#### **CRITICAL CONNECTIONS:**

#### HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY

#### 18-19 August 2011

Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

#### ORGANIZED BY

Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS) programme, Center for Social Development Studies, Faculty of Political Science, and Asian Research Center for Migration, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Institute for Human Rights and Peace Studies Mahidol University, Thailand

International Cooperation and Human Security (HS1069A), Chula Unisearch, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

#### **CONFERENCE AGENDA**

#### Thursday, August 18, 2011

8:00 - 9:00 **Registration** 

Room: Chumpot-Panthip room,

Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building

9:00 - 10:00 **Opening Ceremonies** 

• Welcome remarks – by Prof. Supachai Yavaprabhas, Ph.D.

• Introduction to Keynote Speaker – by Prof. Supachai Yavaprabhas, Ph.D.

• Keynote Addresses: Defending Human Security, Human Rights and Human Development: Bridging Differences and Deepening Connections for a Peaceful World Order – by *Prof. Thanh-Dam Truong, Ph.D.* **Room**: Chumpot-Panthip room, Prachadhipok-

Rumpaipunnee Building

Chair: Assoc.Prof. Vira Somboon, Ph.D

10:00 - 10:30 **Break** 

Chumpot-Panthip room,

Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building

10:30 - 12:30 Paper Presentation Session 1
Special Panel: "Integrating Human Security

in Development"

• "Human Rights, Human Development and Human Security in South Sudan" by *Michael Medley, Ph. D.* 

• "Thai Foreign Direct Investment in Lao PDR and its implications for Human Security and International Cooperation" by *Naruemon Thabchumpon*, *Ph.D. & Carl Middleton*, *Ph.D.* 

• "Human Security Policy in Japan" by *Teewin Suputthikul*, *Ph.D.* 

• "Human Security, Energy and Climate Change: The Importance of an Integrated Perspective" by *Prof. Charles Elworthy, Ph.D.* 

Room: Chumpot-Panthip room, Prachadhipok-

Rumpaipunnee Building

**Chair**: Assoc.Prof. Vira Somboon, Ph.D. **Commentator**: Prof. Thanh-Dam, Ph.D.

#### Migration:

- The lives, working conditions and insecurities of frontier workers between Cambodia and Thailand at the Poipet-Aranyaprathet Border crossing by *Jennifer Maureen Finnegan*
- Transnational and seasonal labor migration and development: lives of Thai berry picker returnees from Sweden by *Julia Kamoltip Kallstrom*
- Filipino health workers in Metropolitan Bangkok by *Isaac Olson*
- Local Citizenship and the Realization of Political Rights of Japanese Brazilians: Comparative studies of Aichi and Yamanashi Prefectures of Japan by *Ayaka Kazama*

**Room**: 103B, Building 1 **Chair**: *Mr. Jerrold W. Huguet* 

**Commentator**: *Mr. Philip S. Robertson Jr.* 

#### Refugee:

- Undocumented Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh: Government Justification of the Policies on their Basic Rights and Human Security by *Mahbubul Haque*
- US resettlement for displaced persons from Myanmar: protection in a protracted refugee situation in Mae La shelter by *Sarinya Moolma*
- Analysing India's treatment of the Chins by Lian Bawi Thang
- Shan Refugees in Thailand by Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN)

**Room**: 209 (KasemUthayanin). Building 1 **Chair**: *Prof. Supang Chantavanich*, *Ph.D.* 

Commentator:

Mr. Veerawit Tianchainan Mr. Teerapat Asavasangsidhi

12:30 - 13:30 Lunch 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Chula Chakrabongse Building

### 13:30 - 15:30 Paper Presentation Session 2 Special Panel: "Women and Politics in everyday life"

- Nattakant Akarapongpisak
- "Myths of Gender and Violences in the far South of Thailand" by Alisa Hasamoh
- "The Struggles of Female Workers in the age of Globalisation" by Jitra Kotchadej
- "Intersectionality and Women's Oppression: The case of female domestic workers from Burma in Thailand" by Pattraporn Chuenglertsiri Room: Chumpot-Panthip room, Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building

Chair: Ms. Jiraporn Laocharoenwong

**Commentator:** *Prof. Thanh-Dam Troung, Ph.D.* 

#### **Human Security:**

- Impacts of Cambodian decentralization policy in fishery management on human security of fishers around the Tonle Sap lake by *Borin Un*
- Thai rubber investments in Lao PDR and its implications on food security: A case study of Outhomphone district, Savannakhet province by Sawapa Tangsawapak
- Impact of Human Security Approach in the Post UN Peace Keeping Mission: A
- Case Study of Bangladesh by Shekh Mohammad Altafur Rahman
- Human Security, Emancipation, and the Challenges towards the Establishment of ASEAN Security Community 2015 by Aninda Rahmasari

Room: 209 (KasemUthayanin). Building 1 Chair: Assoc.Prof. Soravis Jayanama Commentator: Asst.Prof. Philippe Doneys, Ph.D.

#### **Human Development (1):**

- Child Labor in the food service industry in Yangon, Myanmar by *Ne Chye Thwin*
- Employment policies for people with disabilities in Jarkarta, Indonesia: The participation of people in Wisma Cheshire network in policy implementation by *Mahmudi Yushi*
- Building human capabilities through yoga therapy: A case study of Karma Yoga in Phnom Penh by *Debra Kim Liwiski*
- Human Rights Approach on Trans-National Hazardous Environmental Program by *Eri Hariono*

Room: 103 A, Building 1

Chair: Asst.Prof. Pavika Sriratanaban, Ph.D. Commentator: Jakkrit Sangkhamanee, Ph.D.

#### Peace Building & Conflict Resolution:

- Peace building in Southern Thailand: A Developmental Contribution by The Asia Foundation to conflict transformations? by *Marika Stella Dora Shiga*
- To Live With Conflicts: Conflict in Human Rights and Social Movements by *Ashley Hsuliang Wu*
- International political transformation in post Cold War Asia: A case study of KMT refugees in Northern Thailand by *Lei Tong*

Room: 108, Building 2

Chair: Asst.Prof. Chantana Wun'Gaeo, Ph.D.

Commentator: Jacques Stroun, M.D. Chanchai Chaisukkosol, Ph.D.

#### **Environment:**

- Environment protection mechanism in the industrial sector in Vietnam in the era of globalization by *Sang Xuan Vo*
- Responding to Climate Change: A Human Security, Human Rights, or Development Issue? by *Danny Marks*
- Sound Behind the Wall: the Case Study in the Construction Kuala Namu International Airport in North Sumatera by *Majda El Muhtaj*
- The struggle for Land Rights by Using Rights to Communication : The case Study of Klong Yong Villager by *Varunee Na-Nakorn*

**Room**: Room 317, 4th Floor, Visid Prachubmoh Building

**Chair**: Asst.Prof. Niti Pawkapan, Ph.D. **Commentator**: Carl Middleton, Ph.D.

15:30 - 16:00

Break

Singdam Café, Faculty of Political Science

#### 16:00 -18:00

#### Paper Presentation Session 3 Human Rights:

- Independence of the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand by *Yasuyuki Kato*
- Partcipatory Democracy and the Struggles for Community Rights by *Chayatad Deema*
- Rights-based development in Kayah state: A case study of international and local non-governmental organizations by *Sophia*
- Human Rights Situation in Shan State of (the Union of) Burma by Seng Wan

Room: 102, Building 1

**Chair**: Asst.Prof. Puangthong Pawakapan, Ph.D.

**Commentator**: *Mike Hayes, Ph.D.* 

#### Citizenship and Rights:

• Human Security and Workers in Thailand's Post-Factory Age by Asst.Prof. John Walsh, Ph.D.

- Three Waves of Citizenship Integration in Thailand: Chinese, Isaan and Burmese beyond the Reverse Waves? by *Sustarum Thammaboosadee*
- The Fulfillment of Social Security Rights by Non State Social Security Providers: The Case of Zakat as Islamic Social Security Instrument in Indonesia by *Heru Susetyo*
- Education for human rights of Burmese migrant workers: A case study of Dear
- Burma school by Pechet Men

Room: 106, Building 2

Chair: Yanuar Sumarlan, Ph.D.

Commentator: Prof. Thanet Arpornsuwan

#### 15:30 - 18:30 Film showing & Discussion

- Path to Freedom of Shan State (1 Hour)
- Moving to Mars (1 Hour 24 Minutes)

Enemies of the People (tbc)

Room: 108, Building 2

**Chair:** Naruemon Thabchumpon, Ph.D.

#### 18:30 - 21:00 Reception at Chula Naruemit

#### Friday, August 19, 2011

8:45 - 10:30

Paper Presentation Session 3 Special Panel: "Burma, Environmental Governance and Equity"

- "High Anxiety: the future of Ayarwaddy River and Myanmar Society" by *Myint Zaw*
- "Dawei Special Economic Zone: Its Prospects and Challenges" by *Zaw Aung*
- "Art Cries , Save Soil" by Kyaw Thu Aung

**Room**: Chumpot-Panthip room, Prachadhipok-

Rumpaipunnee Building

**Chair**: Naruemon Thabchumpon, Ph.D. **Commentato**r: Decharat Sukumnerd, Ph.D.

#### **Culture and Religion:**

- Socially engaged Buddhist Nuns in Burma and Gender equality in monastic structure by HWY
- Legal Wresting to Reinforce the Right to Equality for Minority religious Groups in Indonesia by *Al Khanif*
- Impact of Monolingual Policy on Educational Opportunity of Ethnic People by *Shu Maung*
- Democracy and minority right in Bangladesh by *Sikder Monoare Murshed, Ph.D.*

**Room**: ARCM room, 3th Floor, Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building

**Chair**: Asst.Prof. Parichart Suwanbubbha, Ph.D. **Commentator**: Alexander Horstmann, Ph.D.

#### **Education:**

- The role of technological training in women empowerment: A case study of Isan women workers in Bangkok by *Andrew Vincent Clifford*
- Teacher Centered Pedagogy (TCP) and Students' Lives in Classroom in Myanmar by YHA
- Educational accreditation for marginalised peoples?: A case study of high school education

in a "temporary shelter" area along Thai-Burmese border zones by *Anna Lena Till* 

**Room**: Thesis Section, 1st Floor, Library Building

Chair: Prof. Surichai Wun'Gaeo

Commentator: Sriprapha Petcharamesree,

Ph.D.

