominent sculpture of the temple showing the history of the Buddha when he was ordained in the Vihara Phra Ma. The image depicts a woman sleeping as the Lord Buddha escapes with the help of the angels, people, and animals. This can also be seen from the temple layout, completed with (male) Buddha images, which occupy most of the main temple grounds.

The management of the temple area according to the story about the creation of the Great Stupa: There are sculptures of Princess Hemchala and Pince Tontakumar. However, the Pince Tontakumar sculpture location is very prominent, which is in front of the Viharn Luang, while the sculpture of Princess Hemchala sculpture is in the back, where only a few people would enter.

The management of the temple area is based on the history of the site representing local heroes: There is a statue of the Lady White Blood, which has been sculpted recently, as well as the statues of Prince Tontakumar and Princess Hemchala. However, the statue of the Lady White Blood was placed in an inconspicuous place. Later, when the temple site was renovated, all these statues were moved to the side of the church, which is not outstanding.

The management of the temple area according to the narrative related to the national history: the placement of items related to the history of the nation in general, such as stone inscriptions, silver tree, and a golden tree can be found in the temple museum. These items belong to the ruling class or a former state tax. Even the statue of King Taksin, which drew debates, was still placed in an area that stood out more than the location of the statues of Prince Tontakumar, Princess Hemchala, and the Lady White Blood.

The prohibition against women from entering certain places in the temple was rarely found than in other more restrictive places of worship like entering the monastery area and the residence or the clergy's cloister. There was only a requirement that everyone must dress properly. Sometimes, the temple prepared white shirts for tourists to wear when they get into the monastery area.

This area management was like a showcase for a heritage site to learn and reinforce stories about the male-dominated concept, including the concept of state power consolidation for the people who would come inside the temple.

3.3 People in the heritage site

People in the Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan Heritage Site area who are directly related to the temple can be divided into four groups: personnel in the temple, people who come to make merit at the temple, people who come to trade, and the communities around the temple. Overall, it was found that women were less likely to play roles in each group than men.

Personnel in the temple can be divided into two groups: (All male) monks, various committee or working groups of the temple, such as the benefit management, a churchwarden, and the temple employees, which is about 50 people, most of them are male. The person in the lead role of the committee is also male, while the female is usually a general worker such as a museum keeper who is not in a position to make important decisions.

People who come to make merit at the temple such as offering a food carrier to the monks, or those who come to make merit every Sunday morning at the footpath of the front road of the temple, or a virgin young woman who has to dress in a white blanket to join the Khaoyakoo Stirring Ceremony on Makha Puja Day, with the ceremony leader who is a man. Though the meritmaking person is a woman, she does not play any important decision-making role. Women only joined according to the established guidelines.

People who come to trade: Most of these groups are women. The items that were sold to tourists were offerings to the Great Stupa, sacred objects, amulet, souvenirs, and snacks. People who trade in the temple area can be divided into two groups. The first group is about 100 merchants who are in the temple system. This group sells items in the temple building on the south side and has to follow strict rules of the temple. Another group of traders, which is larger, is the hawker's group outside the temple system. There are a lot of these vendors selling walk-to-visitors. The image of the street vendors, mostly women, is often viewed as negative. They may wave their hand in welcoming cars, take tourists to the park, or offer themselves for sale. If tourists are upset, they may scratch the car or behave aggressively, causing a nuisance for tourists. These groups are always in conflict with the temple working group and the police.

The communities around the temple: Four communities are surrounding the temple. These communities are divided by the Nakhon Si

Thammarat Municipality, a new local government organization that has just begun about 20 years ago. Interestingly, there are two communities where women are leaders. Both female leaders were passionate about their work and had a high leadership position, also recognized by the community. However, for the relationship of the temple with the surrounding community compared to the past, it can be said that nowadays, all community leaders, including women and men, participate much less in the decision-making of the temple.

Therefore, when considering the role of women and men among all groups in the area of Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan heritage site, it was found that women tended to play a more peripheral role in making decisions. Women had little bargaining power. While some groups of women were seen as causing a disturbance, some were taking a leadership role in the community. This had emerged in a new arrangement of local government that allowed women to play leadership roles. However, today, these women could not coordinate with the temple's decision-making mechanism for managing heritage sites.

3.4 The role of women and men among those group of people who nominate Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan to be inscribed on the world heritage list.

Since 2009, Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan has been promoted to be a world heritage site. World Heritage is an international concept that has come to collide with the aforementioned local heritage management ideas and methods. The movement once again reflects the concept of gender roles in the management of attractive heritage sites. Since the process has begun, it was found that virtually all driving roles, from national to local levels, and those with key decision-making roles were all males because the proposal of a site of heritage to the World Heritage Committee considered in Paris must be a member state government. It can be seen that the participants in Thailand's national advocacy from 2009 until the present were the Prime Minister and related ministers. Moreover, the directors appointed by the government as the operating mechanism, namely the National Committee on the Convention for the Protection of World Heritage and the World Cultural Heritage Subcommittee, were all men.

