

**Voices from the South:**  
**Identity Construction of Malay Muslim Women in Thailand through**  
**Auditory Media**

by

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*To*

*Grandpa and Grandma,*

*for having been there for me from the very start,*

*though you had to leave too soon before I reached the finishing line.*

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATION**

VWSF	Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers (Radio program)
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the identity construction of Malay Muslim women in Thailand through the radio program *'Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers'*. In the midst of the South Thailand Insurgency, Malay Muslims, the majority of population in the southernmost provinces of Thailand, were portrayed as the antagonist, excluded and overlooked by Thai society. However, with an emergence of local media dedicated to peace-building, Malay Muslim women are given opportunities to speak to the public and have become the main actor in constructing and negotiating Malay Muslims' space with the Thai society. At the same time, changes in these women's roles are observed; from mothers and household caretakers to active actors in socioeconomic sphere.

The aim of this thesis is to discover the "Malay-Thai Muslim women" identity displayed through auditory media, and how these women, as senders of the messages, construct and negotiate their identity with their surroundings utilizing narratives.

This thesis employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and rhetorical analysis to study narratives in the radio program *'Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers'*. It utilizes Framing theory of media as a theoretical framework and Islamic feminism, which is considered as a variety of postcolonial feminism theory, as a conceptual framework. Four rhetoric regarding the South Thailand Insurgency, Malay Muslim community, and Malay Muslim women are found. These rhetoric contribute to constructing and negotiating Malay Muslim identity and Islamic womanhood with their surroundings.



This thesis has identified an attempt to include Malay Muslim into Thai national discourse through historical narratives that invite audience to realize and embrace the multicultural nature of Thai society and create a new discourse of Thainess: one can be a Thai without being a Buddhist. The Malay-Thai Muslim selfhood is therefore a mixture of being Malay by blood, Muslim by faith, and Thai by nationality.

Regarding Islamic womanhood, this thesis has found that predominant gender construct which is heavily based on religious principles was a hindrance in women's activities in the public sphere. However, they were able to achieve a compromise. The redefined Islamic womanhood consists of a traditional and non-traditional womanhood; it is a modernized woman conforming to mainstream Thai's notion of modernization, and at the same time, preserves the "right" womanhood according to the religious principles.

The conclusion argues that Malay Muslim women have constructed their identity and negotiate their space in the surroundings through narratives based on a mixture of being a Thai, a Malay, and a Muslim, and a woman. And their effort has paved ways for Muslim women's emancipation from domestic sphere, thus gives them an easier access to the public space where the needed resources are available to aid them in self-development which can lead to poverty elevation and empowerment. At the same time, their movement can be considered "feminist" in a way that it strives to relieve patriarchal pressure on women within the principles of Islam. This "local" feminism is unique in its characteristic and is proven effective in the emancipation and empowering women under the context of Islam and Thai society.

## **CHAPTER 1:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background of the research**

Thailand is a country consisting of various ethnic groups, culture, and religions. Yet what usually is defined as an essence of ‘Thai’ is heavily based on Buddhist values, and this is not surprising since 94.6 percent of its population is Buddhist (National Statistical Office of Thailand, 2011). The number is so large that it overwhelms the second largest religious community, Islam, with 4.6 percent of the population being Muslim (National Statistical Office of Thailand, 2011). Like its Buddhist counterpart, the Muslim population is heterogeneous, originating from various ethnic groups and spreading across the country. There are indigenous Thai, Persian, Myanmar, Cambodian (*Cham*), Bengalis, Javanese, Chinese Muslim (*Haw*) whose major settlement is in the northern provinces, and Malay, which is the largest Muslim ethnicity (Forbes, 1982; Bajunid, 1999). The Malay population in Thailand is as large as 900,000 people or nearly 15 percent of all ethnic minority population (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2015), dominating the southern provinces of Satun, Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and some areas of Songkla, which share the border with Malaysia, therefore generally known as “*changwat chai daen paak tai*” (the southern border provinces) in Thai. While most Muslim groups appear to be well-integrated into the Thai society, Malay Muslim seems excluded; physically by the way they dress – women covering their heads or faces with veils and men wearing caps, and linguistically by the Malay language widely spoken by Muslim locals instead of Thai. The

obvious deviation of language and culture from mainstream Thai is suggested to be one of the reasons of difficulties in integrating Malay Muslim into Thai national discourse (Forbes, 1982; Bajunid, 1999; Harish, 2006). Another reason that may suggest the root of exclusion and resistance of Malay Muslim toward the Thai state is that, instead of the Malay community coming to Thailand like other Muslim communities, Thailand came to them (Forbes, 1982). Historically, the three southern border provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, and some part of modern-day northern Malaysia constituted the Kingdom of Patani, located between the Kingdom of Siam, now Thailand, and the Malacca Sultanate. The kingdom became ancient Siam's vassal state as early as the 1500's. Through centuries, Siam and Patani conflicted over Patani's sovereignty until the early 1900's that Patani was split up by the British imperialist, resulting in some part of it falling under Malaysia's sovereignty while the rest belonged to Siam. It is noted that the ongoing conflict between Siam and Patani until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, concerned political power rather than the notion of ethnicity or religion (McVey, 1989, cited in Harish, 2006). Although belonged to Siam, the people of former Patani have maintained close bond, personally and culturally, with the present day Malaysian community even in modern days (Farouk, 1984, cited in Harish, 2006). However, this is not the case for Muslims of Malay ancestry in Satun province, one of Thailand's southern frontiers which is not affected by the South Thailand Insurgency (Dulyakasem, 1991, cited in Harish, 2006).

It was in the 1930's when the Malay community came to face harsh cultural assimilation in an attempt to create a nation of one 'Thai' culture out of fear of the rise of Malay Nationalism. The nationalist regime was carried out by a military government of Field Marshal Plaek Pibulsongkram who began to erase the notion of being Malay from the

southern provinces (Harish, 2006, p. 55). Islamic codes of conduct, including clothing and language, were highly discriminated against or banned. This led to a cultural confrontation between Malay locals and ruling Thai bureaucrats (Bajunid, 1999, p. 221) and is suggested by scholars to be the root of conflicts that later developed into the South Thailand Insurgency (Forbes, 1982; Bajunid, 1999; Harish, 2006). Since the 1940's, there have been movements led by groups of Malays to reclaim cultural and political autonomy from the Thai state. Later, what first appeared to be a political debate between Malay and Thai turned into a conflict between Islam and Buddhism for several reasons. First, the emergence of an insurgent group called Pattani United Liberated Organization (PULO) in the late 1960s. PULO's doctrine, unlike other groups, centered on the liberation of Islam and therefore took the notion of Islam to justify their mission above others' (Harish, 2006, p. 56). Second, the failure of the term "Thai Muslim" coined by the state in the hope to put all Islam groups under the Thai national discourse. It is suggested that the term only created wider religious cleavage (although other groups of Muslims seem to receive the term well) by pointing out that "you are Thai *but* you are Muslim" (Harish, 2006, p. 58, original emphasis), which pushes one away from being "Thai" since he/she is not a Buddhist – a fundamental quality of Thainess. Third, the lack of support from Malaysia which diminished the ethnicity aspect of the conflict and left the insurgent groups with a stronger notion to religion (Harish, 2006, pp. 58-59) as a sole purpose of the fight to liberate Malay Muslim from the Thai nation state. Fourth, the outflow of Thai Muslims to pursue religious education overseas, followed by an increase in religious education institutions in Thailand, heightening Islamic consciousness of the younger generations in the southern provinces of Thailand. And fifth, the Islamophobia following the September 11, 2001 incident (Harish, 2006, p. 59). And in the state where Buddhist

aristocrats hold power over Muslim minorities, “Muslim” militants in southern Thailand are said to be responsible to the killing and other loss in the South Thailand Insurgency. All have contributed to a widened religious cleavage between (Malay) Muslims and Buddhists in Thailand.

January 2004 marked the beginning of the modern-day South Thailand Insurgency. Along the course of a decade, there have been approximately 14,700 incidents, 6,300 deaths, and 11,000 injuries (Deep South Watch, 2014). Four provinces have become the targets of the Insurgency; Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and six districts in Songkla (Srisamran, 2013).

While the public are often given information about casualties of each incident, the group of people often left unspoken of by mainstream media are those who have to live through economic, physical, and emotional struggles following the events of South Thailand Insurgency. In this research, Malay-Thai Muslim women are the main subject of discussion. They are Muslim women of Malay ancestry living in Thailand, where, through the portrayal of mainstream media, Malay Muslims are seen as the antagonist in the South Thailand Insurgency (Harish, 2006; Kaosaiyaporn, 2012; Srisamran, 2013). They are often overlooked by mainstream media, but with the emergence of local media dedicated to peace-building, they are given a chance to speak up for themselves and for the sake of Malay-Thai Muslim community. This research will therefore explore how these women negotiate their identities with the public, keeping in mind their purpose of creating better understanding toward Malay Muslim community in the southern frontiers of Thailand. The answer to the question ‘Who are the Malay Muslim women?’ in this research is based on a mixture of their identities as a woman, a Muslim, a Malay descendant, and a Thai citizen represented in auditory media.

## **1.2 Research objective**

This thesis aims to discover the “Malay-Thai Muslim women” identity displayed through auditory media, and how these women, as senders of the messages, construct and negotiate their identity with their surroundings utilizing narratives.

## **1.3 Hypotheses**

Two hypotheses are proposed for the research;

1. A “Malay-Thai Muslim” identity is constructed in Thai (Buddhist) and Malay (Islam) dynamic society.
2. The ongoing South Thailand Insurgency has resulted in death and arrest of Malay Muslim men which causes changes in family structure and increases women’s participation in socioeconomic activities. The visibility of women in the public realm has given the women power to negotiate Islamic womanhood with prevailing gender ideology.

## **1.4 Research questions**

In order to examine the aforementioned hypotheses and fulfill the research objective, this thesis attempts to answer the following questions;

1. What are the rhetoric of the narratives about southern Thailand regarding religions, genders, culture, and nation in the radio program '*Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers*'?
2. What are the implications of these narratives on feminist movements particularly regarding Malay-Thai Muslim women's identity?

### **1.5 Significance of the study**

Auditory media holds its power in words, voices, and the construction of narratives. It does not limit the audience's perception of the world with its visible image. However, few studies have been conducted on auditory media. While the most prominent symbolic identity of Muslim women is the hijab which has been widely studied by scholars (See Odeh, 1993; Maddem, 2011), it is also interesting to study their identity hidden in invisible artifacts such as narratives to expand understandings toward different culture and different ways to utilize media. As the Thai state and private sectors are employing media as a means for peace-building, local media are looking for a stage where they can voice the locals' experience, thoughts, and opinions to be a part of a conflict resolution. It is important to study these locals' – Malay Muslims – strategies in the hopes to create better understanding of Muslim culture in Thai-Malay dynamic. This thesis will contribute to Thailand's media studies and studies of minorities and hopefully will become a contribution in the nation's quest for peace.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Transcultural identity**

This section reviews previous studies on how a collective identity of a group is influenced and articulated by multicultural coexistence, dominant ideology, and socialization.

Benard Lewis (1998) states that people primarily acquire their identities at birth by their bloodlines, affiliations to a group, and places of origin. Under some cultural contexts – in this case, Middle Eastern Islam – religion can be the only factor constituting an identity that transcends bloodlines and location. Thus, individuals can identify themselves as members of not only a location, but also a religious community. Prasit Leepreecha (2004) explains that identities exist in both individual and collective levels and one may selectively display some, if not all, aspects of identities in different scenarios. While individual identity is acquired from birth and through socialization by relating one's self with others or simply by being identified by someone else, collective identity is created on the basis of common characteristics of a group's members and can distinguish one group from another. From a constructionist's point of view, collective identity is an artifact built to unite, fabricate, and mobilize a group of individuals according to relevant cultural scripts and centers of power (Cerulo, 1997, p. 387). By homogenizing, one group can distinguish "us" from "them" and mobilize for "our" advantage (Santiwutmethee, 2002 cited in Ayae, 2010).



The topic of race and ethnicity among ethnic minorities is explored by various constructionists. Citing Richard Alba's (1990) and Mary Water (1990), Cerulo (1997) writes that ethnic identity is rather a constructed *symbol of ethnic cultures* than the cultures themselves that individuals choose to adopt or cling to in need of community. Racial and ethnic identity are connected with nation and class (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, cited in Cerulo, 1997), therefore they can shift in accordance to relevant sociopolitical phenomenon (Nagel, 1995, cited in Cerulo, 1997).

For the sake of this thesis, the transculturality of Malay ethnic identity in Thailand and Islamic religious identity will be discussed.

At a glance, it is probably easy to consider ethnic Malays 'un-Thai' due to their often obviously difference in customs, language, and religious practice from the Thai majority. Marte Nilsen (2012) defines "Thainess" as the practice and ideology heavily based on the nation's dominant religion – Theravāda Buddhist – values and the Thai language which implies loyalty toward the three pillars; nation, religion, and monarchy (p. 48). Any practices that are not Buddhist and not linguistically Thai, while generally tolerated by the state, are not recognized as Thai and thus can be considered as a threat to the unified national identity (pp. 48-49). Therefore, in the construction of the Thai nation-state, minorities may be culturally assimilated by the state's ideology of Thainess.

The manifestation of Islamic religious identity, whether behaviorally or linguistically, seems more prominent than other religions in Thailand. It was explained by Sawvane Jitmond (1992) and Dolmanach Baka (1997) that Islamic practices are integrated in a Muslim's life as a duty which he or she must observe whether in daily habits or any

significant progresses in life. These Muslim's practices may be considered 'un-Thai' according to Nilsen's definition of Thainess. Nevertheless, there have been efforts to negotiate the un-Thai characteristic into the Thainess discourse. Penchan Phoborisut (2008) investigates the identity of Muslims in the Thai capital city of Bangkok, situated in the central region of the country. It is important to note that the Muslims in Phoborisut's research are made up of different races such as Persian, Malay, Indonesian, and Chinese whose ancestors migrated to central Thailand and have lived in a community for generations. Phoborisut's work observes adoption and adaptation of a variety of the residents' indigenous cultures with its surrounding; Thai and Chinese culture, whether it is architecture, language, food, or festivals while maintaining strict Islamic practice. There is also an attempt of a Muslim community to claim itself as related to an important Thai Muslim historical figure. While calling themselves Thais, they cherish their religious practices, creating a 'self' of being a Thai *while* practicing Islam, not Buddhism, as a religion. The identity of Muslims in Bangkok is therefore a product of mixing two dynamics; Thai as a national identity and Islam as a religious identity, and remains static in all scenarios.