#### Human Development (2):

- Assessing the impact of HIV/AIDS on households through a livelihood security lens: A case study of Namlong village in Chiang Mai province by *Louise Kendi Maore*
- Populist policies in Thailand: A comparative study between Thaksin's and Democrat party's by *Sutree Duangnet*
- The examining the decision-making process for recognition of environment, social and human rights: The advocacy coalitions and their responses to the external shocks in the case study of the Hat Gyi dam project on the Salaween river, Myanmar by *Nang Shining*
- Exploring the Analytical Usefulness of a Versatile Framework: An Experimental Comparative Ranking of Asian Human Security Concerns by Matthew Mullen

**Room**: ARCM room, 7st Floor, Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building

**Chair:** Chanintira Na Thalang, Ph.D. **Commentato**r: Yanuar Sumarlan, Ph.D.

10:30 - 10:45 **Break** 

Chumpot-Panthip room, Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building

10:45 - 12:00 Closing Panel Discussion & Open Forum by

Prof. Vitit Muntrabhorn
Critical Connections: Human Rights, Human
Development and Human Security

**Room**: Chumpot-Panthip room, Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building **Chair**: *Asst.Prof. Chantana Wun'Gaeo, Ph.D.* 

12:00 - 12:30 Refreshment Chumpot-Panthip room, Prachadhipok-Rumpaipunnee Building

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#### Introduction

Human Rights, Human Development and Human Security are cornerstone concepts of the theory and practice of development and social justice. Whilst some argue that each is a school of thought in its own right, others conclude that the concepts are intimately connected and complimentary. Human Rights have been a foundation of international development since at least the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, from which has grown a comprehensive "rights-based approach" to development. During the 1980s, following an upsurge of normative thinking, the notion of Human Development emerged that mounted a serious challenge to the previous GDP-centric modernization development theories, and has been promoted by major development agencies such as the UNDP. In the 1990s, the more holistic concept of Human Security emerged that sought to synthesize notions of basic needs, human development and human rights and in the process redefine security from a statecentric perspective to a focus on the individual. Critics of Human Security, however, have argued that it is just "old wine in a new bottle" and impractical for guiding development on the ground. This conference will explore the critical connections and cleavages between Human Rights, Human Development and Human Security, and seek to close the gap between development in theory and in practice.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

This conference was supported by:

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# PARALLEL SESSIONS ABSTRACTS

#### INTERNATIONAL MEDIA DISCOURSE ON THE RED SHIRT MOVEMENT'S USE OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Alan Wihlborg Andersen Chulalongkorn University

This paper will investigate the issue of the class struggle discourse currently being used by the Red Shirt leadership to describe clashes between Red Shirt protestors and the established elites. More specifically, political commentators on the UDD movement have noted the movement's successfulness in resonating class as a factor for instigating political change within Thailand. In propagating this message of class struggle, political commentators have noted some interesting developments in the use by the UDD of symbolism and terms to depict a society with structural divisions. The media have also played an influential role during the crisis. They provide a platform, which both sides can utilize to spread their particular truths of the crisis. As such, it may be stated that political movements (be it Yellowshirts or Red-shirts) live or fade by the attention they receive from the media. The momentum of such movements is gained or lost through the use of the media, political symbolism and/or color politics. In terms of the Red Shirt movement, the legitimacy of the movement on the international stage waxes and wanes depending in no small part to the international media. Much criticism has been directed particularly towards the specific messages propagated within the international coverage during the March-May clashes.

## LEGAL WRESTLING TO REINFORCE THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITY GROUPS IN INDONESIA

Al Khanif Research Institute of Human Rights and Faculty of Law Jember University, Indonesia

Religious freedom is one of the oldest rights regulated by international human rights instruments. It guarantees everyone the right to have, adopt and reveal his or her religion or belief in a wider context, not limited to the legal definition and certain religious values. This right should be granted to all human beings without discrimination. However, the concept itself and its application have become controversial in many nation-states especially when dealing with the rights of minorities. One reason is due to the distinctiveness of religious minorities, which is seen as a threat to the traditions of established religions. Therefore, the majority may prohibit a religious minority group from publicly displaying its religion. This premise shows that the religious freedom of minority groups is often violated, especially when the national law is inadequate to protect their rights.

Religion plays a significant role in Indonesia. It not only helps to establish the national identity but also builds social webs for its adherents. Therefore, a particular religion cannot be separated from the existence of society at large. Religion constructs social, truth, ethical and common awareness within society. Based on this premise, the Indonesian constitution, known as Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 (1945 Constitution) authorizes religious freedom. However, it contains a loophole. On one hand, the 1945 Constitution comprehensively guarantees religious freedom. On the other hand, it still protects the interest of official religions. This paper concludes that Indonesia should consider the universal standards of human rights and implement the right to equality for religious minorities in the country.

## THE ROLE OF TECHNOLOGICAL TRAINING ON WOMEN EMPOWERMENT: A CASE STUDY OF FEMALE ISAN WOMEN WORKERS IN BANGKOK

Andrew Clifford Chulalongkorn University

This research seeks to examine the role of technology in empowering female Isaan migrant workers in Bangkok. The story of female Isaan workers in Bangkok is likely well known. Many of these women are from poor backgrounds and come to Bangkok in search of better economic and potentially better social opportunities. The role that technology plays in empowering these women may not be as well known. Technology has the ability to help these women acquire new skills and new languages, to access knowledge, to better control their finances, to maintain social support networks and to improve their self-confidence. However, some of the benefits of technology may be stifled by lack of public safety nets and legal protections, by familial responsibilities and in some cases by lack of formal education. This paper examines the ways in which technology empowers these Isaan women, as well as some areas in which technology alone is not enough to help them achieve empowerment.

## HUMAN SECURITY, EMANCIPATION, AND THE CHALLENGES TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ASEAN SECURITY COMMUNITY 2015

Aninda Rahmasari Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia

In the realm of international relations today, the concept of human security has probably posed the most obvious challenge to the meaning and role of the state when compared to the other two concepts of human rights and human development. While the definition of human security varies widely (as does the ensuing interpretation of how the state redefines itself in response to the concept's demand) the discussion on what constitutes the position and responsibility of the individual human (and how they are constituted) has never entered into the main debates. Indeed, discussing human security within the context of international relations may seem to be a call for shifting how the world perceives the role of the state in providing and guaranteeing security. The bigger question, however, is: are we aware of the changing roles of individuals or civil society in international politics/international relations? We acknowledged that "emancipation" is among the buzzwords popular to the supporters of these three concepts. It is believed that through emancipation, betterment—and to some extent liberation—would be delivered to the life of individuals.

I will try to observe how the concept of human security is related to individuals' and civil society's notion of "emancipation", and what the possible implications of these phenomena towards state's security role are. I will use the findings from the observation as a foundation upon which the analysis of the remaining homework of ASEAN members in welcoming ASEAN Community 2015, particularly the Security Community, will be drawn. A Community built by and for the Southeast Asian individuals of 10 countries has better prepared itself for the forthcoming challenge in 2015.

## EDUCATIONAL ACCREDITATION FOR MARGINALIZED PEOPLES?: A CASE STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN A "TEMPORARY SHELTER" AREA ALONG THE THAIBURMESE BORDER ZONES

Anna Lena Till Chulalongkorn University

Certification of education is an integral part of the right to education. It raises the value of education for the respective community and opens up employment and further study opportunities. If education is not certified, students may drop out and parents might not send their children to school because it lacks value for the future. Thus accessibility of education might be lost if certification is lacking. This is especially true for refugee situations in which the future is uncertain, ranging from repatriation to local integration or resettlement.

Over 140,000 displaced persons from Burma in Thailand who have lived in "temporary shelters" along border for over 25 years are in exactly this situation at the moment. The education of refugee children in these shelters is not recognized by any nation-state, as education had to be managed solely by the shelter communities for the first 12 years of their stay since the Royal Thai Government did not grant a mandate for education to the non-governmental organizations working in the shelters. Therefore the education system and curricula used in the shelters were established in a vacuum and are not aligned with either the Burmese or Thai curriculum. However, as protracted as the situation for these displaced persons is now, it will not last forever and the education that they receive has to prepare them and have value for a life outside of the shelters. This paper looks at the possibility of accreditation of education in the shelters by the Thai Ministry of Education and in particular the views of the various stakeholders involved in the accreditation process on the content of said education. A case study of Mae La shelter in Tak province, Thailand, will be presented. It is where I will conduct field research on the subject.

#### TO LIVE WITH CONFLICTS: CONFLICT IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Ashley Hsu-liang Wu Mahidol University

Traditional human rights theories have seldom taken conflict theories to examine the conflicts between different rights and social movements. But there are always struggles for new rights in society or even within human rights and social movements. The rise of these new movements is always accompanied by conflicts in the existing groups or society; for instance, sex workers' rights debates in feminist movements, or LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) rights as gender rights.

In this paper I would like to take the cultural conflict approach to try to answer the following questions. How do we see cultural conflicts in human rights movements? Is conflict a necessary part of the struggle for new rights? If it is, does it mean that there will always be conflict in our society? And what is the relationship between cultural conflict and society?

#### LOCAL CITIZENSHIP AND THE REALIZATION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS OF JAPANESE BRAZILIANS

Ayaka Kazama Mahidol University

By virtue of technological advancement and globalization, an increasing number of people nowadays are migrating beyond national borders and residing in countries which are different from where they hold their nationalities. As migrants, they enjoy less rights and entitlements compared to nationals; nonetheless, many of such restrictions imposed on migrants' rights are unjustifiable in light of human rights and democratic principles. Among these is the right to politically participate in society, through which residents can influence their environment together with their fellow community members. Despite their contributions to communities as taxpayers and workers, migrants are rarely acknowledged as equal members in local communities and are often negatively perceived as many consider them to be the source of increased social costs and numerous problems. This study suggests that introducing urban citizenship, which separates membership in local communities from national affiliation, will correct such injustice.