At the local level, most active operators were composed of almost all men, which may be divided into two groups of pushers at the local level: A group of civil servants mainly composed of provincial governors and academics, and civil society groups, which had news agencies, groups that campaigned on arts and culture, and the provincial chamber of commerce. They had been appointed to act on behalf of the committee, which had been revised five times to date. The appointment was conducted by five provincial governors who had changed to take the position. The most critical decisionmakers in area-level operations were governors and scholars, all of whom were men. Furthermore, mechanisms to support the operation were government officials, and local government organizations were mainly composed of men. Some of the women who took the role were in support positions without participating in making important decisions, such as Fine Arts Department officials who play a role in supporting information. Provincial Cultural Office officials also played critical roles in arranging meetings, collecting documents, and document translation. The mechanic staff of Nakhon Si Thammarat Municipality had a role in managing the area as requested by the working group. Provincial Administrative Organization officials played a role in building cooperation from youth and partners in advocacy. Thus, women played a less driving role than men, both in volume and in decision-making participation.

Conclusion

It can be seen that at present, men take a much higher role in managing Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan, as a cultural heritage site, than that of women in terms of narratives about heritage sites, area management of heritage sites, the groups of people in the heritage area, and the groups of people who nominate Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan to be inscribed on the world heritage list. These people play an important role in determining the management of the heritage in the future.

Empowering women to play a more significant role in managing cultural heritage sites is in line with universal human rights, which are becoming increasingly important in the modern world. Nevertheless, each culture is very different and diverse. The implementation must, therefore, be carefully considered in accordance with each area. Cultural heritage sites often have regulations or traditions that may exclude certain groups of people, women, and men, where women are more likely to be excluded than men. Thus, there is a conflict between the practice of sets of collective memories and the needs of the individual. This challenges the development of international human rights regulations. The conflict between cultures and rights is like a war against one another (De Vido, 2017, 462-463). Therefore, establishing external regulations to support the role of women (or men) into a more significant role in managing cultural heritage sites than previously banned is probably unacceptable, even for women (or men) in the area, such as prohibiting or allowing tourists women or men to enter places of religion or perform certain rituals. This coincides with the oppression of women's rights (or men) because of traditions or rules, which are collective memories that exist in the heritage site, possibly as a result of male society as well as from the concept of centralized power to the central state. The problem is so difficult to solve in a short time period.

To address this issue, I propose that participation in the management of heritage sites needs to be initiated to play a more important decisionmaking role. If women take up more important decisions in the future, they may continue to accept the old rules or raise questions to study and create new knowledge, new meaning, new stories, and improve the management of places in the new heritage sites. This will make the management of heritage sites a learning center that will release women from the male-dominated world and finally benefit both local, national and international levels in the long term.

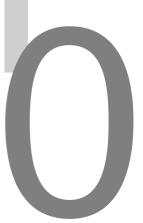
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Gender Challenge and Political Capital of Malay Muslim Women in the Deep South of Thailand: The Case Study of Female Malay Muslim Representatives: Pechdoa Tohmeena and Pornpit Pattanakullert

Asama Mungkornchai



Gender Challenge and Political Capital of Malay Muslim Women in the Deep South of Thailand: The Case Study of Female Malay Muslim Representatives: Pechdoa Tohmeena and Pornpit Pattanakullert

Asama Mungkornchai

Faculty of Political Science Prince of Songkla University

Abstract

Thailand's three southernmost provinces where Islamic values and Malay culture are prominent have been the scene of excessive violence and conflict. In this specific context of Islam and violence, the academic information and knowledge-building about Muslim women are limited. Most literature about women in the Deep South Thailand is related to economic role, cultural conservation and gender roles, but only few on women and politics.

This article aims to answer questions such as: how have female politicians entered the formal political system? How have they accumulated the capital leading them to mark their position in the political field? What are the gender barriers and how do they negotiate or struggle? While their experience as Muslim women differs from Muslim men, how it is similar among Muslim women?

The concepts of 'capital' and 'field' developed by Pierre Bourdieu were employed as the framework for analysing the capital accumulation and position taking them in the political field. The concept of 'habitus' is in attention as 'the cultural capital' which is embodied by the female Malay Muslim politicians and their social group.

The case study includes two female representatives; Pornpit Pattanakullert, the first female Muslim Member of the House of

Representative from Thailand's Deep South in 1992, and Pechdao Tohmeena, the present Member of the House of Representative from Thailand's Deep South, who achieved the political position in 2019. There is a decade-old generation gap between them. In this article the life and career path of them are revealed.