The case is different for its Malay Muslims counterpart. They are not immigrants to Thailand, but were indigenous to the area that was taken over by Siam (Thailand) in early 1900's, followed by an extreme cultural assimilation regime imposed by the state that caused strong resistant among Malay Muslims. As a result, Malay Muslims appear different and separated from mainstream Thais (Forbes, 1982). Malay Muslims tend to maintain strong Malay culture, such as language and rituals among themselves while selectively adopt surrounding cultures as a part of their way of life. Marte Nilsen's (2012) work agrees with Nikjamal Ayae (2010), stating that various aspects of a Malay Muslim's identities – Thai,

Malay, Muslim – can be emphasized or downplayed according to the relationship with different groups and social contexts while Islamic religious identity is always maintained (though the religiosity may be displayed in different degrees). As Ayae (2010) writes, Malay Muslim identity is a result of negotiations between their deep-rooted Malay culture and its multicultural environment of their location<sup>1</sup>. Malay Muslims in Thailand consider themselves unrelated to their neighboring Malaysian Muslims despite several linguistic and cultural similarities (Nilsen, 2012, p. 130) and friendly relationship at the personal level (Farouk, 1984, cited in Harish, 2006). It is rather the sense of belonging to the Malay Muslim community *in Thailand* that distinguishes them from Malaysian Muslims. Therefore, to follow the constructionist view (See Alba, 1990 & Water 1990), the Malay Muslim identity is a unique identity made up of a mix of the dominant Thainess discourse and the symbol of Malay culture (e.g. religion, language, customs) constructed and reinforced within their surroundings (Thailand) in order to maintain, to some extent, the Malay-ness (‘we-ness’) of the community.

The “symbol of Malay culture” can be Islam. Because Malay culture is closely tied to Islam, religion is therefore the domain Malay Muslims can reinforce their ethnic identity (Nilsen, 2012). Their *Islam* has been shaped by its surroundings. Alexander Hosrtmann (2011) observes peculiar Islamic practices and rituals among Malay Muslims in southern Thailand which is influenced by Buddhism and local superstitions. Likewise, in a wider context, by interviewing Muslims from different countries, Elham Bagheri (2012) finds that Islamic practices, while maintaining fundamental principles, may take different shapes

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<sup>1</sup> Ayae’s research was conducted in Yala Province where the majority of population is Malay Muslim. Other groups mentioned in the research are Thai Buddhist, Thai Muslim, Chinese, Indian Sikh, Burmese Muslim, Pakistani Muslim, Karen, and Arabian.

according to its surrounding and prevailing cultures. The adaptability and transculturality of Islam has therefore contributed to the construction of Malay cultural symbol that Malay Muslims in Thailand cling to in order to construct the Malay Muslim identity.

## **2.2 Media representation of ethnic minorities in Thailand**

This section reviews previous studies on how ethnic minorities in Thailand are represented in Thai media. Ethnic minorities are given stereotyped characteristic by dominant groups and represented as inferior “Others”. Marginalization these Others is expressed and reproduced in mass media through various strategies – for example, lexical styles, figure of speech, rhetoric, story-telling – which benefits “us” and the social elites (Jiwani & Richardson, 2011).

Treepon Kirdnark (2012) finds that the portrayal of minorities, even in different countries, under different cultural and political contexts, shares the same characteristic; that minorities are subjected to negative stereotype such as being a threat to the mainstream society (p. 2935). The portrayal of ethnic minorities as Others in Thai media is also not uncommon. However, there is an attempt to utilize media, which initially was a tool to exclude, to include them in the mainstream Thai society as well. Krisadawan Hongladarom’s (2000) study of the representation of hill tribes in Thailand finds two competing images. On one hand, hill tribes in newspaper articles and television news are included as members of the Thai nation-state in a politically correct manner, but are subjected to negative stereotypes and excluded from mainstream Thai society. For example, for decades, hill tribes have been

represented in news reports as less-educated, poor and often associated with illegal drug trafficking and forest invasion, to which Kirdnark (2012) explains that this constructed reality regarding minorities allows the dominant groups (the state) to discriminate against and control them. On the other hand, the representation of hill tribes in a television documentary which tells stories of hill tribes from an insider's perspective shows an attempt include hill tribes into the Thai nation-state, not merely politically but as a rightful Thai citizen, only with different ethnic heritage (Hongladarom, 2000, p. 16), and to eliminate a stereotypic, antagonistic image of hill tribes (Hongladarom, 2000).

Malay ethnicity is much excluded from mainstream Thai society for having different language and religious practice. Malay Muslims in Thailand are most talked about in news reports on the South Thailand Insurgency. Scholars such as Duangkamol Tawapitak (2012) and Chanokporn Angsuwiriya (2014; 2015) find that the newspaper report portrayal of South Thailand Insurgency marginalizes Malay Muslims as “others” and stigmatizes them as being radically religious, which leads to violence by utilizing extreme and provocative terms and metaphors such as “Muslim militants” (Harish, 2006), “Southern bandits” (Kirdnark, 2012), “human scums”, “Southern Fires” (Angsuwiriya, 2015, pp. 61-64). Later, less religion-specific terms such as “Disturbance doers” or simply “insurgents” are used instead (Askew, 2008; Angsuwiriya, 2014). This method of narration creates even deeper separation between religions and ethnicities and gives the public a negative perception of southern Thailand and the Islamic religion (Angsuwiriya, 2014).

Media plays a role of a messenger to tell stories about ethnic minorities in the Thai society either from the ‘outsiders looking in’ point of view (e.g. news scoops, documentaries) or the subject's point of view (e.g. interview footages with a hill tribe person)

like many other countries. With the existence of a space for ethnic minorities to speak up, there is a hopeful tendency to an attempt to eliminate negative stereotypes on ethnic minorities. But because of the scarce number of such space and the prevalence of news reports, negative stereotypes still persist (Hongladarom, 2000; Kirdnark, 2012).

### **2.3 Media representation of women in Thailand**

This section reviews previous studies on the representation of women in media, especially under the Thai cultural context. Aekthida Sermthong's (2013) study of various popular media in Thailand finds two trends of women representation. On the one hand, women are objects of media. They are passively 'set up' and 'put on display' in accordance to the norm established by patriarchy discourses constantly produced and reproduced in media artifacts. Women under such representation are weaker and less intelligent than men, are and closely tied with the roles of wife and mother. She notes that women have the power and freedom to produce an alternative representation of themselves which one may assume as an attempt to challenge the patriarchal power, yet it is limited by the cultural hegemony of patriarchy and capitalism (p. 135). On the other hand, she writes that women can also be a subject. With an emergence and a spread of 'new' online media, women are allowed to create and present a new representation of themselves and negotiate their power with less strains from the dominant cultural hegemony. Women are able to gather together and create a space exclusively for themselves to both accommodate and challenge the power that formerly put them in merely the position of a passive object in the media industry.

To clarify Sermthong's point and provide an example, the researcher looked up several studies on the representation of women in different types of media. In Thai literatures and theaters, a heroine is often portrayed with a Thai feminine ideal while a female antagonist is usually more 'masculine': expressive and sexually explicit. Most antagonists are faced with 'bad ends', which Carlin (1984), as cited in Diamond (2006), translates as a grim message to the audience; a woman deviated from the ideal is evil and thus not desirable. At the same time, however, some female antagonists are portrayed as capable of fulfilling the social's expectation of an ideal woman. This suggests men's anxiety toward women's hidden potential (Diamond, 2006) that may put the men's status quo in peril. Here, theaters, like other forms of consumer culture mostly dominated by men, in a feminist sense, plays a part in securing traditional gender ideology (Fung, 2000), and that women's security and happiness are not guaranteed in real life even though they follow the feminine ideal (Diamond, 2006, p. 114) but instead are dependent on men. In addition, previous studies of television commercials (Lovdal, 1989) and Thai soap operas (Prakorbphol, 1992; Daengchamroon, 1995; Watcharadecha, 1996 cited in Panitchpakdi, 2007) yield similar findings; women are portrayed as subordinated to men and almost exclusively limited within the domestic – household – sphere. This has remained unchanged despite women nowadays taking up more space in the 'outside' world (Lovdal, 1989, p. 722) which implies that such change in women's role is not yet ideologically normalized by the dominant construction of gender, thus the media has made the audience blind to the reality, and that women in cultural industry are suppressed by patriarchal hegemony that prevents them from creating an alternative representation (Sermthong, 2013) that reflect reality of Thai women.

However, Jarupa Panitchpakdi (2007) argues that the previous studies blindly conform to culturally dominant gender ideologies (men as dominant and women as subordinate), thus, produced only a one-dimensional meaning of a text which is, in this case, messages about genders (p.10-11). By analyzing three – at that time, recent – Thai soap operas, she unveils an attempt to challenge hegemonic (patriarchal) gender discourses, especially the discourse on ‘good/desirable women’. She finds that although portrayals of female characters still fundamentally follows ‘patriarchal’ convention, at the same time, at some points, they deviate from the convention whether visually or behaviorally. And unlike others, these deviations are not punished. Panitchpakdi notes that such a symbolic challenge on prevailing representation of women in Thai society presented in the soap operas has marked a hopeful tendency to develop into a challenge in the politic of genders in reality which agrees with Sermthong’s (2013) point that although women have limited power to create their ideal representation, they do have the power to do so to some extent in some types of media popular among female consumers (e.g. magazines, television dramas, websites). It is also important to note that two out of three soap operas studied in Panitchpakdi’s work were produced by a woman and a homosexual man. The presence of non-male producers in cultural industry may have led to an unconventional representation of genders.

However, to consider the unconventional female representations discussed above “feminist” is still too hasty because of the lack of (female) gender consciousness in the Thai society and an antagonistic view toward western feminism (Chantharothai, 2004). Likewise, Anthony Fung (2000) notes an accommodation and acculturation of western feminist values into Asian cultural industries as a means to challenge the hegemonic representation of



genders, but such attempt may have come to an impasse due to the complexity of ethnicity, race, class, sexual orientations, etc. that contests in the constitution of the so-called ‘feminist’ cultural representation of women (van Zoonen, 1994) and distractions by other contents in the media artifacts preventing an effective encoding and decoding of messages into the text (van Zoonen, 1994, cited in Fung, 2000).

## **2.4 Malay Muslim women in Thailand: an overview**

Malay Muslim women are defined by the religious and public discourses. Dolmanach Baka (1997) and Suchada Titiravevong (2011) conclude the rights and duties of Muslim women according to Islamic doctrines that women’s lives are equally valuable as those of men.

Muslim women’s fundamental roles are as a daughter, a wife, and a mother. They are given feminine traits and codes of conduct by the religious discourse. For example, women must seek knowledge and skills that correspond to their naturally womanly traits such as homemaking, sewing, and childcare (Baka, 1997, pp. 19-20). They may study any other subjects and skills or practice a career as long as they do not prevent her from conducting her normative duties as a wife and a mother and only if it is agreed or permitted by her husband (Baka, 1997; Othman, 2006). Baka (1997) also states that women’s physical condition such as menstruation or pregnancy may become a constraint for women to become leaders, except leading a female-only group (p. 26). The gender-based rights and duties are written in the Qur’an and are a part of Shari’a – the Muslim code of law – and therefore

should be followed by faithful Muslim individuals as a mean to organize and maintain orders in the Muslim society (Othman, 2006).

Scholars argue that the discourse on masculine and feminine traits put women in subordinate position (Ong, 1990; Mojab, 2001; Tohidi, 2003; Neelapaijit, 2009), having to be taken care of by a male guardian (a father or a husband). Men, on the other hand, are obliged to care for their female family members because they have ‘masculine traits’ – being physically stronger (Baka, 1997) and more rational (Ong, 1990). Thus, men are seen as more potential in conducting activities in public sphere in which their duties are involve socioeconomic activities such as practicing careers and engaging in political decision-making.

As in social discourse, Larry Poston (2001) identifies two groups of non-Muslim “outsiders” whose views toward Muslim women are opposite. The first group sees Islam as patriarchal, and therefore the women are being oppressed and insecure. They view women in the Islamic sense as having “lesser capacity than does [their] male counterparts” (p. 54) because they are less active in public space. Such view is heavily based on western second-wave feminist ideology that seeks liberty for women to be educated and to work like their men counterpart. The second group, on the other hand, holds a more positive view; seeing Islamic womanhood as the true value of a woman (p. 55) that they take pride in. It is heavily based on the idea that women are exclusively granted roles as a wife and a mother which disagree with western feminist’s view of Islamic womanhood as inferior and oppressed. Although, Poston points, not all faithful Muslim women agree. Some Muslim women are putting effort in liberating women from “the tyranny of Islamic Laws” by looking for

reinterpretation of even the most fundamentalist doctrine (p. 56). This create a movement some scholars call 'Islamic feminism' which shall be later discuss in section 3.1.

As in Thailand, a country dominated by Buddhism in which laws and national customs are based on Buddhist values, non-Buddhist values are not frequently mentioned. However, Islam, being the largest minority religion, is most talked about in mass media. This is probably due to the South Thailand Insurgency that has continued for a decade and has caught the media's attention. The negative representation of Malay Muslim in mass media results in non-Islamic audience having negative perception toward Islamic religion (Angsuwiriya, 2014). The status of Muslim women as defined by the outsiders is also affected. They are seen as helpless victims of both the insurgency and Islam's patriarchal values (Neelapaijit, 2009). At the same time, they are Malay, the radical ethnic group that needs to be tamed by the Thai Buddhist power.