Japan is among the countries that have failed to accept migrants as equal participants in society. Japan's increased economic power especially after 1980s has attracted many international migrants. Among them, Brazilians of Japanese descendants are granted easier access to visas. As a result many stay in Japan for an extended period of time and thus become long-term resident foreigners. The issues of non-national residents are the concerns of local governments in the case of Japan, and some local governments are progressive in accepting non-citizen population into local communities while others remained conservative and fail to integrate migrants into local communities. This creates the disparity in life experienced by migrants depending on where they live. This study compares the policies and practices of two localities in Japan in regards to foreigner-related issues. At the same time, whether or not the political participation of migrants has been realized in such localities is examined. This highlights the catalysts and obstacles for the realization of urban citizenship.

## IMPACTS OF CAMBODIAN DECENTRALIZATION POLICY IN FISHERY MANAGEMENT ON HUMAN SECURITY OF FISHERS AROUND TONLE SAP LAKE

Borin Un Chulalongkorn University

Tonle Sap, also known as the Great Lake, is the largest permanent freshwater body in Southeast Asia and among the most productive freshwater ecosystems in the world. Moreover, the aquatic life in Tonle Sap directly supports more than one million people around the lake and provides the single largest source of protein for Cambodia's population. This study examines the impacts of Cambodia's decentralization policy in fishery management on the economic security and food security of local people around Tonle Sap Lake. The interaction and balancing of power and responsibility among actors at the local level in implementing the decentralization policy are investigated, alongside the challenges and opportunities in the process of creating and managing community fisheries. To examine these processes, fieldwork is undertaken in three fishing communities, namely Kbal Toal, Prek Kra, and Doun Try. The roles of six actors that interact with each other are examined: provincial and district government officers, local authorities, communities, community fisheries, Community Organizations, and fishing lot owners. The study's hypothesis is that decentralization in fishery management in Cambodia and the establishment of community fisheries have strengthened communities' economic and food security because of the following reasons: democratic decentralization has granted the communities with power, rights and some autonomy in decision-making to develop and manage local fishery resources; and the authorities are more responsive and accountable due to administrative decentralization. Human Security as defined by UNDP (1994), with a particular focus on economic and food security, is used as a concept and from which indicators are derived to determine the impacts of the decentralization policy of fishery management. The linkages between decentralization and economic and food security are examined to determine whether democratic and administrative decentralization could ensure sustainable use of local fishery resources, whereby local communities are able to catch more fish, earn a higher and stable income, and access to more food from fishing activities in their community.

## STRENGTHS AND SHORTCOMINGS OF SOCIOECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMING FOR VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Brooke Mullen Mahidol University

When victims of human trafficking begin to receive assistance from service providing networks both victims and service providers enter the realm of complex and unfixed challenges. Service providers, primarily governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations, attempt to assist victims by addressing their immediate and long-term concerns, which may include psychological, social and economic needs. The constant challenge when assisting victims in general is recognizing that each individual has different needs and priorities throughout their recovery process, thus failing to account for individual circumstances undermines the effectiveness of assistance. Yet, as socioeconomic assistance has expanded, issues regarding the strengths and pitfalls of current approaches have surfaced, however these issues have yet to be comprehensively examined.

This research examines existing paradigms and services aimed at providing socioeconomic assistance to human trafficking victims. Preliminary research, field experience and expert informants highlight the need to surface and substantiate the issues surrounding the current approach to socioeconomic assistance ought to be surfaced and examined. Hence, this research is uniquely structured to raise more questions than it answers. But, it is important to note that this research isn't merely a critique of current practices. Rather, the research sets out to discuss the challenges, pitfalls and successes, which can be seen in the field.

This research sets out to give substance to questions surrounding socioeconomic assistance programming for trafficking such as: Are victims of trafficking being treated as voiceless individuals who need a savior? How does programming address the stigma, anger and fear? Do promoting economic empowerment loans and business ventures increase stress and vulnerabilities? By raising these issues this research will serve as a useful tool available to scholars and practitioners who are tackling the difficult task of bettering the livelihood of trafficked individuals.

## HUMAN SECURITY, ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE: THE IMPORTANCE OF AN INTEGRATED PERSPECTIVE

#### Charles Elworthy

Focusing on a specific problem can help reveal the usefulness of competing theoretical constructs. The continued combustion of fossil-fuels has conflicting impacts on human security: it is advantageous for economic development, but the resulting carbon emissions undercut environmental security.

The proposed paper is intended to analyse the resulting dilemma from a range of disciplinary perspectives. It will draw in particular on the literature of the New Institutional Economics and Common Pool Resources (CPRs) to propose the concept of an "Energy Commons". This construct helps us to understand the nature of the underlying challenge and to find analogies in other domains. It will then draw on evolutionary psychology and international relations theory to indicate why it is so much more difficult to find optimal governance solutions to global CPR problems than to local ones.

The paper will then apply this framework to a brief analysis of the Kyoto Protocol and UNFCCC, and their attempts to combat climate change while permitting continuing economic development in the world's poorer countries. It will conclude with an alternative proposal for an integrated governance structure developed from the "Energy Commons" concept. It will be argued that such an alternative can better advance Human Security than attempts to focus on energy, the environment, or economic development separately.

#### PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND THE STRUGGLES FOR COMMUNITY RIGHTS

Chayatad Deema Chulalongkorn University

This research examines how local communities in Thailand are struggling for their rights based on basic thoughts of participatory democracy, including strategies, methods and goal achievements. The discussion is based on in-depth interviews, documentary, participatory and non-participatory observations. The interviewees are local leaders from two communities: Na-In community in Uttaradit province and Baan Hauy Hin Lad Nai community in Chiang Rai province. They provide concrete examples of struggles for community rights based on different mechanisms.

The results show that Na-In community engages in self-determination, struggling for their own economic and political areas through institutional mechanisms e.g. political representatives, participation in governmental mechanisms and complaints against constitutional organizations. On the other hand, Baan Hauy Hin Lad Nai community is struggling for rights directly through self-reliance by building its unique identity, creating participatory networks to maintain the community, and living sustainably with the natural environment.

This research also shows that participatory democracy is a significant mechanism which can affect how the government or community itself gains access to resources. The combination of institutional and direct participatory mechanisms used in struggles for community rights can also be connected to the basic thoughts of representative democracy and alternative democracy. This would enable communities to manage themselves efficiently and might lead to a new balance of power between the government and local communities.

## RESPONDING TO CLIMATE CHANGE: A HUMAN SECURITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, OR DEVELOPMENT ISSUE?

Danny Marks Rockefeller Foundation, Thailand Office

International actors and organizations have looked at how to respond to climate change from a different lens. Some, such as the International Council on Human Rights Policy and the Organization of American States, have framed it as a human rights issue, with the aim of emphasizing the human and environmental costs of climate variation to vulnerable groups and climate-sensitive ecosystems. They want to infuse the debate with notions of climate-justice and human rights vulnerability.

Others, such as the Commission on Global Governance and some United Nations bodies, have stressed that security debates on climate change should move beyond a state-centric model and focus on the impacts on human security, arguing that climate change will make people, especially the poor in developing countries, more vulnerable to threats such as poverty, disease, food insecurity, and natural disasters. Changing the focus would enable more useful interpretations of climate change conflict 'triggers' and new and more effective strategies for responding to climate change insecurity.

Other organizations, particularly the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, have highlighted climate change's connection with development. As the Social Development Unit of the World Bank stressed, "climate change is the defining development challenge of our generation." These organizations concentrate on analyzing and responding to climate change's impacts on social and economic development, particularly poverty.

This paper summarizes each approach and then compares each approach's merits and drawbacks. It uses examples mainly from the Asia-Pacific. It then argues that all three are useful and that each one overlaps with the other two. It concludes that combining the frameworks and response methods of all three approaches can be beneficial when analyzing the impacts of climate change and devising appropriate response strategies.

#### BUILDING HUMAN CAPABILITIES THROUGH YOGA THERAPY: A CASE STUDY OF KRAMA YOGA IN PHNOM PENH

Debra Kim Liwiski Chulalongkorn University

What sounds good in theory is often difficult to articulate into practice. A highly debated theory of development has been the capabilities approach, as its chief criticism is not only its definition, but also its implementation in practical and operational terms.

The capabilities approach emphasizes the needs, desires, and articulations of choices of the individual in balance with the offerings of the community. In a way of examining real freedoms, I posit: What could capabilities look like "on the ground"?

Krama Yoga NGO in Phnom Penh completed its first two-year intensive yoga teacher training program with seven Khmer youths in April 2011. These Khmer junior teachers are now teaching yoga in several outreach programs at other NGOs. They are also working in the same orphanages and shelters from where they were sourced.

This paper explores the NGO operating model and philosophical underpinnings, the junior teachers' reflections on the training process, the challenges they face as marginalized youths, and their own definitions of capabilities in their NGO work.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS APPROACH ON TRANS-NATIONAL HAZARDOUS ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAM

Henry Sylvain Mass Action Demand (informal organization/movement) Canada

This paper focuses on the issues of human rights violations across nations due to hazardous environmental program, the aerosol spraying geoengineering as part of weather modification. Using existing documents and available independent research, the methods of weather modification and their potential impact on human security are explored. In this study, 241 concerned citizens from 25 countries around the world completed a questionnaire on aerosol spraying geoengineering program, reporting what they think regarding this program and its motive, in connection with their perspective about the national leaders' awareness and the reason of relevant actors' silence that have critical role in this program. The environmental justice framework is used to analyze the stratospheric aerosol injection schemes in nations that undergo this program. The necessity to strengthen international norms protecting human rights to a safe and sound environment is a requisite for human development.

## THE FULFILLMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY RIGHTS BY NON-STATE SOCIAL SECURITY PROVIDERS: THE CASE OF ZAKAT AS ISLAMIC SOCIAL SECURITY INSTRUMENT IN INDONESIA

Heru Susetyo Mahidol University

Social security rights are very important and are also part of universal human rights. They are explicitly mentioned in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) 1966. Indonesia ratified the said covenant in 2005 and had also enacted a special law on human rights in 1999.

The commitment to fulfill the social security rights of the people varies in different states. They may adopt different schemes: universal, social insurance, residual or even minimalist. States may or may not be the dominant actor in providing social security. However, at present, many people believe that the state is the main provider and caregiver of social welfare.