The data collection for this study was conducted through the narratives of women and their life histories. Employing the qualitative research methodology, the researcher is well aware of the subjective views of the interviewees, accepts and respects their subjectivity in the process of the data analysis.

Keywords: Election in southern border provinces of Thailand, Pierre Bourdieu, Political capital, Muslim woman, Female politician

Women's Tweet: The Language of Femininity

Pavirasa Praditsorn

Pavirasa Praditsorn

School of Languages and General Education Walailak University

Abstract

This research aims to analyze language strategies used to convince female consumers to purchase goods and services. This research only focuses on female influencers and data is collected from social media such as 50 Twitter posts with review hashtag #ไว้รีวิวห้ามขายของไว้ย (reading Wai Review, Ham Khai Khong Woy; For review, not for promotion). The concept of speech is adopted as a research framework. The research findings show that there are eight strategies to convince female consumers to purchase products and services. These strategies are (1) Comparing (2) Suggesting (3) Providing compensation (4) Reasoning (5) Instructing (6) Explaining (7) Using jargon, and (8) Requesting. In addition, this research reflects the beauty values of women. For example, beautiful women must have smooth and bright faces, white skin color, white armpits and slim figure. Women in the Public Sphere: A Case Study of a Museum for Peace from the Perspective of Women Experiencing the Violence Conflict and Instability in Southern Thailand

Patporn Phoothong

Women in the Public Sphere: A Case Study of a Museum for Peace from the Perspective of Women Experiencing the Violence Conflict and Instability in Southern Thailand

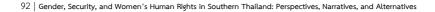
Patporn Phoothong

Abstract

Even though women's experiences of political and social conflict are often presented in public space in Thailand, most often they are portrayed from a singular perspective as "victims." What would it be like if women were empowered to speak for themselves as survivors and actors, and to communicate their voices in public spaces such as a peace museum? This paper first compares the perspectives of public and private museums in Thailand and elsewhere to the new alternative museum definition which emphasizes on democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces. Second, the paper will discuss overseas case studies of exhibitions and museums that present women in conflict areas in order to assess to what extent women's experiences gain public attention, and what aspects of their experiences are included and what are omitted. The paper then explores the women's space in deep south Thailand (Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat provinces), and examines to what extent mainly Muslim women can discuss their experiences, memories, hopes, needs and roles in public space. The paper then presents the author's fieldwork findings on women's perspectives regarding peacebuilding programs and museums for peace, and whether they can lead to a more peaceful region. Finally, the paper will examine how public space and museums limit women's voices and how to empower them, as well as how museums for peace, as seen through the eyes of women in the deep south, recover and reimagine women's space in museums locally and globally.

Violence against Women in the Upper Southern Region of Thailand: A Case Study in Nakhon Si Thammarat

Waracha Karnwinphuet



Violence against Women in the Upper Southern Region of Thailand: A Case Study in Nakhon Si Thammarat

Waracha Karnwinphuet

Center of Excellence on Women and Social Security Walailak University

Abstract

The situation of violence against women in the Upper Southern Region in Nakhon Si Thammarat Province is a study from primary data, report and statistic from relevant agencies gathering data on domestic violence. The research surveys the status of the studies and the situation of violence against women through the lens of domestic violence and violence against woman. It is found that in 2019, there were 463 cases of violence against women, of which 134 women suffered from sexual violence, 63 from mental abuse, 398 from physical abuse/assaults, two death, and four neglect.

The overview of the Nakhon Si Thammarat showed that the majority of victims were women, thus it could be concluded that men were perpetrators. It could be assumed that violence against women is a phenomenon under the patriarchal society where men dominate social values, including the perception that men can use violence against women; wives are husbands' properties, or women are sex objects. The society denounces women for violence and perceives that women were 'asking for it.' If a woman was raped, it was a deserving consequence for her provocative dress or she initiated the sexual advance. Women should be modest and restrain her mind, behavior, and expression so that men will not harass them. There were misconceptions on domestic violence as the personal issue, hence, other outsiders in the community should not help or intervene in family issues and that the internal family matters should not be shared with outsiders.

Contributors

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APPENDIX

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INTRODUCTORY

REMARKS –

International Seminar "Gender, Security and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand"

The Center of Excellence on Women and Social Security (CEWSS) at Walailak University, Southern Thailand and the Thai Studies Program, Department of Southeast Asian Studies at University of Malaya, Malaysia are jointly organizing the International Conference on "Gender, Security and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand". This is the second collaboration between our center and the Thai Studies Program, University of Malaya. This seminar is supported by Center for International Affairs (CIA), Walailak University to promote academic strength and research collaboration on gender and sexuality in Southeast Asia.