Women in the Islamic view, as discussed above, are provided with three main roles; a daughter, a wife, and a mother where they are mostly confined in the private space. Economic needs have brought them out into public space as working women. As the consequence of South Thailand Insurgency, a number of women are not only working, but have become the family's sole leader and breadwinner. However, Taweeluck Pollachom's (2014) work provides the narrative that such transition had begun even before the beginning of South Thailand Insurgency. Women first strived for religious education as a mean to be recognized by the Muslim community and to fulfill their duty as a Muslim in which one must always seek knowledge (Baka, 1997; Maddem, 2011; Pollachom, 2014). As a result, the Muslim womanhood is redefined and two types of womanhood have emerged. First; the traditional daughter, wife, and mother who takes care of the household, and second; the

knowledgeable and confident woman who works for the family and the community, but still maintains the 'right' womanhood according to the religion's doctrine.

## **2.5 Connections among culture, religion, and genders**

Frances Raday (2003) conceptualizes the interactions among the Three Constructs; culture, religion, and gender in different levels as follows. First, culture as a “macroconcept” (p. 665) which constitutes a society of members who share the same basic code of behavior and belief. Culture can be static or adaptive to external influences. By using “cultural defense” concept, culture resists external influences commonly by claiming the autonomy of the religion. Second, religion, constituted by culture, is an “institutionalized aspect of culture” (p. 667) most resistant to changes from without. The religion's written code of behavior is dogmatic and to be followed by the members to preserve the society's order. Lastly, gender, which is defined by the interpretation of religious texts (Klingorova & Havlicek, 2015), is the “norms of behavior imposed on men and women by culture and religion” (Raday, 2003, p. 669). According to Raday, gender has been constructed in favor of patriarchy in most societies long before the recognition and institutionalization of human's rights and women's right (ibid.). Raday's view on women's right is rather pessimistic. According to her, gender relation (read: a systematic domination of women by men and women's right infringement) is justified in the name of cultural defense and the religious dogmas. In short, “[the] intersection between traditionalist culture, religious norms, and gender speaks patriarchy” (p. 709).

Culture and religion are interactive. Culture shapes religious practices which in turn constitutes formal and informal institutions such as laws, codes of conducts, or social norms that then shape the ever-changing culture based on predominant religious belief. The construction of gender is put under the culture-religion interactions (Raday, 2003, p. 669). In addition, it is found in Kamila Klingorova and Tomas Havlicek's (2015) work that, the more religious a society is, the higher the society is gender unequal because of the public acceptance and consent toward the reinforcement of patriarchy by the religious institution. Genders, women in particular, can sometimes influence changes in culture and religion, but still with very little success (Klingorova & Havlicek, 2015).

Stereotyping is one of the issues resulting from patriarchal cultural practices. By stigmatizing women as mothers and housewives, women are stripped off opportunities to participate in sociopolitical sphere (Raday, 2003, p. 671). Although women are respected in the domestic space, this kind of stereotype does not advocate them in the emancipation in the sense of equality with men (Klingorova & Havlicek, 2015, p. 3).

Elham Bagheri's (2012) work provides a more in-depth picture of the interactions among culture, religion (Islam), and gender from the perspective and experience of Muslim men in the United States. Bagheri concludes that people hold religions, not necessarily Islam, as a guidance of life that provides them with the 'right' behavioral and ideology guidance, including their belief about men and women. Indeed, participants in the research indicated that they use religious doctrine as a guide to the 'right' masculinity. Women's status according to the participants, although to an extent labelled with stereotypes of being physically weaker and that women are to be a mother and a homemaker according to the Islamic belief (pp. 81-82, 85), is inclined toward western notion of gender equality. The

influence of religion in gender construction here has been downplayed by the significance of western consciousness and practices regarding gender equality. It is noted that this “pro-feminist” ideology (p. 83) of genders is a core value of democracy in western society and that participants must follow to be an active member of such society (p. 80). The “Islamic” gender ideologies here is a mix between traditional and non-traditional, and influenced by interactions between two dynamics; religion (Islam) and its surroundings (United States) (Bagheri, 2012, p. 95) due to Islam’s flexibility and adaptability to different culture (p. 86). Like the Islamic practices in Thailand discussed in section 2.1, religious practices in Bagheri’s work appeared to be influenced by the American dominant cultural practices and norm. Islam, for Bagheri’s participants, has become a cultural symbol where they can reinforce their ethnic and religious identity while the actual practices (here, the construction of genders) is influenced by American culture according to Raday’s Culture - Religion - Gender model.

In contrast, “Islam” in Raday’s work is of the societies where religious beliefs are fundamentalist, rigid and antagonistic to external influences, holding hegemony over formal institutions. Therefore, if Islam is patriarchal, the environment has allowed patriarchy to reinforce, resulting in her view toward gender construction under culture-religion interactions as patriarchy. Similarly, the construction of gender in the Buddhist Thai society has been in favor to men and in the past put women in subordinate position; restricting them from education and autonomy. It was after westernization of the Thai society that patriarchal

pressure imposed on women by Thai Buddhism was slowly relieved, but not eradicated (Tantiwiranond & Pandey, 1991)<sup>2</sup>.

In summary, Raday's (2003) work provides an explanation of the interplay among the Three Constructs; culture, religion, and gender that; first, culture subsumes religion. Religious hegemony and practices are determined by its surrounding cultural hegemony and social context. And second, the interactions of culture and religion result in the construction of genders which takes different forms under different social context, as exemplified by Bagheri's (2012) work on Islamic construct of genders under western (American) social and cultural context.

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<sup>2</sup> No further details, however, is provided regarding culture-religion construct of genders in Thailand.

## **CHAPTER 3:**

### **METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS**

#### **3.1 Postcolonial Feminism: Islamic Feminism**

For the sake of the discussion about “feminism” in Thailand’s Islamic community, it is important to consider the cultural context that influences the actors’ notions of women’s rights and empowerment, as well as the potential of culture and religion to advocate or constrain their actions. Therefore, keeping in mind the difference in historical background and culture of women in Thailand from the western world, I propose to apply postcolonial feminism theory, in particular “Islamic feminism”, as a conceptual framework for the discussion in later chapters.

In her article *‘Postcoloniality, Feminist Spaces, and Religion’*, Musa Dube (2002) writes that the belief in western (the colonizer) superiority gives the colonized space for transformation in order to be saved, developed, and modernized – conforming to western ideas. Therefore, the white western ideologies have become a norm in the colonized world. Postcolonial feminism, however, challenges the idea of the white western middle-class women as the norm (Gunjate, 2012). Chandra Mohanty (1984) criticizes the normalization of western ideologies in the third-world in her article *‘Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses’*, stating that western feminist writings often neglect the historical and social background and the heterogeneity of the third-world women by constructing third-world women as a singular, monolithic group of “Other” – usually



ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, and victimized. As a result, such issues as racism and religious discriminations are faced by third-world women, but is often ignored by western feminist writers.

In addition, Dube (2002), Gunjate (2012), Raj Kumar Mishra (2013), and Ritu Tyagi (2014) claim that postcolonial women suffer “double colonization”, the term first coined by Kirsten Holst Peterson and Anna Rutherford (1986, cited in Tyagi, 2014). This concept indicates that those women are being controlled simultaneously by colonial power and the patriarchal power of their colonizer and their indigenous society. It is explained in G.C. Svipak’s (1988) work *‘Can Subaltern Speak?’*, arguing that subaltern’s – powerless women – struggles against the mistreatment by indigenous patriarchy (as claimed by the west) helps colonial powers justify their imperialist mission in one hand. On the other, they are also exploited and imprisoned in stereotypical image of pre-colonial traditional women (Katrak, 1992) by indigenous patriarchal power in the process of reclaiming their pre-colonial cultural values and identities, cloaked by the discourse of nationalism (Mishra, 2013; Tyagi, 2014). Postcolonial feminism is therefore a way the women in postcolonial world reclaim their rights and identity as those of their indigenous culture. However, on the contrary to western feminists, postcolonial feminists do not seek to dismantle prevailing family order, custom, tradition, but call for balance and mutual respect and harmony among women and between genders (Mishra, 2013, p. 133) in respect with their history and cultural identity (Tyagi, 2014).

In the non-white, non-western world, exists one variety of postcolonial feminism: Islamic feminism, which is the debate “centered on the compatibility of the idea of woman’s emancipation with the principles of Islam” (Mojab, 2001, p. 127). It utilizes secular feminist

concept in the context of Islam. Its feminist movements encourage questioning and reinterpreting patriarchal values within the religion's doctrines and, occasionally, legal reforms, toward the creation of a gender-equal society (Mojab, 2001) where women can enjoy empowered social status in their personal lives, socioeconomic activities and religious practices.

Whether Islamic feminism is “feminist” is still debatable. In this regard, Hammed Shahidian (1998) wrote; if feminism meant easing the pressures of patriarchy on women, ‘Islamic feminism’ can be considered feminist. However, “if feminism is a movement to abolish patriarchy, to protect human beings from being prisoners of fixed identities [...] then ‘Islamic feminism’ proves considerably inadequate.” (pp. 11-12). The definition of feminism is still very erratic. Muslim women’s identity and so-called “feminist” movements are strictly under the given principles of the religion. Some varieties of “Islamic feminism” justify patriarchy (Mojab, 2001). Therefore, in the ‘feminism to abolish patriarchy’ perspective, Islamic feminism cannot be considered feminist. However, some scholars treat Islam as “the builder of identity” (Mojab, 2001, p. 131) that aids women in the strife to relieve patriarchal pressures on women. Considering the feminine consciousness that predates western feminism, it can be argued that Islamic feminism is a variety of feminist movements established on the basis of indigenous culture and conform to the notion of postcolonial feminism of ‘challenging the normalization of white western’ and ‘exploring the women’s issues overlooked by western feminism’. Therefore, it is safe to say that, from a postcolonial perspective, Islamic feminism is feminist.

In many Muslim societies where religion is the basis of codes of conduct and ideology, Islamization of gender relations has created an environment friendly to patriarchy

(Mojab, 2001, p. 124), which was not the case in the early days of Islam. As Christiane Staninger (2003), citing Fatima Mernissi (1991) writes: Islamic doctrine fundamentally acknowledged equality between men and women, but at the time and the society where religion was (and probably still is) a powerful institution, the sacred text was reinterpreted and manipulated for the sake of a group's political and economic interests. Over time, Islam has forgotten and ignored the laws of gender equality and has regarded it as a Western imperialism intrusion (pp. 73-75) that the postcolonial world distastes.

Mojab (2001) claims that consciousness of gender (in)equality in Islamic societies predates the contact with western feminism, but there were no records of any social movements more than literary works by aristocratic women criticizing male oppressions. It is further explained that Islamic "feminism" in its early days is unrelated to and took a different form from western feminism. Women in the Islamic world were not driven by discourses of rights and citizenship like western women. They simply demanded a better treatment in the private sphere of the household. Therefore, the consciousness of gender then was rather "feminine" than "feminist" (Mojab, 2001, pp. 125-126).

It was not until late nineteenth century that western idea of gender equality reached the Islamic societies. From the beginning, the debate has always been centered on the compatibility between women's emancipation and Islamic principles (Mojab, 2001, p. 127). What distinguished Islamic feminism from western feminism is that, while western feminists mainly look for legal reforms, Islamic feminists fundamentally prioritize changes in unwritten norms and/or informal institution such as the Qu'ran interpretation or public perspective toward genders since they are the basis of what they argue as a gender-unequal society.

Islamic feminists believe in the uniqueness of the “Muslim” identity of the society and the women and believe that women are to be granted equal dignity and rights to men. However, the notion of ‘women’s rights’ in contemporary Islamic feminism is the “products of the democratization struggles in western societies” (Mojab, 2001, p. 137). In the pre-colonial Islamic world, women’s right could be referred to a fair treatment in the household. But with the new discourse on ‘rights’ brought about by the west that incorporated citizenship and civil society (ibid.), along with the anti-colonial movements that required women as a new social force (Mojab, 2001, p. 128), Muslim women came to demand space in the public realm. Some scholars believe that contemporary Islamic feminist movement is an impact of an expansion of western modernity (e.g. democratization, urbanization, literacy and increasing women’s employment) that urges, or forces, an Islamic community to conform to the global – western – norm of gender equality, and urges women to strive for equality and a reconstruction of gender relations (Mojab, 2001; Tohidi, 2003) which now includes legal reforms. Feminism in the Islamic world thus has shifted form to resemble that of its western counterpart but is somehow “presenting and “alternative” that is to look distinct and different form the West” (Tohidi, 2003, p. 139, original emphasis). By “nativizing” feminism influenced by western ideologies, Islamic feminism can avoid being alienated as a “Western import” (ibid.). I therefore argue that contemporary Islamic feminism is a product of resistance, adoption, and adaption of indigenous culture and ideologies in the postcolonial Islamic world to the influence of the west, utilized under the Islamic principle and each community’s cultural context.

Islamic feminism is not yet institutionalized (Tohidi, 2003) and therefore has little effect at the national level in many Islamic countries. As for Thailand, the “Islamic feminist”

movement only occurs in community level in the form of development initiatives that brings women from domestic space and strife for opportunities for education, employment, and participations in sociopolitical activities. I argue that Malay-Thai Muslim women benefit from such activities as they pave ways for their movement to redefine Islamic womanhood in the hope to gain more space in the public realm and the better view on the Islamic religion from the general public.

### **3.2 Framing Theory in Media**

In media research, framing, as Robert Entman (1993) writes, is an important tool for senders to raise a certain aspect of reality to the audience's attention. There are two terms regarding media framing that need to be distinguished; "framing" and "frame". "Framing" is the 'process' by which senders put a frame in a piece of information. The process of framing requires selection and salience. Senders must "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient" (Entman, 1993, p. 52) in order to promote an interpretation, moral evaluation, or treatment to a piece of reality. Placement, repetition, or associating a certain piece of information with culturally familiar symbols can elevate an aspect of reality in salience (Entman, 1993).