If so, then some questions will come up: What about the role of nonstate actors in providing social welfare? Who has the primary responsibility in providing social welfare to the people? What are the roles of and how far can non-state actors function in a state-dominated situation?

This research will study the role of non-state social security providers in fulfilling social security rights of the people, more specifically the practice of zakat administration as an Islamic social security instrument of non-state actors in Indonesia.

Zakat in Indonesia possesses a special place and attracts many people's attention, particularly that of Indonesian Muslims. Zakat is a religious instrument which is also supported by state law and apparatus. Zakat is different from tax in nature but it is very important for Muslim citizens, largely because they perceive zakat as a form of religious obligation while tax poses obligation as citizen.

This research, therefore, will scrutinize the practice of zakat administration by non-state actors in Indonesia, with the objective of understanding how far these zakat practices relate to the fulfillment of social security rights.

#### SOCIALLY ENGAGED BUDDHIST NUNS IN BURMA AND GENDER EQUALITY IN MONASTIC STRUCTURE

HWY, Master Student *Mahidol University* 

The legacy of acquiring skills learned from the Buddhist scriptures handed down from their ancestors during the time of King Mindon (1825-78) helps to secure the credibility of nuns (thilashins) in contemporary Burma/Myanmar as dhamma teachers. Regarded as religious officers responsible for the dissemination and maintenance of Buddhism, the State and the Sangha have integrated nuns into the monastic administration as an affiliated member of the Sangha community. The fact that they live an ascetic life without being fully ordained entails a pendulum position swinging between the lay and the religious realms and an ambivalent attitude towards their religious authority. It has implications for the nuns' daily life in particular their interaction with laypeople and monks. Nuns try to seek a religious space that is open to them as much as they can by proving their religious worth through educational achievement in the national ecclesiastical exams that bestow awards and honors to the high achievers. In addition, their attempt to respond to social needs enables them to expand the social space from their traditional activities related to 'nurturing' (due to their female identity) to practices that require more community engagement. The newly emerging monastic schools led by nuns trigger a remarkable paradigm shift in the relationship between the State, the Sangha and the schools in which the role of nuns was never taken into consideration. Adding to the 'symbolic capital' bestowed upon them by their qualifications in religious education, this emergence earns them a credible social standing regardless of the challenges associated with their work. It also indicates that female ascetics have made one step forward in the social sphere on equal terms with monks since the monastic schools were only associated with monks, traditionally as well as historically. Such advancement in the social structure might imply that it is the time to reconsider the monastic institutional arrangement that is still not open to the equal participation of female ascetics as fully ordained members of the Sangha community.

### FILIPINO HEALTH WORKERS IN Metropolitan Bangkok

#### ISAAC OLSON

#### Chulalongkorn University

This thesis looks at Filipino health workers who have migrated to Bangkok. Most migration literature focuses on unskilled labor, but due to ASEAN's goal of opening the Southeast Asian region to skilled labor, it is pertinent that skilled labor be examined. Health workers have been targeted by ASEAN for the free flow of services, and agreements concerning these workers have already been signed.

Filipinos represent a highly mobile group, and the Philippines is the preeminent country in the world for exporting health workers. This study also evaluates ASEAN agreements and their effect on Filipino health workers, motivations for Filipinos to move to Bangkok, and the working conditions of Filipino health workers. This is a qualitative case study using interviews of key informants living in Bangkok.

Data concerning the number and types of Filipino migrants has also been compiled from major private international hospitals in Bangkok. Results indicate that there is only a small community of Filipino health workers in Bangkok due to local rules and regulations and the non-implementation of ASEAN MRAs. Filipinos come for a variety of reasons. Greater work related opportunities and the lower cost of living are significant factors as are the influence of Filipino networks and the opportunity for newexperiences. Working conditions are at a respectable albeit imperfect level, and most Filipino health workers are generally satisfied with their work environment. This study could be useful for Thai and Filipino government officials, ASEAN officials, private industry, and academics studying migration.

# THE LIVES, WORKING CONDITIONS AND INSECURITIES OF FRONTIER WORKERS BETWEEN CAMBODIA AND THAILAND AT THE POIPET-ARANYAPRATHET BORDER CROSSING

Jennifer M Finnegan Chulalongkorn University

There are hundreds of men, women and children employed to transport commercial goods over the border between Thailand and Cambodia. Through ethnographic fieldwork, social mapping, and network theory we try to develop a better understanding of this complex livelihood and the risks and insecurities associated. The objectives of this study are to understand the short-term, cross border migration situation of frontier workers at Poipet and to understand labour practices as they specifically relate to cart-pullers. The research examines their economic risks and insecurities, and frames their current situation in terms of personal security, short-term cross border migration and labour rights protection. This research couples an overview of a complex socioeconomic picture with the first-hand experiences, realities and challenges that cart-pullers face daily at this bustling economic corridor.

### Human Security and Workers in Thailand's Post-Factory Age

John Walsh Shinawatra University, Thailand

Many of the conventions and regulations introduced by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and similar agencies aimed at protecting workers in countries around the world are intended to protect workers in economies making the transition into the factory age. As predominantly rural populations become involved in large-scale manufacturing, that is, there is the need to protect them in the workplace in terms of health and safety measures, working hours and workplace rights in situations they had not previously experienced. Additionally, important rights such as collective bargaining and freedom of association had not been of such relevance in the agricultural setting. Now that Thailand has reached middle income stage, its future economic growth will depend on a successful transition from the low labour cost factory manufacturing paradigm to higher value-added industrial and service activities and, eventually, the widespread use of the knowledge-based economy. Such changes reconfigure the relationship between many workers and their employers and between the triumvirate of government, employers and employees. The reconfiguration will have elements based on power, time and space and, consequently, require new instruments and regulations to try to ensure that exploitation events are minimized, that income inequalities are not increased and that social mobility, such as it is, is not further constrained by structural issues emerging in the labour market. This paper examines the need for new measures to protect workers in the post-factory age based on the specific conditions existing in Thailand and on the international context of the industrially advanced world. Recommendations and practical lessons are drawn from the analysis.

# TRANSNATIONAL AND SEASONAL LABOR MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: LIVES OF THAI BERRY PICKER RETURNEES FROM SWEDEN

Julia Kamoltip Kallstorm Chulalongkorn University

Previous research has acknowledged that labor migrations have had huge benefits for both receiving and sending countries of migrant workers. Thai migrants seasonally traveling to Sweden to pick wild berries have been an ongoing trend since the past two decades. Simultaneously there has been a drastic decline of Swedish workers in the wild berry picking industry. Since the year 2000 there has been an increasing number of Thai berry pickers; in particular rural people from the North-east of Thailand.

It has been recognized that migration and development are interdependent processes which profoundly influence one another, where migration policies nowadays are developed to take on a development approach. This research seeks to examine the relationship between transnational seasonal labor migration and the development of the Thai farmer's living standards. The principal question addressed is whether the seasonal migration of berry picking in Sweden has affected the living standards of the Thai migrant workers. This research will contribute to knowledge about Thai migrant berry pickers and fill the existing gap of research made on them. This study is focused on Thai migrant workers from the province of Phetchabun and based on workers who have travelled to Sweden annually. The findings will assess whether seasonal labor migration to Sweden should be encouraged or not.

# INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN POST-COLD WAR ASIA: A CASE STUDY OF KMT REFUGEES IN NORTHERN THAILAND

Lei Tong Chulalongkorn University

The KMT refugees in northern Thailand are remnants of the KMT armies that retreated from mainland China to Burma in 1949. They were originally stationed along the Sino-Burmese border and launched sporadic attacks on the southwestern border of the PRC until they were driven out of Burma to northern Thailand in 1961. They were recognized by the Thai government as refugees and partially granted with Thai citizenship. This was their reward for helping to eradicate communists from Thailand. During the 1960s, the KMT refugees were supported by Taiwan and the CIA, financially and militarily.

From an international political perspective, the Cold War in Asia ended earlier than its counterpart in Europe, as the strategic alliance between the PRC and the U.S. in countering the expansionism of the USSR had already outweighed the ideological conflict. The rise of the PRC in regional affairs and America's strategic deployment in Asia changed the international political structure and order of Asia from the 1970s onwards, transforming the environment and undermining the viability of the KMT remnants in northern Thailand. The KMT refugees gradually lost their strategic importance in the 'grand chessboard' of all relevant forces including Taiwan, the U.S., Thailand and mainland China.

However, the KMT refugees are beyond the 'victims' of the international political transformations. During the Cold War, they secured their survival by fighting the communists for Taiwan, Thailand and the U.S. and by drug taxing and trafficking in the Golden Triangle, which lasted until the end of the Cold War in Asia. They struggled for resettlement in Thailand, and always made the greatest efforts in providing education to their offspring. They rejected to resettle in Taiwan, fearing factional persecution, and hope to return to their hometown in Yunnan. They have striven to obtain Taiwanese or Thai citizenships for survival and personal development. They have begun to accept aid from mainland China for practical purposes, while also bearing ideological differences in mind.

The migration history of the ex-KMT refugees in northern Thailand is so unique that a qualitative research about it will be developed from investigating both the external environment and the internal coping strategies. This thesis assumes that the interactions between international political transformations in Asia and the KMT refugees' responses constituted the dynamics of their survival and development in the past, present, and the future. This thesis will mainly rely on documentary research, but fieldwork in two KMT villages will also contribute to understanding the internal coping strategies. Nationality, living status, education and employment will be used as indicators of the refugees' viability and development.

### ANALYZING INDIA'S TREATMENT OF THE CHINS

Lian Bawi Thang Chulalongkorn University

From an historical point of view, the Chins, one of the ethnic groups in Burma with an estimated population of 500,000, have largely been fleeing to India in order to seek protection after the "8888 Student Uprising" in Burma. In 2009, Human Rights Watch stated that the Chin population in Mizoram is estimated to be as high as 100,000, about 20 percent of the total Chin population in Chin State in Burma—while more than 2,000 people are in Delhi. Unfortunately, fleeing from a military regime to the world's most populous democracy, the Chins have faced several human rights violations more than they did in Burma since India is neither a signatory of the UN 1951 Refugee Convention nor its 1967 Protocols.