The CEWSS was established at the end of 2017 supported by the Institute of Research and Innovation, Walailak University. CEWSS is now one of the twenty-one Walailak excellence centers that promotes the issues of gender equality, social security and human rights. The CEWSS aims to make contributions to the local and international communities in terms of knowledge, policy and social services.

This seminar is part of the initial founding project of CEWSS for encouraging young scholars to publish research papers on gender related issues regarding Southern Thailand. The CEWSS aims to increase the number of research papers on women, gender and sexuality issues. Initially, this seminar originated from the CEWSS research survey on the body of knowledge of the status of women sin Southern Thailand.

Finally, we have four candidates whose concept notes are outstanding because their concept notes were chosen by distinguished three readers: Dr. Patrick Jory, The University of Queensland, Australia, Dr. Mala Rajo Sathian, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and Asst. Prof. Dr. Wannasarn Noonsuk, California State University, Fresno, The United States of America. In addition, the CEWSS has given full support to these four candidates by organizing a Gender Research Workshop in July 2020. The CEWSS also aims to promote academic strength on the issues of gender, security and women's human rights in Southern Thailand among our members. We believe that their academic work will greatly contribute to the South of Thailand

By organizing this seminar, it shows that we would like to position the CEWSS to be an agent of academic support and networking both at the local and international levels. I would like to point out that due to the covid-19 pandemic, the CEWSS has adjusted itself to the new normal situation by using Webinar.

Aims of the Seminar

1. To create national and international academic networks for research studies on women, gender and sexuality issues in Southeast Asia.

2. To circulate the academic works and research producing for enhancing the women and gender knowledge status in the Southern of Thailand. Relating in the social, cultural and social context in Southeast Asia

3. To publish the research papers into Scopus indexed journal for researched who found by CEWSS and in proceeding for the presenter who participate in this seminar. It will be contributing new insights to the debate on women, gender, women's human rights in Southern Thailand in global context.

In closing, the CEWSS and I would like to thank you Walailak University and all the researchers who are participating in this seminar.

Dr. Taweeluck Pollachom

Head of the Center's Report on the Second International Seminar on Gender, Security, and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand: Perspectives, Narratives, and Alternatives

SEMINAR

----- PROGRAM -----

"Gender, Security and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand"

Center of Excellence on Women and Social Security Walailak University, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand Room: Meeting 1 and 2, Academic Building 5 26 September 2020

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| 08.30-09.00 | Registration | |
|-------------|---|--|
| 09.00-09.15 | Opening and welcome remarks by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Surin Maisrikrod, Vice-President for Global Engagement and Faculty Development, Walailak University | |
| 09.15-09.30 | Overview of the Program by Dr. Taweeluck Pollachom, Head of the Center of Excellence on Women and Social Security, Walailak University | |
| | Moderator: Lecturer Thassanee Thasrabiab, School of Liberal Arts, Walailak University | |
| 09.30-10.00 | Performance on Rape: A Pantomime of Violence and Insecurities by EFL60-336 students: Literary Adaptation for Performance | |
| 10.00-10.15 | Tea/coffee break | |

| 10.15-12.00 | Round table discussion, Gender Studies and Women | | |
|-------------|--|--|--|
| | Security in Southern Thailand | | |
| | 1. Dr. Mala Rajo Sathian, | | |
| | Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya | | |
| | 2. Khun Angkhana Neelapaijit, | | |
| | Justice for Peace Foundation | | |
| | 3. Khun Wilasinie Sopapol, | | |
| | King Prajadipok's Institute | | |
| | 4. Khun Fareeda Panjor, | | |
| | Center for Conflict Studies and Cultural Diversity, | | |
| | Institute for Peace Studies, Prince of Songkla University | | |
| | Moderator: Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Marddent, School of | | |
| | Languages and General Education, Walailak University | | |
| 12.00-13.00 | Lunch Break | | |
| 13.00-15.00 | Meeting Room 1: Ongoing Gender Research in Southern Thailand | | |
| | Presenters: | | |
| | 1. Women's Tweet: The Language of Femininity | | |
| | Lecturer Pavirasa Praditsorn, School of Languages and | | |
| | General Education, Walailak University | | |
| | 2. If Women Create a Museum for Peace: What would | | |
| | it be like? | | |
| | Ms. Patporn Phoothong, Independent researcher | | |
| | 3. Women's Image in Thai Folk Song | | |
| | Lecturer Phatcharaphorn Salee, School of Languages | | |
| | and General Education, Walailak University | | |
| | 4. The Capital Accumulation and Social Mobility of | | |
| | Female Malay Muslim Politicians | | |
| | Lecturer Asama Mungkornchai, Faculty of Political Science, | | |
| | Prince of Songkhla University | | |
| | Discussant: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Rungnapa Yanyongkasemsuk | | |
| | Faculty of Political Science and Law, Burapha University | | |