On the other hand, "frame", according to Karen Johnson-Cartee (2005), is the organization of ideas that emphasizes and downplays a certain aspect. Entman (1993) wrote that frames are manifested by the presence or absence of a certain keyword, phrases, images, and sources of information that provide a themed reality and/or judgment. At the same time,

audience may detect different frame from the sender's intention (Entman, 1993, pp. 53-55; Scheufele, 1999). Therefore, Scheufele (1999) separated frames into two concepts; media frames and individual frames. Media frame is "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). Media frame suggests to the audience where to pay attention to and direct their perspective on a piece of reality. Individual frame, on the other hand, is an individualized set of experience, knowledge, beliefs that guides how one processes information (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Both frames can influence how an audience interpret and process the data. Thus, media frame may influence each audience differently. In short, "framing" is the process to make an aspect of reality prominent to the audience, while the "frame" is a product of such process.

Frames can be dependent on or independent from several social, ideological, and/or individual variables. In regard to media frame as dependent variable in an analysis, one need to consider 1) what influences the way senders frame an issue, and 2) how the framing process works and what the frames that senders come up with are (Scheufele, 1999). In this particular research, senders aim to show the audience a positive aspect of a generally negatively-framed reality of southern Thailand. Therefore, media frame is established under the pre-existing condition of 'showing positives to the audience'. By studying the narratives, the framing process can be clarified and the frames, especially on the 'positive' identity of Malay Muslim women, which is the aim of the research, will be identified.

### **3.3 Analysis of the text: Critical Discourse Analysis and Rhetorical Analysis**

This thesis employs textual analysis to find out how narratives in auditory media creates Malay Muslim women's selfhood. Texts, in media studies, are not only written, but can be voices, pictures, or an object that the audience can make meaning from (McKee, 2003). Textual analysis is "a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world" (McKee, 2003, p. 1) by "drawing conclusions from a close examination of individual elements or small part of a particular text" (Clark, Lewis, & Baker, 2002, p. 77). Therefore, one can make meaning and find out intentions behind narratives in auditory media by analyzing their contents e.g. monologue (or dialogue), chronological order in narratives, tone.

Narratives are an instrument human use to construct meaning and knowledge (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003). It is how human make sense of the world around them (Feldman, Skoldberg, Brown, & Horner, 2004) and promote certain values and beliefs to "contribute to the construction of individual identity or concept of community" (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003). It is broadly defined as a sequence of events tied together by a plot to create meaningful whole with the use of (un)chronological ordering, emphasis, inclusion, or exclusion (Feldman, Skoldberg, Brown, & Horner, 2004). Progression of narratives – the logical movement from the beginning through middle to the end – is a means by which senders achieve their purpose (Phelan & Rabinowitz, 2012a). Progressions can be done in various ways to pose different impacts on the audience (Richardson, 2012). It can downplay some aspects while emphasize others, set the tone of a narrative, or set the level of audience's emotional engagement. Narrative progression encompasses not only audience's

understanding toward the interconnection of events in a narrative but also interactions of story-level dynamics and discourse-level dynamics (Phelan & Rabinowitz, 2012b) that stem from the interrelations among those elements.

An analysis of narratives answers the question of how one interprets things, why narratives are told this way generally by looking at their form, structure, and content (Bruner, 1990; Franzosi, 1998; Feldman, Skoldberg, Brown & Horner, 2004). More specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – a study of how social phenomena are reflected in the form of texts (Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 2010) especially how social power are enacted, reproduced, resisted (van Dijk, 2001), – along with Rhetorical Analysis – a study of a communication process to affect the audience in a certain way – will be employed in the analysis of the auditory media for this thesis.

### **3.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

CDA is “transdisciplinary”, cutting across linguistic, social, and political science disciplines (Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 2010) and therefore fill the gap between linguistically-oriented studies and social approaches which van Dijk (2001) points; the first one often ignores social concepts in the study of texts while the second one lacks detailed discourse analysis (p. 363).

Based on the idea that language is connected to society through being the primary domain of ideology (Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 2010), CDA aims to find an explanation of how social power controls the construction and reproduction of texts (discourse) that influence socially shared knowledge,



attitudes, and ideology (van Dijk, 1993). It also concerns how discourse practices are shaped and transformed by power relations and power struggle (Fairclough, 1992, p. 36).

Fairclough's (1992) provides a three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis namely; 1) text as the object of analysis; 2) discursive practice – the process by which the text is produced, distributed and consumed, and 3) social practice – the sociopolitical situation that controls the production and consumption process. The main focus of this thesis is the text – the discourses themselves. Discourses are reflective and constitutive in nature. On one hand, discourses *reflect* not only how people act upon the world but also social context, laws, institutions, and conventions that control it. On the other, they *constitute* the social structure which may shape and transform their own norms, conventions, relations and institutions (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64). Therefore, by studying the text (narratives) in the selected radio program, this thesis will be able to find discourses regarding Malay Muslim women as influenced by or opposed to prevailing (and perhaps more powerful) discourses.

In the analysis of discourse as text, Fairclough (1992) suggests four headings; vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure (p. 75). Vocabulary, cohesion, and text structure are particularly paid attention to in this thesis in order to identify the narrative scope, style, and progression. Wording in texts can be symbolic, signifying shared ideology, norms or institutions that may underlie the making of the text. Wording is also connected to cohesion – a larger text unit conveying a certain meaning which can be achieved by using words of the same semantic field along with conjunctions. The text unit is then structured in different styles (e.g. monologue, dialogue, newspaper article, report) (pp. 77-78) that encompasses the audience's engagement and interpretation of a narrative (Phelan & Rabinowitz, 2012b).

This thesis does not analyze the text word by word or sentence by sentence. However, it initially observes the text's corpus – a repetitive use of words from the same semantic field – that constitutes a few cohesive narrative themes. At the same time, it observes the narrative's structure – how a story progresses. By looking at the vocabulary, cohesion, and text structure, the researcher was able to identify rhetoric that reflects discourses about Malay Muslim women and related subjects, along with the rhetorical strategies. Rhetorical Analysis, which is the main framework of the text analysis for this thesis, is discussed in the next part.

### **3.3.2 Rhetorical Analysis**

One approach to conduct narrative analysis is by looking at the narrative's rhetoric. Narratives can be seen as a rhetorical act rather than an object stating facts or thoughts (Phelan & Rabinowitz, *Narrative as Rhetoric*, 2012). Rhetoric was defined by Aristotle as the art of persuasive public speaking. However, this research employs contemporary scholars' definition of rhetoric: an act of using symbols in communication not necessarily on the sole purpose to persuade, but to make others see and understand the worldview as the speaker does (Foss, Foss, & Trapp, 2002; Foss, 2004). In rhetorical analysis, one analyzes the process of communication – the choices made by the speaker – to affect the audience with its main purpose being to invite understanding. There are three modes of persuasions in Aristotelian rhetoric; 1) Ethos: making of the speaker's credibility to the subject that may lie in his or her personal character, 2) Pathos: use of emotions to appeal to the audience, and 3) Logos: use of arguments to prove something truthful (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010). In

the scope of this research, the medium in which persuasion takes place is spoken narratives and its primary tool of persuasion is language.

Sonja K. Foss (2004) wrote that humans are creators of symbols and symbols are used to convey their perspectives toward a piece of reality to others. A symbol is something that stands for or represents something else. They can be discursive or non-discursive and can be made consciously or unconsciously. Symbols may have different representations among audience and may not be interpreted according to the sender's intention. Rhetorical criticism, as defined by Foss (ibid.), is a systematic investigation of symbols in a text with a purpose of understanding the nature of rhetoric. In short, the main difference between rhetorical analysis and rhetorical criticism is the focus. Rhetorical analysis focuses on *how speakers talk* to persuade or to invite the audience to understand their worldview while rhetorical criticism focuses on *how the symbols* (such as choice of words, ordering, emphasizing) *works* to make a communication achieve its purpose. This research on identity construction of Malay Muslim women in a radio program employs both rhetorical analysis and rhetorical criticism to answer the research question on the characteristic of the narratives. First, it explores the strategies used by the program's presenter and guest speakers in storytelling to convey their view toward the subject (Malay Muslim women and their environments). Then, it explores how symbolic artifacts presented in the program may have formed a pattern and create a media frame toward a piece of reality.

### **3.4 Data analysis procedure**

The text analysis is conducted on a selected radio program. In the initial stage, the researcher took notes mainly of each episode's synopsis and points emphasized implicitly or explicitly by the speakers. The researcher was able to note a pattern of the narratives' flow and themes, repetitive use of words and phrases. Then, using the notes as a guideline, upon re-listening to the program, the researcher identified 1) frames on the narratives regarding women, religion, and the South Thailand Insurgency, and 2) rhetoric and rhetorical strategies of the narratives. Throughout the process, transcription was done on some monologues and conversations as necessary for further reference.

Upon the completion of the text analysis, the researcher found relation between the narratives' patterns and the concepts in the theoretical framework which will be discussed in the later chapter. In the discussion, the researcher will provide an English translation of one or more excerpts from the episodes for reference and clarity.

### **3.5 Choice of auditory media to be studied**

In order to answer the research objective of finding out mediated identity of Malay-Thai Muslim women, the researcher has looked for materials produced by Malay Muslim women which is scarce in number due to its limited audience. The researcher chose the first season of the radio program "*Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers*" (Hereafter, VWSF) as the material to be analyzed. The program is run by the Network of Civic Women for Peace, an NGO based in southern Thailand. It was first broadcast in 2010 in twelve local

radio stations based in Thailand's four southern border provinces and is available online in three websites (Jamjuree, 2012). The first season which is analyzed in this thesis consist of 125 episodes. Each episode is 10-15 minutes long. The program is hosted by two female announcers. There are six regular female guest speakers who the hosts call "researchers". Five guest speakers identified themselves directly or indirectly as Malay Muslims while one guest speaker identified herself as a Buddhist. There is usually one guest speaker in an episode but a few episodes may feature more than that. The program is conducted in the style of dialogues between the hosts and the guest speakers where the hosts initiate a conversation either by stating a topic or asking a question and let the guest speakers carry on the conversations. Some episodes include recordings of an interview with local people (not necessarily female). The interview is conducted either in Thai (Central Thai or southern dialect) or Malay. If the interview is in Malay, a guest speaker or a host would provide a summary in Thai.

There are six villages (*Baan*) mentioned in the program. Each guest speaker represents each community. According to episode 1: Introduction to '*Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers*', each community had its own distinctive features that would be the main point of interest in the discussions as follows;

*Table 1: List of communities and main topic(s) of discussion in the program*

	<b>Community name</b>	<b>Location (Province)</b>	<b>Point(s) of discussion</b>
<b>1</b>	Baan Tanyong-luloh	Pattani	- Historical sites in the community - Women's careers - Salt cultivation
<b>2</b>	Baan Bugae (Also referred to as Baan Ba-ngoyssinae)	Yala	- Community organizations

<b>3</b>	Baan Som (Also referred to as Baan Kuannoree)	Pattani	- Coexistence of Muslims and Buddhists in the community
<b>4</b>	Baan Jaroh (Also referred to as Takbai Community)	Narathiwat	- Various aspects of the community - Changes in the women's lives
<b>5</b>	Baan Tiaraya	Pattani	- Human–nature relation - Coexistence of Muslims and Buddhists in the community
<b>6</b>	Baan Po-ming	Pattani	- Famous <i>pondok</i> – Islamic religious school

## CHAPTER 4:

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides the results and findings of the narrative analysis. I will first answer the first research questions of what kind of rhetoric are found in the narratives regarding Malay Muslim women in the radio program ‘*Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers*’ (VWSF). I will then move on to the discussion about identities of Malay Muslims under Thai social context. Then, I will answer the second research question of implications of feminist movements regarding Malay-Thai Muslim women’s identity in particular.

Based on the main concern of each episode, the researcher has broken all 125 episodes down into six main themes<sup>3</sup> as follow;

*Table 2: List of the main themes and frequency of appearance*

Theme	Number of episodes	Percentage of all episodes
Malay history and culture	4	3.2
Local development activities	24	19.2
Effects of the South Thailand Insurgency on individuals and communities	25	20
Relationship between Muslims and Buddhists	10	8
Life and issues in local communities	30	24

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<sup>3</sup> In case of episodes having overlapping themes, I categorized the episode according to its prominent theme and/or rhetoric.

Others - Introduction (episodes 1-2) - Expert opinions - Summaries (episodes 124-125)	32	25.6
<b>Total</b>	125	

It is found that most narratives are told around the events of the South Thailand Insurgency, especially how they affected a community or an individual, and how they reacted to it. Thus, 20 percent of all 125 episodes are dedicated to first-hand experience of lives among the South Thailand Insurgency. Another 24 percent is dedicated to the local's way of life i.e. economy, family, education, occupation, and other issues that are not necessarily related to the events of South Thailand Insurgency. Approximately 19 percent is dedicated to women's participation in local development activities which some – if not all – are a part of the locals' way of dealing with the South Thailand Insurgency. Another 8 percent focuses on the coexistence of Malay Muslims and Thai Buddhists in certain communities. Each narrative follows the same pattern; how they coexisted before and after the spark of the Insurgency. The least number of episode covers the subject of Malay history and culture with one episode focusing on Kru-ze Mosque, a symbol of Islam in southern Thailand and a site where a tragic Insurgency incident took place. The Kru-ze Incident was told several times by the guest speakers who suffered the consequences of the incident. The rest of the episodes, approximately 26 percent, are dedicated to the introduction and the summary of the program, and expert opinions on the southern Thailand communities.

The rest of the chapter focuses on the analysis of the rhetoric found in the narratives with a focus on the gender aspect incorporated in each rhetoric. I will then analyze and



discuss the methods and rhetorical strategies employed in the narratives. Finally, I will discuss the negotiation of identities, particularly of the Malay-Thai Muslim women, in the context of Malay-Thai cultural dynamic.