Currently, India has no specific and clear policy in regards to how to handle refugee issues although the government itself claims that "the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939", "the Foreigners Act, 1946", and "Foreigners Order, 1948" are sufficient documents in the treatment of refugees in India. This is because article (2) of the 1939 Registers of Foreigners Act defines a foreigner as "a person who is not a citizen of India". In addition, "the Foreigners Act, 1946" and "the Foreigners Order, 1948" also used the term "foreigner" in the same vein. Hence, being categorized as "foreigner" tends to push the Chin refugees far away from protection since different statuses are mixed up among them. Moreover, "the Foreigners Act" (Article 3 (2)) allows the Indian government to 'refoule' foreigners, including asylum-seekers, through deportation, and is therefore in violation of the international customary law principle of non-refoulement (Article 33). Therefore, a massive number of undocumented Chins are facing forced deportation, illegal detention, discrimination and arbitrary arrest since they are asylumseekers without any documents.

Furthermore, due to the implementation of "India's Look East Policy", the Chins living in India are suffering because they are recognized neither as refugees nor asylum-seekers by the Indian government. Strategically, the Burmese government intends to strengthen its relation with India after the country faced US and Europe Union sanctions.

Therefore, as long as Indo-Burma bilateral relationship is on good terms, the Chins in India are trapped in a condition of human rights violation and discrimination. Therefore, the primary concern of this research is to analyze the secondary data on human rights violations of the Chins in India resulting from the Indian government's treatment. In detail, the research classifies India's treatment towards the Chins into different categories based on literature reviews and fills up the missing parts by primary research.

# ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF HIV/AIDS ON HOUSEHOLDS THROUGH A LIVELIHOOD SECURITY LENS: A CASE STUDY OF NAMLONG VILLAGE IN CHIANG MAI PROVINCE

Louise Kendi Maore Chulalongkorn University

The Asia Pacific region now has more People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLHA) than any other region in the world with the exception of Sub-Saharan Africa. Because HIV/AIDS infects mainly adults during their sexually active years and is inevitably fatal, the socioeconomic implications of HIV/AIDS for development are immense.HIV/AIDS puts enormous economic stress on households as they care for sick family members, experience the loss of productive adults and absorb the costs of taking care of orphans. The greatest impact of HIV/AIDS on livelihoods comes from the high costs of treatment and assistance to "survivors". In other words, families and communities coping with AIDS-related illness and death shoulder much of the burden, and the epidemic therefore takes the heaviest toll at the household and community level. HIV/AIDS affected families encounter a great deal of financial crisis such as the loss of income, loss of jobs, increased expenditures especially health-related, and decreased assets and savings. Many in the development community recognize that the ability of a household to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS relies largely on their capacity to stabilize or increase incomes and livelihoods.

That HIV/AIDS is a development problem, not just a health issue has become a mantra in recent times as it creates a new category of vulnerable people, and HIV/AIDS reinforces livelihoods vulnerabilities at the household level. The changes wrought by HIV/AIDS demand a review of existing development actions at many levels; from households seeking to secure viable livelihoods to policy makers attempting to better understand the implications of HIV/AIDS. It is increasingly clear that there is interconnectedness and interdependency between livelihoods and HIV/AIDS and that development of policies and projects addressing HIV/AIDS should be based on multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary approaches in order to achieve maximum benefit. Hence this study examines how economic empowerment innovations are strengthening livelihood security for households of People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLHA), how they access these innovations and how policies influence economic empowerment for PLHA.

# UNDOCUMENTED ROHINGYA REFUGEES IN BANGLADESH: REASONS OF STATE AND THEIR IMPACTS ON BASIC RIGHTS AND HUMAN SECURITY

Mahbubul Haque Mahidol University

This article aims to show how undocumented Rohingya refugees have been denied their basic rights and have faced threats to their human security in Bangladesh. The Rohingya people of Burma were denied their nationality by the 1982 citizenship law. As a result of statelessness in Burma, many of the Rohingya have fled to neighboring countries. While a small number have gone to Malaysia and Thailand, the vast majority have sought refuge in Bangladesh. The UNHCR claims that the number of Rohingyas in Bangladesh is 27,000, the remaining population from the last mass influx of 250,000 in 1992 who are living in two government-administered camps. In reality this figure obscures the fact that the Rohingya population in Bangladesh also includes at least 500,000 individuals who are not officially recognised as refugees. This group of people has been facing severe problems after coming to Bangladesh. These problems are as follows: lack of support for housing and livelihood, lack of protection by law and authority and being tormented by local residents. They by and large live a restricted life in captivity. This fact is well publicised by various human rights organizations. However, the Bangladesh government claims that due to their long presence in the border area the Rohingya people pose a security threat to the country, socioeconomically, politically and environmentally. At the same time this issue is also one of the major sources of friction in Bangladesh-Burma bilateral relations.

This paper will try to find out why—in the name of socio-political and security concerns—a country of asylum does not uphold the basic human rights of a displaced people. The human rights of undocumented Rohingya people constitute an important human security concern. It is a question of how as a country Bangladesh deals with them. It is also a question of political will.

# EMPLOYMENT POLICIES FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN JAKARTA, INDONESIA: THE PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE IN WISMA CHESHIRE NETWORK IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Mahmudi Yusbi Chulalongkorn University

People with disabilities face a lot of barriers in obtaining employment in Jakarta, Indonesia; the employment policy for PWDs does not work well. PWDs have not benefited from the stated policy. This is basically the problem of implementation. There are a number of reasons for this situation as follows: lack of confidence in PWDs due to prejudices in community; lack of accessibility i.e. public infrastructures; the government's treatment of PWDs that is based more on the welfare approach than the rights-based approach; and, most importantly, the lack of participation on the part of PWDs in planning and implementing employment policies.

In this research paper, the rights-based approach in policy process will be included in public participation, entitlements, and stakeholders' responsibility. Policy analysis includes its historical development, philosophy, mechanism and measures for implementation.

The case study of this paper is the Wisma Cheshire Foundation whose target group is people with physical disabilities. Wisma Cheshire is a foundation that enables all residents (PWDs) to learn relevant skills – with the ultimate hope that they will find employment and gain financial independence.

This research emphasizes on the qualitative method to deeply understand the employment situation of people with disabilities. It seeks to find information about their participation in formulating employment policies and the benefits of the policy towards PWDs in Jakarta. The period of primary data collection will be from June to July 2011; the stakeholders i.e. people with disabilities, relevant government and nongovernmental organizations, civil society organizations and community representatives will be contacted for semi-structured and in-depth interviews. The Focus Group Discussion will be conducted for PWDs in Wisma Cheshire to get a clearer picture of the employment situation of PWDs in Jakarta, Indonesia.

### SOUND BEHIND THE WALL: A CASE STUDY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF KUALA NAMU INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN NORTH SUMATERA

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The government of the Republic of Indonesia is constructing an international airport, which will be the second largest airport in Indonesia after the Soekarno-Hatta airport in Jakarta, with the capacity of 50 million passengers in Kuala Namu, Deli Serdang Regency, North Sumatera Province. The problem is that there are forty residents living in the wall and the construction of the airport will endanger their lives. But they have nowhere else to live because the government has so far been unable to manage the complex process of relocation. On one hand, the residents are aware that they have to move on to a different place. On the other hand, they are denied their fundamental rights in their land and belongings. That is why, although they are intimidated and threatened by a third party aligned to the interest groups involved in the airport construction, they keep on living there to defend their land rights. This paper examines the relation between human rights and development, especially the right to land and efforts to use it in the case of the construction of the Kuala Namu International Airport to replace the Polonia International Airport in the capital of North Sumatera, Medan City. How the government comes up with solutions and mechanisms relying on the rights-based approach is the vital answer to resolve this situation.

# PEACEBUILDING IN SOUTHERN THAILAND: A DEVELOPMENTAL CONTRIBUTION BY THE ASIA FOUNDATION TO CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION?

Marika Stella Dora Shiga Chulalongkorn University

Currently, many aid agencies seek to contribute to Development and Peacebuilding in Southern Thailand, yet recent investigation suggests that there are still many shortcomings in the realization of meaningful outcomes for peace (Burke, 2011). Although development agencies and organizations through their work have the potential to contribute to meaningful Conflict Transformation through various roles of facilitation and support identified by Francis (2004), it seems that many mainstream actors struggle to operate in this situation of complex emergency. Strategically limited in terms of 'spaces for action' (Bigdon &Korf, 2004) due to government fears, primarily of emboldening violent rebel groups or encroaching on national sovereignty, as well as the challenge of connecting with locals in a meaningful way; it has been suggested that most development agencies are reluctant or feel restricted to pursue Development strategies that address structural inequalities and often fall short in the integration of Peacebuilding into their approach to Development in the southern Thailand (Burke, 2011).

Meanwhile, violence and insecurity continues, with already over 4,000 people killed and over 6,000 injured since the resurgence of violence in 2004 (Parks, 2010). With many agencies, actors, and organizations seeking avenues to contribute to the Peacebuilding process mostly through Track III (civil society based) methods, an examination of current strategies and implementation of peace work through development agencies in southern Thailand can be beneficial.

Examining Development through an empowerment approach and utilizing the framework of Peacebuilding via Conflict Transformation, this thesis examines the selected case study of The Asia Foundation's Deliberative Dialogue Program in southern Thailand, in order to understand how these selected frameworks of understanding and disciplines can be understood as reinforcing each other's efforts and aims. In determining how Development efforts can support Peacebuilding in southern Thailand in an integrated way, and specifically how TAF's Deliberative Dialogue Program can contribute to Development and Peacebuilding in southern Thailand, this research hopes to understand how space can be created for meaningful action for those seeking to promote peace in southern Thailand.

# EXPLORING THE ANALYTICAL USEFULNESS OF A VERSATILE FRAMEWORK: AN EXPERIMENTAL COMPARATIVE RANKING OF ASIAN HUMAN SECURITY CONCERNS

Matthew Mullen Mahidol University, Center for Human Rights and Peace Studies

The flexibility and versatility of the human security concept may be simultaneously its biggest strength and shortcoming. Human security is repeatedly criticized for adding little value to the existing human rights and human development frameworks. This experimental ranking initiative attempts to counter such claims by displaying that the overarching nature of human security allows the concept to link and leverage seemingly unrelated issues, and human security can be measured and pragmatically applied in a manner that enables us to comparatively analyze issues which are often separated. While the research found that attempting to quantify, measure and rank human security concerns is fundamentally problematic, the human security concept does allow us to comparatively analyze different aspects of seemingly unrelated sociopolitical and economic issues.