Moderator: Dr. Khemmanit Wattanatinnachot, School of Languages and General Education, Walailak University

Meeting Room 2: Ongoing Gender Research in Southern Thailand Presenters:

- 1. Community Enterprise Group as "Public Space" and the Hegemony of Women in Southern Thailand Dr. Ratchada Rueangsarakun, Independent researcher
- 2. The Study of Reproduction on Women's Beauty in Local Thai Accessories

Lecturer Manirat Kamlangkuea, School of Languages and General Education, Walailak University

3. Women's Roles in Nominating Wat Phra Mahathat Woramahawihan to be Inscribed on the World Heritage List

Asst. Prof. Dr. Vithaya Arporn, School of Languages and General Education, Walailak University

4. Violence against Women in the Upper Southern Region of Thailand: A Case of Nakhon Si Thammarat Province

Mrs. Waracha Karnwinphuet, Center of Excellence on Women and Social Security, Walailak University

Discussant: Asst. Prof. Dr. Ranwarat Poonsri Department of Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Kasetsart University

Moderator: Asst. Prof. Dr. Hareesol Khun-inkeeree, School of Languages and General Education, Walailak University

15.00-15.15 Tea/coffee break

| 15.15-16.00 | A closing keynote, Gender and Culture in Southern Thailand Assoc. Prof. Dr. Claudia Merli, Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University, Sweden | | | |
|-------------|--|--|--|--|
| | Moderator: Asst. Prof. Mark B. Ulla, School of Languages and General Education, Walailak University | | | |
| 16.00-16.30 | Summary of the seminar and closing remarks Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Marddent and Dr. Taweeluck Pollachom, School of Languages and General Education, Walailak University | | | |

WELCOMING

REMARKS -



Delivered by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Surin Maisrikrod Vice-President for Global Engagement and Faculty Development, Walailak University

Ladies and gentlemen,

First of all, let me welcome you all very warmly to Walailak University, which I

would like to believe that this is we are entering an era of change. This very meeting room is a recently renovated from an old building and we want to start a new era which will incorporate many aspects.

One of which, of course, is the setting up of women's studies at Walailak University led by Dr. Amporn Marddent, Dr. Taweeluck Pollachom and their colleagues. This is very important because this university has been very strong in term of research, particularly sciences, health sciences, and physical sciences as well. We have been rated very well internationally. However, in the area of social sciences, we have been a bit marginalized and I said this from the point of view of myself being a social scientist and for the first time in a very long time, this university has got a president who is a social scientist so I would say very emphatically that this is a great opportunity for such a unit, a research center as for women's studies at Walailak University to take advantage of this new change at this university and to beef up or to activate research in the area of social sciences including women's studies.

I really thank Dr. Amporn and Dr. Taweeluck who have been working very hard on this for many years since their arrival at Walialak University. This is a very great contribution that you are making, basically, the research community of Walailak University. When we are trying to promote internationalization in the area of research, Dr. Amporn once again, has already done this late work long before the arrival of the new administration for years ago. I really have to congratulate Dr. Amporn, Dr. Taweeluck and their colleagues who have done such a great job of promoting of helping internationalize Walailak University in the area of research within the broader context and spectrum of social sciences which is absolutely crucial. It is very timely to have this sort of seminar on gender, social security, and women's rights in southern Thailand because we are always talking about marginalization of so many groups in Thailand and around the world.

We are very aware of this, as we meaning the new administration led by Prof. Dr. Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, myself and my colleagues at the top management level. We are touching on issues on Muslim women today in a very big way. When we first arrived, one of the things we fell from the administration's point of view was that people here seem to have deficit attitude, feeling marginalized. When we moved around the university and we talked to different groups, there was a sense of marginalization and being marginalized among Muslim students and Muslim staff. One of the most basic things was that they said Ajarn Surin can we please have a proper place to pray? The university was already set up 25 years by the time we arrived, but there was no proper place for Muslim students and staff to pray. That is added to the sense of marginalization even further. The president and the administrative board thought we like to say big words about multicultural campus as well as multicultural province, but yet even within such an organization as a university we didn't even have a proper place for Muslim students who constitute 20% of the student population, by the way, did not have a public place to pray. Now, we have a mosque at the university where stuff is very nicely constructed. Finally, we thought we have done something within our responsibility and power to change some of deep feeling of marginalization in this case among people of different religions.

Dr. Amporn and her colleagues, basically what you are doing is really your fighting for the underdog. I do not have to lecture on this. High Commissioner Angkhana Neelapaijit, who has been fighting for the underdog. Also, we all have known very well about her late husband Khun Somchai Neelapaijit. All her life has been devoted to fight for the underdog and we thought that we have done this very well in Thailand and in the world.