#### **4.1 Rhetoric discovered in the program**

##### **4.1.1 Reframing the South Thailand Insurgency: showing the positives**

The narratives about the South Thailand Insurgency are told differently from those of the mainstream media. The program introduces to the audience a new actor in the South Thailand Insurgency; the ‘innocent’ locals. They are neither insurgents, state officers, nor the casualties, but also suffer the aftermath of an incident. By letting locals talk about their experience and speak their own opinions and feelings, the program allows the audience to revisit incidents they may have heard about in the news in a more intimate, localized, and subjective angle. The narratives flow in the same fashion; they start with the situation before the Insurgency, followed by the damages caused by the insurgency, physically, economically, and emotionally, and end with how a community or an individual reacts to it. The followings are examples of narratives about the South Thailand Insurgency told by locals.

##### **Excerpt 1**

**Guest speaker:** This village, Baan Ba-ngoyssinae, was a strong community and had a career group that offers a lot of part-time jobs [for villagers] too. But our Job Center was burnt down on June 26, 2007, as well as our workshop and the village’s Learning Center. [...] As a result, members [of the

community's career group] were afraid to gather out of fear of the same incident happening again. They lost the spirits to work. They didn't dare to go outside. They were stressed out and afraid to join the activity in case [the insurgents] might come and set off an explosion or shoot the people. We didn't know why they burnt our workshop in the first place. [...] But we Baan Ba-ngoyssinae were lucky that we had a network with other career groups in Ba-ngoyssinae Sub-district. We helped each other and became each other's support. [...] We have monetary funds to support our members; funerals and other activities. [Our workshop] was burnt down. We feel bad, but we still have hopes.

**Host:** Dear listeners, what we can learn from [the guest speaker's] story is that cooperation among a group members is very important. And meeting, discussing with members is a way to give each other's strength to carry on. The crisis has turned into an opportunity.

(Episode 22: Woman Organization in Overcoming Crises)

### Excerpt 2

**Host:** Has any Baan Bugae Villagers been shot when they went out to the rubber plantation in the morning?

**Guest speaker:** No.

**Host:** That's good to hear. So this [rubber tapping] job is still safe. And what are the incidents that have happen in this past six years, since 2004?

**Guest speaker:** In Ba-ngoyseanae Sub-district alone, there have been two shootings of volunteer defense corps, three bridge explosions, and arsons in a community workshop and the local government office. And also, one non-local and a school bus was shot.

**Host:** That's quite a lot. [...] What are the adjustments that your community has made in order to live through this hardship since [the villagers] still need to work and make a living for themselves and the families?

**Guest speaker:** First of all, we must work together in a group. And that group works to connect the government with the community. In order to succeed, we need brainstorming and cooperation from the government and the people. Failing to do so will only create mistrust. [...]

**Host:** Dear listeners, what we've discussed today was for you to understand how [the South Thailand Insurgency] has affected the locals' careers and economics, as well as security in life and family. We need cooperation, as Mrs. Nidoh said, and brainstorming from the locals and the state in order to reach the peaceful resolution.

(Episode 27: The Unrest in the Community)

### Excerpt 3

**Guest speaker 1:** I feel that there is also a *positive change* [following the South Thailand Insurgency]. More people know about my village; Thais and foreigners. They visit us, do researches. I feel that it is a lot different from before. My village used to be unknown to everybody, even to the government

agencies. But now we are able to connect with them. And my village, from the state's point of view, was full of drugs and bandits, but now that they know us, they know what Baan Kuannoree is really like.

**Guest speaker 2:** For my village [Baan Jaroh], the children used to never leave the village. But after the Takbai Incident<sup>4</sup>, local government agencies started to [offer part-time jobs outside the village] to teenagers. Before, children only stayed in the village. I thought that was good because if they left, there was fears of drugs. And I think our village is drug-free. But it might have seemed to the state officers that the children could be a part of the insurgents, thus they never left the village. So we talked to them. We came to understand [each other]. Now the relationship [between the village and the state officers] is much better.

(Episode 34: Life of the Affected in Baan Kuannoree and Takbai Community)

In addition, many Muslim speakers in the program mentioned religion as what had helped them overcome emotional crises and carry on with life and work for their family and the community. Those narratives show the audience how they deal with the struggles in the Islamic way and who their faith in the religion.

#### Excerpt 4

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<sup>4</sup> Six village defense corps were accused for smuggling the Thai army's guns and were put on a detention. On October 25, 2004, approximately 1,500 people gathered in front of Takbai Police Station to protest the detention. The demonstration ended with 1,300 protesters arrested and 85 killed. (Deep South Watch, 2014)

**Host:** *[Regarding the guest speaker's work as a human's right activist]* In 2007, your husband was shot [and killed]. Did you think that was a sign for you to stop your mission to help others – help protecting people's rights?

**Guest speaker:** Many people said so. They said it might have been the time for me to stop, *but I had made my promise with Allah that I wouldn't stop*. I'm not going to stop until there is justice among everyone, not just me. I want to continue giving to everyone. I want to bring righteousness and justice among us.

(Episode 56: Changes in the Roles of a Victim: the Case of Yana Salamae. Part 3)

#### Excerpt 5

**Interviewee 1:** *Religion is my spiritual refuge*. Endurance and belief in Allah who is inside me... They help me fight.

**Interviewee 2:** Me too. *I take religion as my refuge*. With religion, no matter what kind of hardship there is, I can endure it.

[...]

**Host:** One more question; what do you think is needed to build security in life?

**Interviewee 1:** Religion, family, and a job.

**Interviewee 2:** Religion, a job, family – your children and friends.

(Episode 94: Baan Po-ming's Women who Lost Their Loved Ones)

### Excerpt 6

**Guest speaker:** *[Talking about her husband's death in an incident]* I was sad. Our children and the rest of the family were very sad. ***But we had to accept what God had decided for our family.*** We had to accept it, but [it took so long] before I could do that. I was discouraged. I was scared. But in the end, ***I finally accepted God's decision. When I had peace of mind, wisdom followed.***

(Episode 95: Healing the Minds with Religion)

While news reports focus on *what happened in the incidents* and *who did it*, the narratives in VWSF put an emphasis on *what happened after that*, especially stories about recoveries after the incidents. According to Duangkamol Tawapitak (2012), local media's portrayal of the South Thailand Insurgency fundamentally relies on the locals' – Muslims – experiences than the state's information, thus leads to the framing that not only emphasizes the struggles of the victims in the aftermath of an incident but also calls for cooperation to find a peaceful solution. VWSF follows the local media's frame in the hope to “bring forth mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among [cultural] diversity”, as stated at the beginning of every episode. While local Malay Muslims are made an antagonistic Others to the Thai state (Kirdnark, 2012), in VWSF, they are shown playing an active role in dealing with issues following the South Thailand Insurgency *together* with the state (see excerpt 2 and 3). In addition, Malay Muslims are shown to be “patching up” a seemingly strained relationship with the state. In particular to the women, VWSF dedicates 8 episodes exclusively to stories about women whose family members – father, husband, brother, or

son – were arrested under the case against national security. The audience are never told about what had happened that had caused these men to be arrested nor whether they were actually guilty. Instead, their attention is steered toward the women who were left to deal with emotional and economic struggles. The following excerpt provides an example of narratives about those women's lives.

Excerpt 7

**Guest speaker 1:** [...] There is a woman in my village whose husband is being detained in Bangkok following the incident on April 28, 2004<sup>5</sup>. The Civil Court and the Court of Appeals have given him death penalty, but [we are] waiting for the Supreme Court's verdict.

**Guest speaker 2:** What about his wife and children? It must be hard for them.

**Guest speaker 1:** Yes, it is. When her husband is not around, she has to shoulder all the burdens. And she has five children. They still go to school. Let's hear the story from herself.

*[Interview recording begins]*

**Host:** Please tell us about the aftermaths of that incident.

**Interviewee:** There is quite a lot. All of my five children are still in school.

I, as a single mother, have to work even harder.

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<sup>5</sup> The Kru-ze Incident: a group of insurgents attacked police booths around major towns in three provinces before retreating to Kru-ze Mosque, an important historical location in Pattani Province. An armed fight ensued at the Mosque and several other locations, resulting in 108 deaths (107 civilians, 1 officer) (Isra News, 2015).

**Host:** What do you do for a living?

**Interviewee:** I work in a rice field and a rubber plantation. I also grow and sell vegetables.

**Host:** So you go to the rubber plantation in the morning, then go to the rice field. And you also grow vegetables at home?

**Interviewee:** Yes, yes.

**Host:** Are you gaining enough [for the family]?

**Interviewee:** Not really. We can live day by day. Sometimes it's not enough [...]

**Host:** In what way would you like the government or private sectors to support you the most?

**Interviewee:** First of all, I need help with fixing my house. And I need support for my children's tuition fees.

**Host:** I see. You are concerned about your living condition and the children's education. And what do you think about your current situation? How do you see the government as you are one of those who suffer from the aftermaths?

**Interviewee:** I want my husband to regain his freedom like other people. I want my family back. I'm waiting for the Supreme Court's verdict. I hope they'll be kind to my family. My husband is only a villager who was blind to the situation, causing him to make mistakes. He wishes he hadn't done that. We hope they will give us justice and spare him. Let him come back and do



some good for the society. If the Supreme Court gives him a death sentence anyway, I hope he will still get pardoned. I hope the king will be kind to our family.

(Episode 39: Sitinor and the Aftermaths on the Rest of Her Life)

The program goes further in the reframing by making prominent the positive by-products of the South Thailand Insurgency (while not denying that violence did take place). In addition to the villages becoming acknowledged by the public which leads to opportunities for positive changes (see excerpt 3 for an example), the narratives show how locals – especially women – turned a crisis into an opportunity for successful developments in both individual and community levels. One guest speaker, the representative of Baan Jaroh, is the program's most pronounced example. Episodes 54–56 are conversations between her and the host about her life before and after the Takbai Incident, one of the largest conflict between the state and locals. She was educated until the 4<sup>th</sup> grade (Episode 56). She used to be an “ordinary” woman; a mother of eight who helped her husband make money by making headscarves and working in a rice field (Episode 54). The followings are conversation about how her life had changed as a result of the Takbai Incident;

#### Excerpt 8

*[Interview recording begins]*

**Host 2:** Could you tell us about a significant turning point of your life – the event that tremendously changed your status *from a mother of eight who helped your husband make money by embroidering hijabs (headscarves),*

*to a human right activist who helps other victims* [of the South Thailand Insurgency]?

**Guest speaker:** The turning point in my life is the Takbai Incident. My son was accused [for committing crimes against national security] along with 58 other people. I felt that I couldn't let him go alone. I wanted to be with him.

**Host 2:** Let him go where?

**Guest speaker:** To the court. On the day of the incident, he was sent to Ingkayut Military Camp, Pattani Province. I followed him since day one. The next few days, I met people who were willing to help us. [They were] from the Lawyer Council. They came all the way here from Bangkok. They contacted me even though they didn't know me. Long story short; my son was in the Military Camp and told me a senator was there and that I should meet him. [...] After that, I got to know other organizations; NGOs and others such as *[mentioned several names]* and the National Human Rights Commission [...]. I started to feel stronger.

[...]

**Host 2:** What about your village? The village used to be filled with the sound of sewing machines from female hijab embroiderer. How was it after the incident?

**Guest speaker:** It was quiet. Nobody had a heart to work. The aftermath was grave.

**Host 2:** *[Acknowledging]* Everyone was depressed. Everyone was miserable. But as you said, lives had to go on. They must live. And you encouraged them?

**Guest speaker:** Yes. [I encouraged them] to stand back up. My whole village was affected.

**Host 2:** I see. *[Addressing audience]* So, that was the story about when the Takbai Incident recently took place. It posed a lot of effects on families and economics. *And as a mother, Yana's mission to help her son has led her to help others.* We'll talk about that in the next episode.

*[Recording ends]*

**Host 1:** [...] You can see a woman, a once-victim, *with strong motherly consciousness who stood up for her son.* By doing this, she later became a coordinator for the Takbai cases, helping her relatives and neighbors' family. In the next episode, we will talk about what Yana, a female villager who was affected [by the South Thailand Insurgency], had done to take part in conflict resolution in the area. Please stay tuned.

(Episode 55: Changes in the Roles of a Victim: the Case of Yana Salamae. Part 2)

#### Excerpt 9

**Host 2:** Can you explain in details what you are doing to help the victims – [female] widowers, orphans and others?

**Guest speaker:** I support widowers and orphans. Of course, I can't help them financially, but I can be their voices. I connect them with [local] authorities and other organizations.

[...]

**Host 1:** [...] '*Voice from the Women of the Southern Frontiers*' would like to commend this *strong woman of Takbai*, who always says she is not afraid nor discouraged by obstacles and challenges. Nowadays, Yana still works hard, together with various organizations – governmental and private – on human's right issues. She is also a medium between the locals and external organizations, working to reach a resolution and create understanding amidst the continuous conflicts and violence in the area.

(Episode 56: Changes in the Roles of a Victim: the Case of Yana Salamae. Part 3)

This guest speaker's story, like other women's, begins with a grim narrative of how she was emotionally hurt and followed by how the struggles had made – forced, in some cases – her do what she had never done before. Not all women became an activist like the guest speaker. Some participated in development initiatives for various purpose such as economic support, peace-building and conflict resolution. Some became a working mother. All stories end with the women seemingly succeeded in their new roles. The audience are given a hopeful perspective toward the South Thailand Insurgency; that locals are not hopeless and are working hard to find peace.

In summary, VWSF's frame on the South Thailand Insurgency is different from that of the mainstream media. VWSF brings the locals who are usually overlooked by the

mainstream media to the audience's attention and presents a new frame which emphasizes 1) how the locals deal with the aftermaths with cooperation among themselves and with the state, and 2) positive by-products of the South Thailand Insurgency. The new frame attempts to delete an antagonistic image of Malay Muslims and convey a message to the audience; that there are good things among the struggles. The narratives demonstrate how women's lives and roles in the society have changed as a result of the unrest, showing how an "ordinary" women become an active actor and more visible in the socioeconomic sphere.