This research outlines and explains ten measurable indicators of threats to human security. The ten indicators include: overall size, size per capita, freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom to take action on one's own behalf, scope (the seven components of human security). reach, restorability, production of new human security threats, and annual deaths. Each indicator provides a trajectory through which specific elements of a human security concern can be measured. Taken together, the indicators account for the various dynamics of human security concerns, including magnitude, intensity and potential duration. When the measurable trajectories are combined and compared, various human security concerns can be ranked, albeit problematically, against one another. The research tests this framework by comparatively ranking five differing human security issues in five different Asian states. As this initiative was experimental, the research investigates both the strengths and pitfalls of attempting to comparatively measuring very different threats to human security.

### HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH SUDAN

#### Michael Medley

The Republic of South Sudan is currently being born as the world's newest nation state. The territory has never seen much modernising development, and the people have suffered from decades of dispossession and war. The sufferings are now mixed with many hopes, and both sufferings and hopes are objects of frenetic and complex international aid involvement. The international discourses of human rights, human development and human security are all invoked, cohabiting and jostling in the space of South Sudan in an especially intense way.

This paper will examine these discourses of human rights, human development and human security in the context of South Sudan. It will attempt to establish how far they are analytically separable and – insofar as they are separable – how far they conflict with each other. This will be done by identifying their distinctive features and their appropriate functions, as manifest in a methodically-chosen sample of the large quantity of texts available on the World Wide Web. Interpretation will draw in a wider range of scholarship on international aid, especially as it has operated in South Sudan. High among the questions to be addressed is how far the availability of particular doctrines and verbal formulae appears to be influencing the actions of individuals and organizations, or whether these doctrines and verbal formulae are used more as a facade masking motives that should be understood in other terms.

EXAMINING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS FOR RECOGNITION OF ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS: ADVOCACY COALITIONS AND RESPONSES TO EXTERNAL SHOCKS IN THE CASE OF THE HAT GYI DAM PROJECT ON THE SALWEEN RIVER, MYANMAR

Nang Shining Chulalongkorn University

Rising electricity demand in Thailand is a key driving force behind building new power projects in the country, as well as importing electricity from neighboring countries. One of the proposed projects in Thailand's 2010-2030 power development plan is the Hat Gyi Dam, which is located on the mainstream Salween River near the Thailand-Myanmar border in Karen State, Myanmar. The Salween River is approximately 2,400 km long and regarded as the longest free-flowing international river in Southeast Asia. The river originates on the Tibetan Plateau and flows through China, Thailand and Myanmar. In Myanmar, it runs through Shan, Karen and Mon States, where it is important to the livelihood of local ethnic minority people by providing water, fish and river-bank agriculture. The Hat Gvi Dam project is a joint venture cooperation between EGAT International (EGATi). Corporation, the Department of Hydroelectric Power Plan of the Myanmar government, and a local Myanmar private investor named International Group of Entrepreneur Company.

The main research question of the paper is "Has EGATi implemented its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and Corporate Governance policies in preparing the proposed Hat Gyi Dam project on the Salween River, Karen State, Myanmar"? The paper has three main objectives: 1) to examine whether EGATi's policy on stakeholder participation has been applied to the communities on the Thai side of Salween River and to other stakeholders in Thailand; 2) to assess if the EGATi's policy on environmental and social responsibility has been adhered to by following the relevant laws and regulations; and 3) to evaluate how any gaps between the policy and the practice on the ground can be effectively filled, and to recommend how EGATi's CSR policy can be strengthened.

My research sites are the potentially affected communities living along the Salween River on the Thai side, namely Mae Sam Laep village, Tha Ta Fang village, and Sop Moei village. I interview villagers and key informants in these communities, as well as provincial officials from Mae Sariang District, lawyers from the Administrative Court, local and national nongovernmental organizations, and lawyers and other key informants working on issues related to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in Thailand.

### CHILD LABOR IN THE FOOD SERVICE INDUSTRY IN YANGON, MYANMAR

Ne Chye Thwin Chulalongkorn University

There are a number of reasons for the prevalence of child labor in Myanmar, but severe poverty and inadequate educational facilities are the two main factors creating a vicious cycle and often pushing children into the labor force prematurely. Although the incidence of child labor is increasing in the urban area in recent decades, any consideration of its development in terms of policy and practice is still weak. This research studies the current situation of child labor in the food service industry in the urban informal sector, particularly teashops and small restaurants in Yangon. In Yangon, child labor is more widespread and visible in the public areas. It then seeks to identify how the best interests of children can be taken into consideration in the improvement of working conditions of child laborers.

The paper uses the qualitative research methodology, particularly indepth and semi-structured interviews with child laborers and their parents, employers, civil society organizations and government in order to explore the characteristics and the working conditions of child labor in the workplace and assess the consideration of the best interests of children in the current practices of child employment. In addition, it identifies the policy gaps and possible measures of the government and civil society organizations relating to programs promoting, protecting and supporting child laborers—programs that are in line with the best interests of children.

The best interests of the child are the most important factor to achieve the development of children. While child labor cannot be eliminated from or prohibited in the current political economy of Myanmar, the practical approach which also aims to promote the development of children in the workplace should be identified and pursued. In this particular case, education and work might be the area that concerned parties can agree upon as constituting the best interests of children. Alternative policy is more feasible to focus on vocational education since it also serves the interests of other parties, and will be the best for the physical, mental and social development of children while they are working for their survival.

# EDUCATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OF BURMESE MIGRANT WORKERS: A CASE STUDY OF DEAR BURMA SCHOOL

Pechet Men Chulalongkorn University

Working in a foreign country is already difficult enough for migrant workers. Facing the language barrier is likely to create more obstacles for them to interact with and integrate into their host country's society. Exploitation and abuse are very common in this context. However, being able to receive non-formal education in terms of language literacy and skill development would be helpful for migrant workers to tackle the burdens they face during the course of their residence in the host country. In the meantime, being aware of the basic rights they are entitled to while working in a foreign country would help them to exercise their rights better. Furthermore, being able to read and write their employer's language would put them in a better position to negotiate or challenge any unfairness in their employment contracts. In addition, having more knowledge and skills would also allow the workers to get promoted as well as to become more productive workers. In this research paper, the rights of migrant workers will be linked with non-formal education and utilized to analyze whether or not nonformal education provided for migrant workers can help protect and promote their rights.

The case study of this paper is the DEAR Burma School, which is a project of Thai Action Committee for Democracy in Burma (TACDB). "DEAR" refers to Development of Education and Awareness of Refugees from Burma. It is a school providing non-formal education to migrant workers such as language skill training (English, Thai, and Burmese) and other general knowledge concerning labor rights, migrant workers' rights, women's rights, human rights as well as computer skills. It was established in 2003.

The primary data collection will be based on qualitative research methodology in order to address the above question. The period of primary data collection will start in June 2011. Five former students of DEAR Burma school will be contacted for in-depth interviews, while, the other five school administrative staff including school principal are for semi-structured interviews and, another 30 current students of DEAR Burma are for qualitative survey and for Focus Group Discussion.

# US RESETTLEMENT FOR DISPLACED PERSONS FROM MYANMAR: PROTECTION IN A PROTRACTED REFUGEE SITUATION IN MAE LA SHELTER

Sarinya Moolma Chulalongkorn University

The objectives of the international refugee regime are to provide three durable solutions for refugees in an attempt to end the cycle of displacement or life in exile: voluntary repatriation, local integration, and third country resettlement. In the case that voluntary repatriation and local integration are not available options for refugees, the UNHCR in collaboration with NGOs would seek another approach to protect the lives of refugees, and therefore the third country resettlement would be preferred.

In the case of Thailand, Burmese refugees have sought asylum in the refugee camps along the border for over two decades. The problem of Burmese refugees is now one of the major concerns of the UNHCR as it is recognized as one of the protracted refugee situations. Meanwhile, the USA is one of the developed countries that are supporting international programs addressing protracted refugee situations. Among the three durable solutions by UNHCR mandate, repatriation and local integration of Burmese refugees are being hotly debated because both of them proved to be inapplicable for the current situation. Put another way, the prolonged existence of Burmese refugees in Thailand is now at the crossroads because the sending country (Burma) remains in the middle of internal conflicts, while the receiving country (Thailand) finds it difficult to cope with the ongoing refugee flows. Because of this, the United States resettlement program, which provides a greater number of refugee admissions, should be carefully scrutinized because it serves as one of the durable solutions for the current situation. In fact, it seems to be the most appropriate durable solution for many Burmese refugees in the current political and social context.

This thesis examines the US resettlement program as an important tool for resolving protracted refugee situations, and emphasizes on the dimensions of selection, transfer, and protection. In examining these dimensions, the main actors in the process—the international refugee regime, the Thai government, and the refugees themselves—would be taken into account in order to come up with better approaches to creating durable solutions. This study is derived mostly from qualitative research, using a combination of documentary research and field data

collection. Semi-structured interviews would be conducted with the key informants. Currently, there are nine temporary shelters for displaced persons from Burma, and Mae La is the largest camp with the highest number of departures to the third country resettlement. Therefore, the study on the resettlement program of Mae La camp would be beneficial and be applicable to other refugee camps in Thailand as well.

# THAI RUBBER INVESTMENTS IN LAO PDR AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON FOOD SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF OUTHOMPHONE DISTRICT, SAVANNAKHET PROVINCE

Sawapa Tangsawapak Chulalongkorn University

Amidst the background of transitioning, market-led economy in Lao PDR, the paper adopts the political ecology's perspective in looking at the process of Thai foreign direct investors in rubber plantation, the cost/benefits among key actors within the process of foreign rubber investments and how key decisions among actors have implications related to food security on the ground.