I lived in Australia for 20 years being a lecturer at the James Cook University and the situation there is not much better. When it comes to human rights, women's rights, minority group, the poor, as well as the disadvantaged, the situation is not much better. You have a big fight on your hands which basically makes it even more appreciative on the part of people like us who are administering this university. You do not have to look far at all, just nearby the campus. Tha Sala District has about 40 % of Muslim population. In all the place, people live in the worst situation. Small places and very cramped areas that they live in always have problems in terms of their wellbeing, fighting ways to improve your well-being. I urge you all that when you say southern Thailand, please do not forget to look at Muslims people, women in Tha Sala itself. Fortunately, tonight I would be joining a discussion at Naithung, a Muslim Community located near the campus, having a big event there. I will be representing the president to deliver a talk and this is for the first time, by the way, for that we are really serious about this community. I have to say this because as far as I know we really had in the past ignored the plight of the marginalized people in a very unfortunate way with all of this.

We have a big advantage among academics particularly from this university, whose academic is world-class, especially Dr. Amporn who has a globally connected network of friends or colleagues and has much capability to produce cutting-edge research which would provide a sufficient foundation for community work. After all, scholarly work can be translated into a practical work, the actual fight for the disadvantaged. But, if we lie on highly scholarly work, well researched, and well-documented cases for example then we have a better chance to say to the world. This is a problem that we have, and this is something that we need to change so this center has no end.

This center has just started in 2013 and it is progressing very strongly, and I am very sure it will develop very progressively and very quickly in the future as well. However, I urge you to make sure to collect basic data. I said this because this very morning I asked the human resource people about the male and female ratio as part of my preparation to talk here today. It turned out that there is a total number of all staff only and no one could answer the number between male and female staff separately. Now,

when we look at student population, 75% are females while 25% are males. That is amazing and very important data. We come up with this clear figure on the part of students because we want to prepare the dormitories properly. Building dormitory has to be focused on servicing female students because they constitute 75% of student population or 9,000 of them and I say we are ashamed that I am a human resources officers cannot answer my simple question on how many male and female staff. This is the basic data that this center under the directorship by Dr. Amporn has to gather. With good data, we would command respect and have a strong foundation to conduct our research. Therefore, it is especially important work.

I just want to go back to the very first point that I make early on that you are doing something extremely important, and I am sure I do not have to lecture this to the converted because I am sure you realize this, but I just want to emphasize from the administration's point of view that we view this center as something integral to the development of this university. In line with the university's motto, that is to work with local community in order to solve the problems and also to be internationally recognized.

| Thank you so much. | | |
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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Surin Maisrikrod Vice-President for Global Engagement and Faculty Development, Walailak University

ADDRESS OF SPONSOR



Delivered by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Janya Chanchaichujit Director of the Center for International Affairs, Walailak University

Distinguished guest, ladies and gentlemen

It is my great pleasure and honor to have the opportunity to attend the International Seminar entitled "Gender, Security and

Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand" at Walailak University. I would like to express my gratitude to the Center of Excellence in Women and Social Security at Walailak University for kindly inviting me to this important event and for their hard work to make this academic event possible. The Center of Excellence in Women and Social Security has made a remarkable achievement not only in brining scholars, researchers, international organizations and stakeholders to participate in this well-organized seminar but also in providing seminar proceedings as an elegant way to disseminate valuable knowledge and insights presented by distinguished intellectuals, scholars and researchers in this seminar.

Furthermore, improving gender equality at the global level is getting new impetus through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the United Nations which aim to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls by 2030. However, global progress in achieving these targets is still in far reach in many developing countries and women still encounter a range of challenges, such as discrimination against women, violence against women, reproductive health and formal educational attainment. I personally believe that this seminar more or less will provide women an international forum to raise their voices, to recognize women's rights as human rights, and to advance gender equality.

As the Director of the Center for International Affairs, I can assure you that Walailak University will continue to support and promote collaborative international partnerships to sustain research and academic excellence. In turn, this will foster the fruitful exchange of knowledge, ideas and practices between scholars, researchers, international organizations and stakeholders, hence meaningful interactions.

I greatly appreciate your valuable time, effort and contribution for organizing this wonderful seminar. Thank you very much.

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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Janya Chanchaichujit Director of the Center for International Affairs, Walailak University

SEMINAR

— COMMITTEE —

Prof. Dr. Wanna Choorit Assoc. Prof. Dr. Surin Maisrikrod Assoc. Prof. Dr. Janya Chanchaichujit

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Consultant Committee

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Finance Committee

Public Relations Committee

Dr. Taweeluck Pollachom Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Marddent Ms. Muna Pradu

PERFORMANCE

"Rape: A Pantomime of Violence and Insecurities" by EFL60-336 Students: Literary Adaptation for Performance

Synopsis

The pantomime is based on Adrienne rich's renowned poem, "rape," which presents the disturbing patriarchal scene in which the female rape victim is looked at and treated by the police as the criminal. Rich represents the social judgement and patriarchal authority through the





character of the police who symbolically rapes the victim through his overpowering interrogation process. In the pantomime, the ideas of violence and insecurities towards women reflected from this poem is symbolically portrayed through the combination of role-play and dance.