#### **4.1.2 Peaceful coexistence between Islam and Buddhism**

As explained by scholars (see Harish, 2006), the conflict in southern Thailand has shifted its form from a conflict between ethnicities to religions. While news reports put Muslim communities in southern Thailand at fault for the rise of insurgents, resulting in a widening cleavage between Buddhism and Islam (Harish, 2006; Angsuwiriya, 2014), VWSF tells stories about how communities of ethnic and religious pluralism – Malay and Thai, Islam and Buddhism – existed in peace, how they overcame fears and mistrust among themselves and cooperated in the effort to overcome hardships following the South Thailand Insurgency.

Two villages in the program – Baan Som (Kuannoree) and Baan Tiaraya – are examples of communities where Islam and Buddhism coexist. However, in episodes 41 - 45 in which Buddhist-Muslim coexistence is discussed for the first time, Baan Jaroh is also included. While ten episodes are dedicated exclusively to Islam-Buddhism coexistence, the topic is also woven into other narratives regarding the two villages.

According to the narratives, Buddhists are the minority of the populations of both villages but have maintained a friendly relationship with Muslims for generations. Muslims and Buddhists speak different mother tongues – Malay for Muslims and Thai for Buddhists – they share the Thai southern dialect and often use as a medium in communication (Episode 41). It is implied by the guest speaker that while the Buddhists hold higher economic status than Muslims in the same community, Muslims – the majority of the population – plays active roles in the community administration (Episode 44). Like other rural Thai villages, each village has at least one religious place which are a Buddhist temple and an Islamic mosque. The Buddhist abbot and the *Imam* (Islamic priest) usually work in cooperation in various village events (Episode 41).

Episode 41 and 71 review the Buddhist-Muslim relations prior to the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency (presumable before January 2004) in Baan Kuannoree and Baan Tiaraya. Episode 41 features an interview with a senior Baan Kuannoree villager as follow;

#### Excerpt 10

**Interviewee:** [The Muslims joined the Buddhists in many social events]; parties<sup>6</sup>, wedding, ordination. We just told them about it and they would give us food and money to make merit<sup>7</sup>. When the temple held a *Baisee*<sup>8</sup> ceremony,

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<sup>6</sup> The interviewee spoke southern dialect. The word “*Kin niow*” spoken by the interviewee can be translated to a gathering/party and is also a slang for a wedding.

<sup>7</sup> When making merit (*Tam boon*), it is common for Thai Buddhists to offer food and money to the monks.

<sup>8</sup> A ritual in Southern Thailand influenced by Northern and Central Thai customs. Usually conducted by Malays and Thais at a transition of one’s life or as a token of respect to holy spirits (Paethong & Sakunatawong, n.d.).

the Muslims joined us at the temple. [Buddhists] also held *Tod katin*<sup>9</sup> ceremony [to make donations] for the mosque. [...] We had a lot of fun. No troubles. We helped each other. [...] Also in the rice fields, Thais and *khaek*<sup>10</sup> helped planting and harvesting the rice.

[...]

**Guest speaker:** [*Summarizing the interview*] Dear listeners, in the past, the people in my village used to really live like that. They helped each other regardless of the religions. Whenever there was an event, they worked together. Sometimes it was a religious event such as an ordination, a wedding, making merits (*Tam boon*), or *Baisee*, the Buddhists brothers and sisters<sup>11</sup> would gather money that Grandmother Chalaem called “*Tod katin*” in the ***Buddhist language*** to help raise funds to build a mosque.

(Episode 41: Buddhist–Muslim Relations before the Unrest)

Episode 71 features an interview with a senior Buddhist from Baan Tiaraya.

#### Excerpt 11

**Host:** [...] And your family is actually of Malay descendant, right?

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<sup>9</sup> A Theravada Buddhist ritual. Participants make offerings to Buddhist monks with monk robes and money. The money is usually spent on temple maintenance (Department of Cultural Promotion, n.d.).

<sup>10</sup> A generic term for Muslims (usually of Malays, South Asian and Middle-eastern racial groups).

<sup>11</sup> “*Pii nong*” in Thai; a common term to refer to people of the same affiliation.

**Interviewee:** My great-grandmother told me so. She said her great-grandmother was a Malay Muslim and her great-grandfather was Chinese [...]. We later converted to Buddhism.

**Host:** For Islamic important rituals, you asked a Muslim to conduct it for you so it reached your [Muslim] ancestors? Could you tell me about it?

**Interviewee:** Yes. I prepare [food] and give it to my [Muslim] neighbor to bring it to the mosque [...]. I told my children and grandchildren to continue doing this after I die.

**Host:** And you speak Malay too?

**Interviewee:** Yes, I do. I grew up with Muslims. My childhood friends were Muslims. I used to play with them a lot. But they're all now dead.

(Episode 71: Buddhist–Muslim Relations in Baan Tiaraya. Part 1)

The episodes reveal different kinds of Buddhist-Muslim (Thai-Malay) relations; economic, cultural, and familial. The terms “*Khon Thai*” (Thais) and “*Khaek*” (Muslims), “*Khon Put*” (Buddhists) and “Muslims”, “*Pasa put*” (the Buddhist language; Thai) and “*Pasa Islam*” (the Muslim language; Malay), are mentioned in the interviews. Religion, language, and customs such as Buddhist *Tod katin* and Muslims refraining from consuming pork, are the symbol of ethnic culture (Cerulo, 1997) that villagers supposedly use to distinguish themselves from each other and create a “we-ness” (“we” as Buddhists and “we” as Malay Muslims) within the community. However, what kept their coherence as a community strong despite the dichotomous “we” was their participation in inter-religious rituals and secular social activities (Episode 63). Horstmann (2011) observes similar



phenomenon in Buddhist-Muslim communities in other southern provinces of Thailand and finds that religion as well as “ethnic categories are not a priori determinant of identity and social coherence” (p. 493). A shared belief in superstitions and ancestors, religious conversion, intermarriage, along with language and economic codependency constituted a community where “people reproduce their relations and reproduce themselves as a community, transcending differences” (p. 494). However, the transnational influx of Islamic fundamentalist movements in southern Thailand has weakened a tie between Buddhists and Muslims by preventing the Muslims from joining non-Islamic religious events (pp. 504-509). Muslims in Baan Kuannoree seem to be influenced by the Islamic fundamentalism and therefore claimed themselves as more “knowledgeable” about the religion and had to stop joining Buddhist rituals.

#### Excerpt 12

**Guest speaker:** But dear listeners, nowadays, Muslims are more knowledgeable about the religion. If something is against the religious principle, we will avoid it, especially any religion-related events or rituals. But Muslims can still join other activities without problems.

(Episode 41: Buddhist–Muslim Relations before the Unrest)

The narratives then describe changes in Buddhist-Muslims relations after the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency in 2004. The Takbai Incident was told by the guest speakers to be the turning point of Buddhist - Muslims relationship.

#### Excerpt 13

**Guest speaker 1:** [The Buddhists] didn't dare to get in touch with us. They couldn't be sure if we are one of the insurgents. They feared that it would be unsafe to visit us. We feared we'd cause them troubles if we had gone to visit them too. It deteriorated our relationship. It caused misunderstanding and doubts. [...] There were murders in rubber plantations. True story; a Muslim went to a Buddhist's rubber plantation and got killed [...]

(Episode 42: Buddhist-Muslim Relations after the Unrest)

Episode 43 and 45 talk about how Buddhists and Muslims overcame fear and mistrust among themselves. The two guest speakers who were also their villages' volunteer workers in various development initiatives then talked about their roles in maintaining and improving Buddhist-Muslim relationship. At personal level, they conversed with their Buddhist friends and invited them to Islamic festivals. At the community level, they established a support group for villagers who suffered the aftermath of the South Thailand Insurgency regardless of religions.

#### Excerpt 14

**Guest speaker 1:** In my village, whenever there is an event; weddings, *Hari Raya*<sup>12</sup>, funerals or meetings, Buddhists will join us. And [they are encouraged to] speak their ideas on how to solve any community's problems. They never dared to come [to the meeting] in the past.

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<sup>12</sup> A Muslim annual festival (Also know as "*Eid*"). Muslims usually go back to their hometown and gather with the family to celebrate by making donations to the poor (*Zakat al-Fitr*), praying, and having meals together. One of the points of the festival is to let participants apologize and forgive each other for the mistakes they have done throughout the year (Ramkhamhaeng University, 2016).

**Guest speaker 2:** It's the same to me. I encourage them to join any community events like Children's Day, for example.

**Guest speaker 1:** It does help reducing mistrust among us.

[...]

**Guest speaker 1:** Why do you think the relationship between [Buddhists and Muslims] is this good? Is it because we open up and communicate with each other or is it something else?

**Guest speaker 2:** I think because we communicate. We feel like siblings. We share whatever we can share.

**Host:** [...] Dear listeners, you can see the people in these villages coexist in peace. The stressful situation cannot destroy their relationship. Communication helps get rid of mistrust among themselves. Dear listeners, we all live in the southern border provinces where a variety of culture exists. We need to cooperate; bridge the gap between us. Make our relationship as close as in the past, like [the guest speakers'] villages, where Thai Buddhists and Muslims live together in peace and understanding, helping each other amidst the ongoing unrest [...].

(Episode 43: Today's Better Relationship among Buddhists and Muslims)

In addition, several Buddhists also appear in the program to tell their stories about the "friendship" between them and the Muslims in their villages and their feeling toward Muslims after the South Thailand Insurgency. In episodes 71-74, the Buddhist guest speaker

from Baan Tiaraya talked about her childhood when Buddhists and Muslims were good friends, then went on to talk about the aftermaths of the South Thailand Insurgency on her community as follow;

Excerpt 15

**Guest speaker:** [After the incident], the relationship between Buddhists and Muslims did change to an extent. There was fear of people of different religion. But [we didn't fear] people in the same village. It was rather the outsiders. Because the relationship among the villagers is strong. They are our friends, our aunts and uncles. We've known them for a lifetime.

(Episode 72: Buddhist–Muslim Relations in Baan Tiaraya. Part 2)

Excerpt 16

**Host:** In your opinion, how can we strengthen Buddhist-Muslim relationship?

**Guest speaker:** We need to teach the children – the new generations – to look back at the relationship in the past and think about how they can make themselves live happily.

**Host:** I see. For older generation, like Grandmother Kleaun's generation, there is no problem because they have been very close from the beginning. [...] But for later generations that the relationship has become somewhat more distant, plus, there is [the unrest in the community], more conflicts may rise.

**Guest speaker:** Yes. The recent conflicts are among younger people because we are not as close as before – as my grandmother’s generation. [Older people] were very close.

(Episode 74: Buddhist–Muslim Relations in Baan Tiaraya. Part 4)

The narratives, whether from the Muslims or the Buddhists, speak the same message; Buddhists and Muslims had been and still were good friends. However, they admitted that the unrest in the community posed negative affected on their relationships. A lot of Buddhists moved out of the village to safer places, making it difficult to maintain close relationship. The Buddhist guest speaker spoke her concern about later generations who grew up in different environment (supposedly Buddhist-only environment) that they might lack understanding toward Muslims and the conflict between Buddhists and Muslims might deepen.

To summarize, VWSF presents a rhetoric that “Muslims and Buddhists can coexist in peace”, refuting the public belief of the South Thailand Insurgency as a conflict between Buddhism and Islam. The narratives emphasize long-lived friendship between Muslims and Buddhists as an essence of peaceful coexistence. The South Thailand Insurgency might have put strains on their relationship, but the audience are told that Buddhists and Muslims are working together as a community, transcending ethnic and religious difference, to achieve a mutual goal; to restore peace in their community.

#### **4.1.3 Education as a crucial factor for development**

“Education” in VWSF comes in two forms; secular and religious. Secular education does not include only formal schooling, but also informal trainings in various fields. Speakers expressed their firm belief in education as a tool aiding them in poverty relief, self-development, and gaining recognition from the society. Only few episodes focus exclusively on education issues but the topic is woven into several narratives.

Most women in VWSF said that they did not receive much formal education which is a common issue in rural Thailand. Two guest speakers said that they went to school only until the 4<sup>th</sup> grade (*Prathom 4*) and the 6<sup>th</sup> grade (*Prathom 6*) (Episodes 40 and 52). Others said that lack of formal education had forced them to land in low-paying jobs which sometimes did not satisfy their economic needs (Episode 9).

Education is seen as an aid in poverty relief because it gave people better and secured employment. Formal education, including Thai language proficiency, is seen by Malay Muslims as a chance of one’s economic and politic advancement (Forbes, 1982; Horstmann, 2011). It is also linked to other aspects of securities in life and the community. It paves way to self-development that eventually gives Malay Muslim, especially women, self-esteem and recognition from the society. Regarding her participation in local development initiatives, a guest speaker said;

#### **Excerpt 17**

**Guest speaker:** When we step out [to work], we need knowledge for self-improvement. [...] We have study trips. We pursue higher education – adult education, for example.

**Host:** Before entering adult education, what was your highest education?

**Guest speaker:** *Prathom 7*<sup>13</sup>. With the degree at that time, I could have been a teacher, but I got married [...]. After I divorced [my first husband], I continued in adult education until I finished *Matthayom 6* (12<sup>th</sup> grade).

**Host:** Why did you choose to continue studying?

**Guest speaker:** I wanted to improve my language skill – reading and writing. I don't want [my Thai] to be strange.

**Host:** You weren't confident?

**Guest speaker:** No, I wasn't. I wasn't able to speak Thai well. When I gave a lecture, I got scared. [...]. But now I'm confident; I'm educated and I speak two languages. I think I'm lucky. It's encouraging too. I speak two languages while many others only speak one. This is my strength. It makes me feel confident.

**Host:** Do you attend a lot of trainings?

**Guest speaker:** I do [...]. I go to leadership trainings, cooking classes, management trainings, and a lot more.

(Episode 29: Women's Self-development)

According to this guest speaker who was also the leader of women's development initiatives, education had helped her gain self-confident. With the right skills, she could show

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<sup>13</sup> Equivalent to the 7<sup>th</sup> grade or *Matthayom 1* in current Thai school system

the community (men) her potential and eventually gain recognition and support from the community (Episode 30).

On a larger scale, when asked about community securities, all speakers mentioned the importance of education, especially for children, because “if children are well-educated and have a better future, the community can gain knowledge from them and that contributes to security in life” (Episode 31). Therefore, there are several narratives showing mothers who worked hard to send their children to school in the hope for them to help improve the family’s living condition and the community.