Like other newly developed "frontier" capitalist economy, Lao PDR is heavily dependent on revenues generated from FDI to support the economic growth and GDP. Industrial tree plantations including rubber has been promoted as the savior to poverty eradication, a strategy to stabilize swidden farming and a form of reforestation and hence the "green" development. Thai investors have ranked high, among Chinese and Vietnamese foreign direct investors in agribusiness, especially in rubber plantations. Since Lao PDR is a resource rich but cash poor country with approximately 80% of the population are rural, subsistence or semi-subsistence farmers and only 21% of total land could be devoted to agriculture, it is critical to study food security implications as a result of growing trends in foreign direct investments, especially those related to control of land and resources in Lao PDR.

Various actors including Thai corporations, various levels of the Government of Laos, multilateral organizations, NGOs and local communities in the process of FDI in rubber plantations reap benefits in varying degrees. However, the costs associated with the process and the consequences, particularly pertaining to food security are unevenly distributed. The paper points out how incentives and strategic priorities of powerful actors across the Thai-Lao border shape food security outcomes of local communities on the ground.

# HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN SHAN STATE OF (THE UNION OF) BURMA: FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO THE PRESENT

#### Seng Wan

Department of Foreign Affairs, Restoration Council of the Shan State The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, to ensure that any individual or group of people can exercise rights like people in the other parts of the world. In Shan State of (the Union of) Burma, the human rights situation has been deteriorating ever since the Second World War and after the signing of the Panglong Agreement on February 12, 1947, to form the union with Burma, which came into being after the gaining of independence from the British on January 4, 1948. Unlike in many other places worldwide, human rights have remained just a dream for the Shan State people up to the present. Therefore, in this paper, I would like to highlight the human rights situation in Shan State from the Second World War to the present and point out the causes of human rights abuses there. Although Shan State leaders and people have made their efforts to resolve this issue through the political platform based on the Panglong Agreement from time to time, their efforts have failed due to lack of collaboration from successive Burmese regimes. The latter talk about national reconciliation only on their own terms, which are always backed up by their military might. To stop human rights abuses in Shan State, the right political solution must be found, and it can only be found through the right political platform.

#### SITUATION OF SHAN REFUGEES IN THAILAND

#### Shan Women's Action Network

Burma has been under a series of military regimes over the past 50 years and has been devastated by civil war and conflict. The Shan State is over 64,000 square kilometers in size and forms the eastern part of the Union of Burma bordering China, Laos and Thailand. The people of the Shan State, like in other areas of Burma, suffer from abuses inflicted by the Burmese military regime, which according to Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch Asia and the United Nations are among the worst in the world. Many people have fled for their lives to Thailand. In 1996-1998, over 300,000 Shan refugees were forced to leave at gunpoint from their homes under the Burmese military regime's "four cuts" campaign. Most of these villagers fled to Thailand.

The refugees from Shan State are not recognized as refugees. Unlike the Karen and Karenni refugees, they are not allowed to set up refugee camps along the Thai-Burma border. Consequently the Shans are forced to enter into Thailand's unskilled labor market as migrant workers doing the 3 D jobs – Dirty, Difficult and Dangerous—for their own survival as well as to support their family members, from the very young to the very old. Many lack legal status in Thailand, and are thus extremely vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. In spite of this, Shan people are still coming to take refuge in Thailand to escape the Burmese regime's systematic human rights abuses and repressive policies towards the people in Shan State. There are estimated to be hundreds of thousands of Shan refugees working as migrant workers throughout Thailand, particularly in the north.

Refugees from Shan State continue to be denied recognition and protection by the Thai government and UNHCR. Most are forced to survive as migrant workers in Thailand. About 6,000 are living in five IDP camps just across the Shan border, and about 600 are staying in one small unofficial refugee camp in Chiang Mai province, northern Thailand. They continue to face difficulty accessing basic support from international humanitarian organizations, including the right to education.

By increasing the awareness of the real situation of the Shan asylum seekers, it is hoped that the Thai public, the Thai government, international NGOs and UNHCR will amend their current policies, and finally give refuge and humanitarian assistance to the people from Shan State. They have been escaping from persecution for decades, but have no place in which to seek refuge.

(Extracts from Shan Women's Action Network's reports and publications)

# IMPACTS OF HUMAN SECURITY APPROACH ON POST-UN PEACE KEEPING MISSIONS: A CASE STUDY OF BANGLADESH

Shekh Mohammad Altafur Rahman Mahidol University

The UN Peace Keeping Mission involves military deployment that enables security forces to operate mainly in a non-combatant fashion, entailing for instance the monitoring of peace treaties or creating an environment that is conducive to peace. As such, it provides a human security orientation for the security forces involved. The latter are introduced to the tools and methods for addressing inter-state conflicts, solving nontraditional security threats and protecting vulnerable groups or minorities. By law, the Bangladesh security force is a special institution that is mandated for protecting national sovereignty. As a national security and professional force, it is an important contributor to the UN Mission. However, during the post-mission phase it has manifested certain notable changes, which are necessarily influenced by its involvement in the UN Mission. On the one hand, the wide-ranging experience it gained from the UN Mission, ranging from conflict prevention, resolution and emergency assistance to reconstruction, rehabilitation and then economic and social development, makes the Bangladesh security force respectful of democratic institutions and supportive of the political government. On the other hand, there has been a pattern of uneasy civilian-military relationship. This article examines these complex impacts, using theoretical explanations as well as concrete evidence.

Based on secondary information and selected interviews the article reveals the nature of the security force's influence in the democratization of Bangladesh, tracing it to the involvement in the UN Mission. The analysis is framed by a triangulation of secondary information, interview outcomes and trend analysis. The applicability of human security to national security and their mutually reliant relationship have legitimized the progressive role of the security force in Bangladesh.

# THE IMPACT OF MONOLINGUAL POLICY ON EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY OF ETHNIC PEOPLE: A CASE STUDY OF NAGA OF NORTHWESTERN BURMA

Shu Maung Chulalongkorn University

Language policy has been one of the most influential factors in creating opportunities and challenges for the development of the people of Burma. Ethnic tension and the ongoing political crisis have long been the most serious issue undermining national reconciliation, peace and development of the country as a whole. The denial of ethnic rights and the rejection of equal status are the underlying factors that impact the pace of development in modern Burma.

This research mainly focuses on the impact of language policy in education for the development opportunity of ethnic groups. At the same time, the researcher also looks at the language policy of other countries that have similar situations, such as Canada, India, Indonesia, etc. Although different in historical and political backgrounds, language policies in these countries provide models that might be helpful for the rethinking and transformation of the language policy in Burma. Recognizing the importance of ethnic languages in a linguistically diverse society like Burma, the researcher would like to identify whether or not a bilingual or multilingual policy provides a workable solution for the social and political development of Burma.

However, in order to better understand the actual language situation in the ethnic areas and to evaluate the impacts of the monolingual policy, the researcher looks at how the monolingual policy contributes to the integration or fragmentation of the people, how it discriminates the people living in the ethnic areas (specifically the autonomous Naga region), and how it leads to the lack of equal opportunity for the Naga people, depriving them of a form of empowerment that is necessary for their development.

This research is based on several interviews and observations made during a fieldwork in northern Burma in July 2011 where the level of ethnic conflict is relatively high. The researcher discovered that many young Naga people are increasingly bilingual in Burmese and their own language. Some of them even started to gravitate towards Burmese. This contributes to a loss of their identity within their community.

Furthermore, community leaders and parents are worried that their language and identity will be lost in the future if the influence of the Burmese language in education continues unabatedly in their community.

### DEMOCRACY AND MINORITY RIGHT IN BANGLADESH

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The minority problems emerged in 1947, when the Indian subcontinent was divided into two parts, comprising of India and Pakistan, on the basis of race and religion. Muslims are the minority in India while Hindus are the minority in Pakistan. In the 1950s we witnessed many communal riots in many areas of East Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh) that were inhabited by minority groups. In 1971, after the birth of Bangladesh, the rights of minorities of all shades as equal citizens were narrowed down and curtailed. To cite just two examples, the secular character of Bangladesh changed when at the beginning of the preamble of the constitution 'Bismillah-ar-Rahma-ar-Rahim' ('I am starting in the name of God' according to Islam) was inserted and then Islam was made State religion. Both moves reduced non-Muslims to the status of second class citizens. Subsequently, many laws curtailing the freedom and rights of minorities were introduced. The minority problems in Bangladesh are the result of various religious, ethniccultural, linguistic and sectarian factors. Hindus form the largest group among the minority communities. Culturally and educationally, other religious minorities include Buddhists and Christians (numbering a few lakhs), and there are also some indigenous communities. This paper presents the human rights situation of minorities in Bangladesh.

# RIGHTS-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN KAYAH STATE: A CASE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Sophia Chulalongkorn University

International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and Local Non-Government-Organizations (LNGOs) are playing a crucial role in shaping the local rights-based development in Kayah State, the smallest state in Myanmar, by applying participation and empowerment approaches in their development projects.

This paper takes into account the concept of rights-based development in terms of participation and empowerment as promoted by INGOs and LNGOs in local development projects. Participation and empowerment will be analyzed in the project lifecycle from Agenda Setting, Policy Formulation, Policy Implementation, Policy Monitoring, Policy Evaluation and Policy Changing or Exit.

This paper will analyze whether or not participation and empowerment can contribute to local development by examining the income generation activities of the two following projects: Integrated Community Development Project (ICDP) by an INGO and Karuna by an LNGO. Specifically, the case study will be done in two villages of Kayah State, which is situated in the eastern part of Myanmar. Apart from this, this paper will answer the following questions:

- What kinds of development work are pursued by INGOs and LNGOs in Kayah State?
- How are the projects of the ICDP INGO and the Karuna LNGO linked to rights-based development?
- What are the constraints faced by these two NGOs as well as their apparent achievements?
- In what ways can participation and empowerment help the NGOs to attain achievements?

This paper uses reports and data of these two NGOs, websites and published books. But, this paper mainly relies on primary data collection through in-depth interview, survey, field observation and personal interview.