^{112 |} Gender, Security, and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand: Perspectives, Narratives, and Alternatives

Summary by Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Marddent

ขอบคุณทุกท่าน โดยเฉพาะนักศึกษาที่พูดและส่งเสียง รวมทั้งตั้งคำถามที่อาจจะดู เหมือนเป็นคำถามที่อ่อนไหวต่อความรู้สึก ในช่วงของการสรุปขอเสนอให้เห็นภาพทั้งหมดของ งานเป็นภาษาไทยก่อน หลังจากนั้นเสนอภาษาอังกฤษให้ international participants เนื่องจากในระบบ Zoom ยังเห็นอาจารย์หลายท่าน ผู้ทรงคุณวุฒิจากต่างประเทศที่ยังอยู่กับเรา ในภาพรวมของงานตั้งแต่เข้า พบว่าประเด็นในการประชุมว่าด้วยเรื่องของเพศสภาพ ความมั่นคง สิทธิของผู้หญิงในภาคใต้ มีประเด็นใหญ่อยู่สามประการ ภายใต้บริบทของสังคมที่อยู่ในภูมิภาค ภาคใต้ของประเทศไทย แม้ว่าเราพูดเรื่องภาคใต้แต่งานไม่เคยหลุดออกไปจากกรอบของการมี ปฏิสัมพันธ์กับมรดกทางวัฒนธรรม ความเชื่อ นโยบายที่ส่งผลกระทบต่อผู้คนในพื้นที่นี้ อันได้แก่ เรื่องของอิทธิพลและมรดกตกทอดในแนวทางแบบอาณานิคม นโยบายที่มาจากส่วนกลาง และ นโยบายที่มาจากภายนอก ทั้งแทรกแซง กำกับ รวมทั้งกำหนดแนวทางในการทำความเข้าใจ ที ก่อให้เกิดกระบวนการเรียนรู้ว่า เรื่องของบทบาทความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างผู้คนในสังคมผ่านมิติเพศ ภาพ

เรื่องของความมั่นคงที่นักวิจัยหลายท่าน ผู้ทรงคุณวุฒิพูดถึง security หรือความ มั่นคงไม่ได้มีแค่เพียงต้องใช้กำลังอาวุธอย่างเดียว แต่พูดถึงความมั่นคงของมนุษย์ไว้เป็นจำนวน มาก ความมั่นคงผู้คนในสังคม ความมั่นคงในการใช้ชีวิตให้เป็นปกติสุข เป็นต้น ในที่สุดประเด็น สำคัญที่พูดอย่างลุ่มลึกมากในเชิงนโยบาย ผลของกลไกสากลต่าง ๆ กระบวนการของรัฐที่ส่งผล ให้การกำหนดนโยบายดำเนินอยู่ในพื้นที่ภาคใต้นั้น พบว่าประเด็นที่สำคัญยังคงเห็นอยู่ไม่ว่า มิติ สุขภาพ sexual reproductive health and rights หรือมิติทางด้านสุขภาพทางเพศและสิทธิ อนามัยเจริญพันธุ์ เป็นเรื่องที่อาจารย์คลาวเดียร์พูดถึงซึ่งสัมพันธ์โยงใยกับความเชื่อ เป็นมิติที่ลุ่ม ลึกลงไปมากที่สุด เราจึงเอาประเด็นนี้มาอยู่ตอนท้าย งานวันนี้ได้ถกเถียงอภิปรายถึง Policy หรือนโยบาย เราได้มุมมองจากนักวิจัยว่าด้วยเรื่องของกระบวนการจัดแจงทางสังคม ท้ายที่สุด เรามองได้ว่าสิ่งที่ยังคงอยู่ในวิถีชีวิตของเรา จัดแจงกับร่างกายเรา การเปลี่ยนผ่านมุมมองแบบนี้ ค่อนข้างใช้เวลา

Thank you Ajarn Thassanee, also thank you Ajarn Mark and Prof. Claudia as well as audiences, especially the students to braving up to talk, speak out and even though in English. There! The student in Political Science.

So, to summarize the whole seminar today, it is not an easy task. Thank you once again to all of the audiences, participants, students as well as guest speakers who right now here with us and some already left because we have online as well.