#### Excerpt 18

**Host:** Dear listeners, in order to create a stronger local communities, we need to educate the people. With education, quality of life will improve and poverty will decrease. Education is a means to a sustainable development of a community. [...] In the past Baan Kuannoree’s villagers were not well-educated, but now the victims [of the South Thailand Insurgency] are enthusiastic to offer their children the highest education. [...] They understand the importance of education. They need good education for their children. They all said that their children’s generation must not be like their generation.

(Episode 46: Mareeya and the Importance of Education)

In addition, education is suggested to be a means to solve and prevent future conflicts between the locals and the state. In episode 40, the guest speakers showed appreciation toward the government for providing scholarships and adult education outside of the formal



school system to the South Thailand Insurgency victims to which the host concluded at the end of the episode as follow;

Excerpt 19

**Host:** [...] You can see that scholarships are very important. If the government offers support, future conflicts can be prevented. Because if these children – who may be just the culprits’ kids to the state – are able to receive education and nurturing from the government, they can make use of their knowledge to improve themselves, their families, and their communities. There won’t be any resentment toward those who look negatively toward their communities. When the children are well-educated and granted a brighter future, positive thoughts will follow [...]

(Episode 40: Importance of Education on the Rest of the Life)

Religious education, on the other hand, is a means for Malay Muslim to preserve their culture. A *pondok* (Islamic religious school) in Baan Po-ming is discussed in episodes 82-85. It is revealed that the school was well-known among Muslims in southern Thailand. It offered secular along with religious education. Both boys and girls were given equal opportunities to attend the classes. The school played a major role in spreading and teaching the “right” Islamic doctrines in small villages and offered opportunities for graduates to continue higher religious education overseas.

Excerpt 20

**Host:** What are you going to do after graduation?

**Interviewee (female student):** I want to continue my study in Egypt. I want to keep studying if I can because I think there is no end to education. Even I finish my school here, I have to continue to gain more knowledge.

**Host:** In what field do you want to study?

**Interviewee:** Religion.

**Host:** How will you use your knowledge back at home?

**Interviewee:** I want to spread the right Islamic principles. Nowadays, a lot of people believe in the wrong principle. Islam does not support violence. In fact, Islam preserves peace among the people.

**Host:** Do you want to be a religious teacher?

**Interviewee:** Yes, if I can. They play a big part in human resource development. If I can be a good teacher, I will be able to produce quality students so that they can carry on the religion to others and help them see the truth about Islam.

(Episode 84: *Pondok* Students. Part 1)

While, to some extent, the Thai government are attempting to ‘Thai-cize’ young Muslims by making formal education mandatory, teaching them Thai language, Thai culture, and Buddhism, *pondoks* are the place where children can learn about their cultural heritage. The government have become more tolerant toward Malay teachings in schools since they offer subsidies to *pondoks* only if they include secular subjects in their curriculum (Forbes, 1982, p. 1065). According to interviews with *pondok* students, although none explained why

they had decided to attend *pondok*, they expressed their faith in Islam and said that they wanted to use their knowledge in Islam in teaching people and improve their communities (Episodes 84-85). Searching for religious knowledge is a fundamental duty of all Muslims (Baka, 1997), and those who are properly educated can teach others (Maddem, 2011). Religious education here is therefore a tool that gives well-educated Muslims the privilege to teach and carry on the Malay Muslim culture to younger generations.

In summary, VWSF shows advantages of education, both secular – formal and informal – and religious. Religious education was a means to preserve Malay Muslim culture and an aid in class mobility within the religious community. Secular education, on the other hand, was viewed as an aid in poverty elevation and class mobility in the society. It helped one gain acceptance from the community and the (Thai) society and was also a tool in women’s empowerment which will be further discussed in section 4.4.

#### **4.1.4 Feminine qualities as a strength of women at work**

VWSF stated in episode 1 that it aimed to be “an inspiration for the audience to take part in peace-building” and show how women have overcome emotional struggles and were now working for the community. The program offers a look into changes in women’s roles from an “ordinary” villager to a community worker and their contribution to the household and community’s economic, and how they succeed by doing it “the women’s way”.

Throughout the series, audience are introduced to women of various occupations; for example, farmer, baker, crafter, forest product collector, and factory worker. Some women worked in Malaysia as a chef or a waitress in Thai restaurants (Episode 9) or in a Malaysian

farmer's rice field (Episode 77). Some were volunteer workers. Some worked at home while some worked outside. Narratives about women's careers show that women are very active in the economic sphere. The women's "nature" of being enduring (Episode 10 and 113) and precise (Episode 77) are mentioned as what had enabled women to work hard and do well in their jobs.

#### Excerpt 21

**Guest speaker:** Dear listeners, we can see that women in Baan Tanyong-luloh are hard-working. They help each other. They help their husbands in fishery and make use of their free time [doing other jobs].

(Episode 8: Many Careers of Baan Tanyong-luloh Women)

#### Excerpt 22

**Host:** [...] One thing that is very pronounced is the capabilities of women. They work very hard. They work several jobs at the same time; they work in salt fields and make tamarind candies. Even though the pay is low, but they get paid every day. [Women are capable]. They are hard-working and very tolerant. They are aware that they have to support their children. Some work instead of their husbands who lost their jobs. Women's consciousness in being a family caretaker is very high. This is their potentials [...]

(Episode 113: Baan Tanyong-luloh Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 2)

Excerpt 22 mentioned the women's motherly consciousness as what made women endure hard works, which is appreciated by the hosts. The motherly consciousness was also

what had helped women deal with emotional struggles in the aftermaths of the South Thailand Insurgency. Baan Jaroh's guest speaker (See excerpt 8) is an example of a woman who, out of the need to save her son, stepped up to work with various organizations that resulted her in being named a human's right activist.

Research found that as of 2014, 2,800 women were left widowed as a result of the South Thailand Insurgency. Loss of fathers and husbands has forced women to lead a family and, for some, become a negotiator between locals and the state in place of men (Pluemjai & Sungkharat, 2015). The emergence of women in public space brought doubts among the public. The program, through the dialogues between the host and the guest speaker, addresses the question of whether women are eligible to take such "unwomanly" roles. The question is answered by the guest speakers pointing out how being women is of their advantage.

#### Excerpt 23

**Host:** Do you think being a woman is an advantage or a disadvantage when it comes to working [outside] and gaining [the public's] approval?

**Guest speaker:** It used to be a weakness in the past. Now I think it's our strength because we are tolerant and responsible. We take care of our families and financial matters. Women are precise.

**Host:** *[Acknowledging]* Women are precise.

**Guest speaker:** We are very precise, so men allowed us to handle the money. Usually, men [take care of the money], right? But now it's no longer men. They trust us because we are thrifty and discreet.

**Host:** And honest.

**Guest speaker:** Yes, transparency. They can check what we are doing with the money.

**Host:** You also said being a woman used to be a disadvantage. How?

**Guest speaker:** We didn't have a chance to come out in public – to study and train in various things. It was the belief that women should stay home. If we come out, no one would think we're worthy of anything. [...]

**Host:** What did you do to get the village's – especially men's – approval?

**Guest speaker:** First of all, we do it for real. We don't just talk. [...] We help everyone; kids, elders...everyone in the village. Men can't do this even though they have power. Sub-district chief, community chief, local administrators...they have power but they don't understand women's issues [...]

**Host:** [...] Have you ever had any problems so difficult that they made you cry? How did you deal with it?

**Guest speaker:** Yes, I have. For example, the criticism from others – from men. They said, "These are not housewives. These are *mad* housewives." We, as women, when we heard it, were very sad [...]

**Host:** Why did they say you were mad housewives?

**Guest speaker:** We went to trainings. We couldn't be with our families. We attended trainings day or two at a time and the village didn't know what we went for. [...] We think of those who blame us as our teachers.

**Host:** And now they understand?

**Guest speaker:** Yes, they do now.

(Episode 30: Strengths of Women in Development Missions)

In addition, the guest speaker pointed out that projects initiated and led by women had inspired more women to participate because she believed that women understand women's problems best and can work together to achieve a solution (Episode 18). This agrees with Tantiwiranond and Pandey's (1991) findings that when stick together as a group, women are able to gain strength of sisterhood and can appeal to more women alike.

To summarize, VWSF portrays stories about women who take up various roles from mothers, labor force, to community workers. It shows how women overcame obstacles and succeeded in doing their duties "the women's way" by pointing out strengths of feminine qualities as concluded by the host;

#### Excerpt 24

**Host:** We also found that femininity – a gender that is endurance, hard-working, possess the conscious to take care of and protect a family, and able to work well under pressure and hardship – is a significant factor that has help women and the communities overcome career struggles and the aftermaths of

violent incidents. [...] Some women also said that kindness and benevolence in all women are positive factors contribution to peace.

(Episode 124: Lessons from the Field Researches and Producing a Radio Program)

## **4.2 Rhetoric strategies**

The purpose of the narratives in VWSF is to offer the audience a positive view toward the Muslim community and southern Thailand and Malay Muslim women. Through rhetoric discussed above, the program attempts to invite, if not persuade, the audience to understand the speaker's worldview (Foss & S.A. Foss, 2002; Foss, 2004). This section will briefly discuss rhetoric strategies based on Aristotelian rhetoric; ethos, pathos, and logos (see 3.3.2). the researcher argues that these strategies help speakers 1) convince the audience to agree with the rhetoric, and 2) justify flaws that may become an obstacle in the renegotiation of Islamic womanhood.

First, speakers must convince the audience that they are qualified to discuss or speak about a particular topic (ethos). When discussing life, culture, and other issues in the southern frontiers, it is only right for the program to let local people talk. Soraya Jamjuree (2012), the producer of VWSF writes in her article that it is the program's strategy and a prominent feature to let the women with first-hand experience tell their stories. It makes the stories convincing and emotionally moving to the audience. It offers the audience an insight into Malay Muslims, especially the women, amidst the South Thailand Insurgency that has never been mentioned in mainstream news reports.



The program also invites experts in relevant fields including scholars (history, political science, education and religion), women's right organization workers, and media personnels to give opinions and evaluations regarding various aspects of southern Thailand. These experts, although they do not have first-hand experience, their recognition by the public and reputation in relevant fields, which audience are told about by the host, contribute to their credibility.

Second, speakers appeal to the audience's emotion to gain empathy (pathos). This can be achieved by use of certain lexical fields (Fahnestock, 2011). Following the frame and narrative style regarding the South Thailand Insurgency, the program aims to present "loss and recovery" in Malay Muslims women's lives caused by the South Thailand Insurgency. Texts about "loss" and "recovery" achieve cohesion by the use of vocabularies of the same semantic fields (Fairclough, 1992). When discussing loss, the narratives show how stress and fear had affected the women physically, emotionally, and economically. Speakers often used vocabularies with negative meanings such as "crisis", "hardship", "cry", "fear", and "pain" to set the grim, sorrowful tone of the narratives. But once the narratives move to the "recovery" topic, speakers shifted to a more positive vocabularies such as "stand back up", "strong", "cooperation", and "overcome" to set a hopeful tone to the situation and emphasize the women's success in overcoming crises. In addition, speakers sometimes appeal directly to the audience by asking for sympathy.

#### Excerpt 25

**Host:** We have more than 2,000 women who lost their husbands and their loved ones to the Insurgency. These women have to shoulder a lot of burdens.

They have to take care of the children and make a living at the same time.

***Dear listeners***, thoughts and kindness from everyone in the society is a great source of strenght and hope to the victims.

(Episode 35: Timoh and the Aftermaths on the Rest of Her Life)

In excerpt 25, the speaker created emotional appeals by addressing *you* (“Dear listeners”) – the audience; that *you* have to feel sympathized toward *my* story. In rhetoric, there is always an interaction between the rhetor (speaker: I/we) and the audience (you) where “rhetors put themselves into their texts to interact with the audience” (Fahnestock, 2011, p. 303) trying to direct the audience’s action the way they aim for. Speaker-audience establishment does not only make the audience feel intimate with speakers and will potentially lead to more emotional engagement with the texts, but also advocate the speakers to target their rhetoric toward the audience.

Lastly, speakers use logic to negotiate with the audience (logos). This is particularly prominent when discussing women and careers. Questions about whether working would affect the women’s families and their duty as mothers were raised. For example, in *Episode 9: Working in Malaysia*, in a conversation with a female Thai restaurant employee, the host spoke that mothers who worked far away from home had to leave their children in other family members’ care, thus could not fulfill their role as a mother. This is also pointed out by some scholars as a concern in Muslim community (Titiravevong, 2011). To defend themselves, speakers asked audience to look at social reality; poverty and loss of the family’s main financial supporter had forced them to do so. To maintain quality of life and to provide children with good education (Another logical argument appears in several episodes:

because it is natural for mothers to want what is good for their children), women had to work outside of the house and a sacrifice in their duty as mothers was inevitable. In addition, in discussions about advantages of feminine qualities and advantages of education, speakers provided a “Because it is...Therefore it is...” style of explanation. For examples: “Because women are precise, discreet, and, thrifty, men therefore trust us to take care of money” (Episode 30) and “Because women are hard-working, they should be appreciated” (Episode 113).

Through the analysis of rhetoric, three modes of rhetoric strategies are identified. These strategies are used to create credibility and justify flaws that may become obstacle in renegotiating Islamic womanhood. However, this is only a brief analysis. Further text analysis is recommended in order to find out more about rhetoric strategies employed in the media construction of Malay Muslim community and the women.

#### **4.3 Negotiating identity: Thainess without Buddhism**

If one’s identity is primarily acquired from their place of origin and affiliation to a group (Lewis, 1998), then the Malay Muslims in Thailand can identify themselves as a Thai since they were born in Thailand, thus gaining a legal Thai citizenship. At the same time, they can identify themselves as a Malay in accordance to their ethnicity and cultural heritage, and as a Muslim in accordance to their religious community. A contradiction emerges as being Thai is often linked to being Buddhist, but most of the “Thais” in VWSF are not Buddhists. However they claim themselves as not at all less of a Thai than other Thai citizens.