# THREE WAVES OF CITIZENSHIP INTEGRATION IN THAILAND: CHINESE, ISAAN AND BURMESE BEYOND THE REVERSE WAVES?

Sustarum Thammaboosadee Chulalongkorn University

This article invokes the "reverse wave of citizenship integration" in an effort to better grasp the contradictory relations under neoliberal relations of production. It demonstrates that recent integrations under the global relations of production warrant a re-thinking of the concept of citizenship; that is, toward acknowledging the apparent role of general conflicts of different politico-economic groups, particularly in a peripheral country like Thailand. To substantiate this argument, the article interrogates 'the reverse wave of integration model', the visible event of conflict in capitalist relations. The contradictions result from the fact that politico-economic groups require a proper share in the political economy of the society in which they are involved. The paper concludes by briefly identifying different responses to the question of whether groups with distinct politico-economic identities should have the right to organize their rights by challenging the unique official way of life.

### POPULIST POLICIES IN THAILAND: A Comparative Study between Thaksin's and the Democrat Party's

#### Sutree Duangnet

On the eve of September 19, 2006, military tanks surrounded Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand, while then-Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra prepared to give a speech at the United Nations in New York. The fate of Thaksin and his party, Thai Rak Thai (TRT) or Thai Loves Thai, changed in that instant. A coup led by General Sonthi Boonyaratklin seized the city and declared the dissolution of Parliament, and Thaksin and his party were ousted from power. After the seizure of the government, many people came out to support and congratulate the soldiers. Many citizens of Bangkok were happy with the coup. Most people in rural areas were not.

People in rural areas supported Thaksin because he instituted policies that catered to their needs, such as free health care and delayed debt payment. Nevertheless, Thaksin and his business cronies' corruption had tainted his government's reputation, and the middle classes came out to protest against Thaksin. Thailand has been in political turmoil ever since the ousting of Thaksin in 2006. The opposition between those who support Thaksin and those who are against him has created a rift in society.

This thesis will examine how Thaksin was able to heavily influence Thai politics and Thai society and be able to keep political power. It will also focus on policies which were implemented by Thaksin, but later reformed by the Democrat Party and later, an analysis on new populist policies currently being implemented by the Democrats in order to get a stronghold in the upcoming Thai elections. Finally, with the analysis of the chosen populist policies between Thai Rak Thai Party and the Democrats finished, I will examine why the Democrat Party still lags behind the Pheu Thai Party in polls even though they are continuing policies which were started by Thaksin.

# THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND RIGHTS BY USING RIGHTS TO COMMUNICATION: THE CASE STUDY OF KLONG YONG VILLAGER

#### Varunee Na-Nakorn

The objectives of this paper are as follows: 1) to examine the characteristics of the social movement led by Klong Yong villagers who are struggling for land rights, and how this movement reflects the concept of communication rights; and 2) to investigate the conditions that would enable marginalized people to use communication rights for their own best interests—for example, as checks and balances mechanism to protect their rights, to ensure justice, and eventually to realize citizen power.

This paper contends that the Klong Yong movement is a kind of collective action made by marginalized people who do not have access to the normal political system. Therefore, the movement uses communication rights for broadening their support, which is largely composed of networks of groups and organizations. As such, they hope to make an impact on state officials. However, the support given by the public media in Thailand to the networks of groups from below should also be acknowledged. For instance, public media personnel helped to train the Klong Yong villagers to use relevant technologies and to equip them with the necessary skills. The villagers were then able to launch their own news program, "Nak Kao Pol La Maung Klong Yong" (Klong Yong citizen journalists). The TPBS channel also provides a public avenue for the villagers to publicize their information confrontations with injustice to society at large. They hope to rely on public influence to pressure the government.

Five conditions determine whether or not marginalized people can make good use of communication rights: 1) There is a window of political opportunity. The Cabinet approved a national reform mechanism chaired by Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva. The plan covers four main areas including improvement in the quality of life and welfare; building the nation's future through the development of children and youths; reforms of judicial and political systems and social inequality; and building a fair and equal economic system. Land reform is one such reform. 2) Recent technological developments have facilitated the development of media and enabled journalists to offer grassroots news coverage. This is a launching pad for the creation of

radical, accurate, and impassioned forms of truth telling. 3) The Media Reform in Thailand generates new communication channels for ordinary people—both broadcast and online media. 4) Movements and organizations have become more skillful in influencing and using the media and in rallying public opinion to their cause. 5) The movement leaders have the potential and capability to mobilize resources to achieve their cause.

# ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION MECHANISM IN THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IN VIETNAM IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

Vo Xuan Sang Chulalongkorn University

In 2008, Vedan Vietnam, a fully owned Taiwanese enterprise in Vietnam, was brought to the court for polluting the Thi Vai River. As a result, Vedan had to pay compensation of more than 10 million US dollars for the 7,000 affected farmers living along the river basin in Ho Chi Minh city, Dong Nai and Ba Ria-Vung Tau provinces. This was the first time that a foreign direct investment enterprise faced strong action from the government. Since Vedan Vietnam started operating in the area in 1991, local communities pointed out that the company was polluting the river. But it took more than a decade before the government took strong action against it. A number of different actors worked together to bring the case of Vedan to court, including local communities, the media, politicians, consumers' association, port and shipping companies and politicians. This case reflects an evolving environmental governance in which environment protection is shifting from primarily relying on government bodies to non-state actors and civil society.

Environmental degradation has increasingly been a matter of concern in Vietnam since the country opened its economy to the global market in 1986 and set out to achieve the national goal of becoming an industrialized country by 2020. The government is well aware of the problem of environmental degradation, and progress on environment protection has been made through legal mechanisms as well as assistance from international organizations. Vietnam's environmental law is considered quite good compared to international standards. However, the effectiveness of law implementation is still fairly limited, and this is due to the inefficiency of environmental governance. Water management, in particular, has been become a complicated issue in many areas due to urbanization and industrialization. For instance, there's the problem of sharing water resource with existing agriculture activities. This economic development policy leads to tension and conflict over water management and sharing between different actors. Successful water resource management requires an integrated program management and strong local governance with the participation of nonstate actors and civil society. Local environmental governance is improved only when the following elements are enhanced: stakeholders' involvement, accountability, democracy and legitimacy.

### INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THAILAND

Yasuyuki Kato Kobe University, Japan

The 1993 Vienna Declaration on human rights confirms the significance of National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs) as domestic protection mechanisms of international human rights standards. The duties of NHRIs in this regard include monitoring the implementation of these standards in State law, administrative directives and public policies; encouraging and supporting States to ratify human rights treaties; reporting domestic human rights conditions to UN human rights bodies; informing the public of human rights norms and standards; and remedying violations of the standards, as quasi-judicial bodies.

These duties, however, are not easy for NHRIs to fulfill; because NHRIs are, in most cases, set up, financed and/or supervised by the Government that is also responsible for most human rights violation cases in each country. It is difficult for NHRIs to be critical of the Government for its failure to comply with the human rights standards, unless NHRIs are independent from the Government.

This paper discusses the condition of the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand (NHRCT) as a case study. The NHRCT presents a critical example of a NHRI whose independence has been 'derogated' due to a political turmoil. The experience of the NHRCT can be a lesson to NHRIs that exist under military, autocratic, transitional or quasi-democratic regimes.

The NHRCT will be investigated into by four major criteria such as 1) statutory independence; 2) independence of appointment; 3) financial independence; and 4) operational independence. These criteria are all emphasized by the Paris Principles, which prescribe the minimum standard for the status and functions of NHRIs. In each criterion, the degree of independence of the NHRCT will be evaluated based on its compliance with the standard set by the Principles.

# TEACHER - CENTERED PEDAGOGY AND THE PRESENCE OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN MYANMAR: AN INVESTIGATION ON MYANMAR EDUCATION SYSTEM.

YHA, Master Student

Mahidol University

The education system of Myanmar is oriented towards the teachercentered pedagogy. It thus gives teachers absolute authority and treats students as objects rather than subjects of learning. This pedagogy tends to hinder students' creativity and problem-solving skills. The structure of teacher-centered pedagogy reinforces various forms of structural violence, including inequality, lack of opportunity and oppression, in society. The conceptual model of structural violence tends to be expressed in this research as inequality in society. The main purpose of this research is to examine how the teacher-centered pedagogy may reinforce structural violence. Consequently, this research will also examine how students have struggled in the face of structural violence. Four research questions are central in this paper: (1) How might teacher-centered pedagogy be related to the prevalence of structural violence? (2) Why is teacher-centered pedagogy still used in the education system of Burma? (3) How do students react to teachercentered pedagogy? And (4) how is this experience carried over to adulthood and citizenship? Structural violence appears as among others, endured psychological distress and oppression from institutions and society. Basically, the research would identify students' approaches to society after they have experienced years of teacher-centered education. Besides, this study claims that an improper education system can badly damage the self-reliance of students as well as the activities of youths in society. Special focus is given to the role of compassion in children's lives, not only for their physical wellbeing but also for their ability to cope with structural violence and hardships in life. Stories shared by students used in this study have shown the symptoms of structural violence in the education system of Myanmar. The thesis itself incorporates modes of data presentation such as experiments with narrative voice

### A CASE STUDY OF THE RATIONAL CHOICE OF RESETTLERS

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The hydropower plays an important role in the socioeconomic development of humans' society. Meanwhile, the resettlement is one of the most important challenges for the hydropower development in the world. One of the key issues is how to protect the resettler's basic rights, to engage them in the progress of decision making and to encourage them to make the rational choice for their live.

The paper tries to analyze the capability and opportunity for resettlers' rational choice during their replacement. Base on a case study, the endopathic factors which exerting the profound impact on resettler's rational choice are: the situation of policy awareness, the expecting situation of risks and the demonstration effecting of the earlier experiences. And the exopathic factors includes the integrity of the law, the participation of investigation and researching, and the accessing of information.

Based on the research, there are some potential risks affecting resettlers making the rational choice, therefore, the possibility of changing their decision and following others' to making a choice will pose a threat to the good development of community and society as a whole.

# FILM SHOWING & DISCUSSION

# PATH TO FREEDOM OF SHAN STATE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WHO BATTLE AGAINST TYRANNY

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#### Summary of the film.

This film presents about the living status of the Shan people who fled from their homes to the Shan-Thai border because of the oppression of the Burma army, how they have lost their human rights, the Shan tradition, the establishment of Loi Tai Leng and the Shan struggle for the freedom of Shan State.

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