Actually, for the main idea of this seminar, we focus on three aspects: gender, security and women's human right. Even though, we have focused our studies specifically in Southern Thailand for this seminar, but we could not neglect that to the southern part of Thailand, it is connected with other countries in the region and aspects of the society. Discussions in the seminar connected with different other areas in term of geography, for example. We could not deny that the colonial legacy either positive or negative impact to all of us still here. We know that the importance of the policy either from international mechanisms in global level, for example, we discuss on UNSCR 1325 which is highlighted women security agenda. We look at how it is going to be implemented in Thai society. Even though, we do not yet have national action plan yet but to discuss specifically about the role of state and regional body, for example, ASEAN. They need to take seriously engage in the efforts to bring about a political solution to the crisis. We learnt the role of the Thai government, how it could go and the concerns of other state members in the region. We discuss and comment the role of young generation who has a very crucial role at this moment especially in political arena.

While we analyze about national policy on human security, we recognized that policy itself implemented in this region which affects men and women differently. So, the policy makers need to listen to people on the ground because policy intervention impacts in people's lives. We look at the issue or the idea of gender which is referred to particular roles and relationships. The integration of gender notion into security policy can look through participatory policy making process of CSOs. For the case of southern Thai violent conflict, Muslim community have associated with critical issues that need to bring into the table more than Buddhist community, such as gender-based violence and internal treats.

However, the case studies of our researchers and numbers of analyses take comprehensive understanding of security needs. I would like to point to one of the sections in the afternoon, in room 2. Our colleague, Dr. Hareesol summed up from discussions that "for this section women are part of the process to change the society, at the same time people understand and know little about the value of the women. Women then could be only a part to build up the society but they cannot be the leaders." This kind of idea also found out in the morning section when we scrutinized into the role of women in peace talk and policy. Some of us also challenge to the idea that women actually are everywhere in economic sector and so on. But they were discriminated and not being involved. The society does not take their issues seriously when the officials address security and peace negotiation or peace dialogue.

So, what we are doing now is an unfinished project, still on. And I know now the students are getting tired and all of us. This one-day seminar is quite fruitful and strives for promoting and requiring the participation from all of us to discuss further. All research results must be taken into account. Keep working is a core point. What we discuss today may touch upon our feelings a lot when we talk about the rise of Islamization, whether it breaks our heart or not but we know that it is formulated possibility to have voices from academia, practitioners and learners.

So last but not least, I would like to turn over to the closing section to the MC.

Thank you so much.

CLOSING

Delivered by Dr. Taweeluck Pollachom

Thank you Ajarn Thassanee. This is the closing seminar session. On behalf of the Center of Excellence on Women and Social Security, Walailak University and Thai Studies Program at University of Malaya, I would like to thank you all speakers and participants both online and offline as well as the working team for joining and organizing this event. A special thanks go to Khun Angkhana for one day trip to join our one-day seminar and we are so pleased to have her with us today. I would like to thank Ajarn Claudia, Ajarn Mala and dear speakers for joining us. Again, I would like to thank my wonderful staff, Miss Muna. If we don't have her the seminar cannot happen today. Appreciation goes to Nong Gift and Nong Ball, the SOLGEN staff, our students from Women and Politics course in Political Science Program of Walailak University.

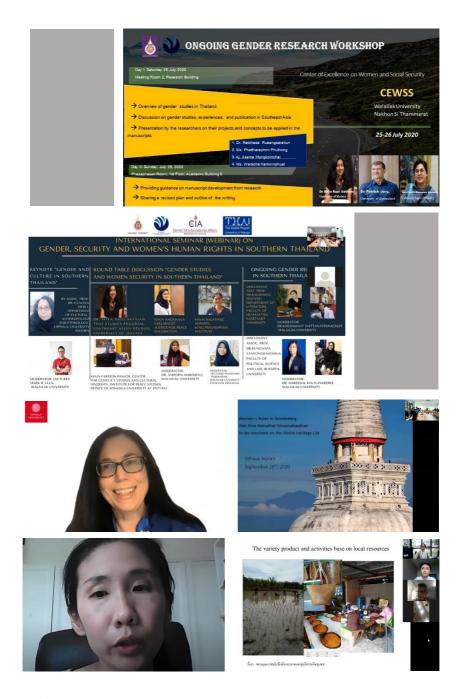
This is closing session which I have learnt from this seminar, especially from a potential set of research on gender, sexuality and social security. We need to increase numbers of research about Southern Thailand. This seminar meets the objectives that have set very well. After this we would collect the full paper for the proceedings of this seminar and to apply the new normal practice. Firstly, I would like to thank the four researchers who shared the excellence result from the program that CEWSS provided. They work hard for presenting in this seminar--P' Aor or Khun Patporn, Ajarn Rachada, Aj Asama and P' Maew or Khun Waracha. I hope this seminar could explain your knowledge and understanding in Gender Security and Women's Human Rights in Southern Thailand. I also hope we could make research collaboration in this area in the near future.

Thank you all of you.

PHOTO – GALLERY–



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