The dynamic between ethnicity, religion, and nationality is observed in the narratives about communities in the southern frontiers.

To explain the negotiation of Thainess in VWSF, the researcher will discuss narratives about Patani history. Four episodes (Episodes 11-14) are dedicated solely to the history of Patani Kingdom. The stories were told by two history researchers (one in episode 11-12, the other in episode 13-14). It is found that the narratives represent two aspects of *Malay Muslims* as 1) a peculiar community, and 2) an element constituting the Thai nation state.

VWSF includes narratives about Patani history not only to educate the audience, but also to show how Malay Muslims took pride in their local history – the history lacked mentioning in Thai history education, thus overlooked by mainstream Thai.

#### Excerpt 26

**Host:** Dear listeners, the purpose of today's discussion [about history] is to show you the background of [Baan Kru-ze] – the history worth remembering and retelling. It is the pride and a shared memory of the people in the community.

(Episode 11: The Four Queen Regents of Patani Kingdom)

Kru-ze Mosque is mentioned several times in the narratives. At almost 500 years old, it is a well-known landmark in southern Thailand as a symbol of Patani Kingdom and is still used for religious purposes. The significance of the mosque was described in an interview with a community chief that: "It is a historical site. It represents [Patani's] conversion from Buddhism to Islam" (Episode 16). For decades, there have been rallies to remove Kru-ze

from non-Muslim state's supervision. From the state's point of view, the rallies may have been threatening to the nation's security, but for Muslim protesters, it may have been an attempt to recall the dignity of Islam and Patani (Satha-Anand, 2005, p. 74). In addition, the mosque was used as a fortress for militants to battle against Thai army personnel in the 2004 Kru-ze Incident. It is suggested that the use of Kru-ze Mosque is not arbitrary. The militants had planned well to use Kru-ze as a symbol of the Islam-versus-Buddhist battle and to reinforce the "religious conflict" meaning of the South Thailand Insurgency (Harish, 2006, p. 59). Therefore, Kru-ze Mosque, for many, is a symbol Patani Kingdom, the root of Malay Muslims, and their faith in Islam. It represents a Malay Muslim identity – the one different from not only Thai Buddhists, but also other Muslims in Thailand.

At the same time, VWSF attempts to integrate the Malay Muslim-ness into the Thai national discourse by telling Malay history in relation to Thai history. With the limited amount of episodes, VWSF decided to tell a story of a 'friendly' phase of Malay-Thai relation in the history. According to the narratives, Patani Kingdom had been through a warring state with ancient Thai (Ayutthaya) Kingdom, but peace was eventually restored, to which the informant pointed was a peaceful way to end a conflict and that "today's violence must someday be settled by peaceful means just like in the past [...] We can learn from [history]" (Episode 12). He then went on to talk about the impressions of Malay Muslims on Thais as follow;

#### Excerpt 27

**Informant:** [...] until the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910), he understood local culture. [...] He said [Muslim] people did not have to pay respect to him

the way Buddhists do, but they could do it the Islamic way. This is our impression. He understood [Muslims]. And the banknotes during that time – there was Malay written on it. That’s the thing locals took pride in. [...] But in 1941 to 1944-ish, when Field Marshal Pibulsongkram became the government leader, there was a cultural conflict. All government officers must pay respect to the Buddha image every day before work. [One Muslim parliament member] present a letter of objection, but it failed to be acknowledged, so he quit his position and became a political refugee. He changed his way of protesting from peaceful to something outside the parliament system. That’s what the locals know and feel about Patani-Siam history.

(Episode 12: Patani-Ayutthaya Relations)

The narrative consists of both the positives and negatives and points out to the audience historical context and political agenda behind the conflict between Muslim community and the state – something hardly spoken of by the mainstream media (Kirdnark, 2012, pp. 2934, 2937).

The two informants then suggested a way to solve and prevent further conflict by including local histories, not exclusively Malay, into national historical studies because “national history can only exist by the existence of local histories” and that it was important to make minorities aware of their local identities and the public aware of the locals’ existence and accept the ethno-pluralistic and multicultural nature of the Thai society (Episode 12). The other informant said that it was important for researchers to “study and write histories –

Thai and local – as one history” (Episode 14). The host added in the end of the episode that “once we are able to integrate local histories with national history, we will see the greatness of our ancestors who had built our nation” (Episode 14). The narratives suggest the need to include Malay Muslim into the Thai national discourse, not by harsh assimilation like before, but with welcoming arms for different culture and religion.

The Thai consciousness among Malays Muslims is not new. Despite their shared language, religion, and supposedly ancestry with Malaysian Muslims, Malay Muslims in Thailand consider themselves little or not affiliated with them. The significance of Malay identity has been downplayed by the fact that they live in Thai surroundings and the connectedness to Thai history (Nilsen, 2012, p. 130) although it is still frequently displayed by using Malay language in daily life and Islamic religious rituals, which therefore links being an ethnic Malay to being a Muslim (p. 243). At the same time, Malay Muslims adopt Thainess – language, actions, culture – in order to gain acceptance from Thai society (ibid.). Their Thai identity seems to be acquired from their place of birth and legal citizenship. One guest speaker had a Malaysian father, but once asked whether she wanted to move to Malaysia away from the Insurgency, she answered: “My family is originally Malaysian. My father was Malaysian. My relatives are in Malaysia. But I never want to move there because I was born [in Thailand]. My home is here.” (Episode 59). It implied that she was aware of her familial connection to Malaysia, but the Thai consciousness may be stronger because Thailand is her place of birth which gained her the Thai citizenship and her long exposure to the Thai surroundings. However, in different circumstance, she may display Malaysian identity according to Ayae (2010) and Nilsen (2012). Another guest speaker said, “I am also a Thai,” and outspokenly expressed her dismay toward the state officer for mistreating her

because of her late father's crime against national security (Episode 52). "Even though my father was actually guilty, there is no need to treat me like a culprit too," she added, demanding equal treatment to other Thai citizens.

While the negotiation of ethnic, religious, and national identity is not prominent in VWSF, there is still visible attempt to integrate Malay Muslim-ness into Thainess. This is similar to the attempt to include hill tribes into the Thai national discourse observed in Hongladarom's (2000) work. On one hand, Malay Muslims are shown to be aware of the reality that they are a part of Thailand and are willing to accept Thainess into their selfhood to gain acceptance into the Thai nation state. On one hand, they cherish their history, culture and religion that distinguish themselves from other Thais (as well as other Muslims) and view it as a constituent of the present Thai nation state. Therefore, they should be considered "Thai". What emerges is a new discourse of Thainess; one can be a Thai without being a Buddhist. Thainess, for them, is no longer a rigid linkage to Buddhism, but is rather a mixture of being Malay by blood, Thai by nationality, and Muslim by faith, creating a selfhood of a "Malay-Thai Muslim".

#### **4.4 Renegotiating Islamic womanhood**

VWSF provides a space for Malay Muslim women to renegotiate Islamic womanhood with their surroundings which are Malay Muslim society and Thai society as a whole. The most pronounced group of women in the program is "career women" which is implied by the rhetoric in the narratives to be, as what I would like to call, the "new" Islamic



womanhood. The audience learn from the narratives that women have been active in the economic sphere for a long time and it is widely considered normal and acceptable by the society. There is, however, a “new” group of the career women emerged in the narratives; women in community administration and development initiatives. It is the role that has completely brought women into the public space and visible to the society. Pluemjai and Sungkharat (2015) found these Muslim women working in the public space were first not welcomed by their surroundings since they are fundamentally given tasks only related to household matters by the religion. Space in the public had always been assigned to men. Women coming out into the public was considered “inappropriate” since that meant they would have to sacrifice fulfilling their traditional roles (see excerpt 23), thus not being able to conform to the religious doctrine. However, with changes brought about to the family and social structures by the South Thailand Insurgency, women felt the need to take action in the “men’s space” for the survival of themselves, their families, and the communities (Pluemjai & Sungkharat, 2015, p. 234). At the same time, they claim themselves faithful to Islam. Therefore, the womanhood these women are attempting to renegotiate is built with respect to the principles of Islam.

They first renegotiated with the community – religion, to be precise. It would have been impossible to try to dismantle ‘gender’ laid out by Islamic principles. These women therefore sought themselves space in the public (men’s) realm by following religious principles. Here, education, negotiation and, compromise are the keys.

It is all Muslims’ basic right and duty to be educated, regardless of their genders (Titiravevong, 2011, p. 156). Taweeluck Pollachom (2014) provides a narrative about Malay Muslim women and religious education that; women are able to gain trust from the Muslim

community by having proper religious education that makes them “qualified” Muslims. It is the first stepping stone that leads women out of the confinement of their domestic sphere and become active in the public. Similarly, VWSF shows Muslim women who strived for secular knowledge in order to gain self-confidence when they step into (non-)Malay Muslim public space (see excerpt 17). Secular knowledge, as told by the women, was important to prove their capabilities to the public and finally gave them recognition and visibility in the public sphere. Although it is not mentioned whether these women have had any religious education, the narratives imply that they were faithful Muslims and that had helped them gain approval from the Muslim community. In short, with proper knowledge, like Pollachom’s women, Malay Muslim women in VWSF were finally able to step out into the public space and become acknowledged as a qualified Muslim and a capable actor in the secular world.

Nevertheless, women at work were faced with backlashes from the society. Like Titiravevong’s (2011) findings, there had been concerns about working women not able to take care of the household and the children. Stereotyping women as mothers and homemakers still persists in VWSF’s Muslim community and, I argue, is rigid since it is written in the religious texts (Baka, 1997). Failing to fulfill these roles is therefore failing to fulfill a duty as a Muslimah (female Muslim). Negotiations and compromise take place in order to justify their “flaws”. The women in VWSF did not deny that careers did force them to sacrifice their time with families, but they invited the audience to consider social reality; they had to work to survive economic struggles and to find solutions to the community issues affecting their lives. Eventually, it is told that women were to some extent able to gain public’s (men) acceptance by simultaneously taking up two roles; their given “traditional”

role as a family caretaker and the “new” role as a career person according to the following interviews;

Excerpt 28

**Interviewee 1:** My husband understands. He’s a volunteer worker too. Sometimes he helps me cook at home. He helps me a lot. Sometimes I have to go out and he’s ok with it. No problems.

[...]

**Interviewee 2:** My husband is quite strict. He doesn’t really let me go out. It’s ok if it’s near our place, but he doesn’t like it when I leave for a long time so I chose to work closer to home. For meetings, if it’s close to home, like at the district office or the health center, that’s fine. But I can’t go to different provinces.

(Episode 18: Advantages of Becoming an Organization)

Excerpt 29

**Host 1:** I see you attend a lot of training programs and enroll in adult education. How do you manage your time? You have household matters and [you also work in various community projects] too. How do you manage it?

**Guest speaker:** True, if we don’t learn to manage time, we can’t do it. In a week, I spare some time to be with my family, having meals together, going out together [...]. I try to always save some time for my family.

**Host 1:** Does your husband understand?

**Guest speaker:** He understands and is very supportive. When I'm away [for work], he tells [the community] about what I've been doing to help our village. I'm very proud.

(Episode 29: Women and Self-development)

Although it is seen from the interview that Muslim family structure is patriarchal in which men have the final say whether their wives are allowed to work, and women are fundamentally to be kept in domestic space, there is also a compromise. One husband was willing to help his wife with household chores. Other husbands allowed their wives to work outside under some conditions. At the same time, the wives were aware that they must not forget their fundamental duty as a caretaker of the household. The seemingly easy compromise might have resulted from traditional rural Thai social characteristic where labor division between genders is less rigid (Tantiwiramanond & Pandey, 1991, p. 19); men and women had almost the same share in labor force. However, it does not mean that gendered division of labor does not exist; it is normal for women to help men work and support the family's economic, but not for men to be a homemaker (Wentworth & Chell, 2001, cited in Bagheri, 2012). In the Islamic division of labor force, housework is considered a feminine work (Baka, 1997). Doing housework is thus a threat to the masculine ideal for men. Therefore, to settle the conflict, career women must shoulder two burdens at the same time to meet the society's expectation. VWSF's narratives tell the audience that these women were able to juggle between the two roles because of the family's support – in other words, a compromise in traditional gender roles – and their own capabilities. At the same time, according to the religious doctrines, women are not necessarily to be always confined within domestic space. They can also work outside and lead a women-only group as long as it does

not conflict with her household duties (Baka, 1997). It is thus also religiously right for the women in VWSF to participate in female-majority works. In short, these women were able to find a solution to obstacles stemming from religious principles by understanding and following them to find compromise.

VWSF pictures changes in women's roles in the Islamic construct of genders triggered by the South Thailand Insurgency. The rigidity of traditional gender construction comes from the fact that it is written in the religious text, making it almost dogmatic and almost insusceptible to influences from outside (Raday, 2003) but at the same time, the way of practice is interpreted in various ways, influenced by its surroundings and prevailing cultural practices while the principles are maintained (Bagheri, 2012). Islam is therefore flexible and adaptable to its surroundings (Stone, 2002, cited in Bagheri 2012), especially where the significance and social power of the religion is downplayed by other institutions and conventions such as Bagheri's (2012) study of Islamic gender construction in the United States. Likewise, changes in gender construction of Malay Muslims in Thailand is observed. These changes are influenced by secular social conditions and changes in gender construction in the mainstream Thai society. In this connection, it is observed that Thai "feminist" movement does not stem from the sole need to challenge patriarchy in the first place. Instead, the *real* cause lies in changes in economic and social conditions which then result in gender inequality consciousness among women, and later urges them to resist patriarchal power (Tantiwiranond & Pandey, 1991). Similarly, Malay Muslim women, according to the VWSF narratives, did not start working outside and call for space in public realm in order to challenge patriarchy. Instead, they started working because of the South Thailand Insurgency had affected their economics and communities. In the process, they

have had to negotiate with the predominant gender ideology in order to advocate their actions in their development initiatives although not once in the program did they mention that they were oppressed by patriarchal powers or because they were women. Therefore, it is difficult to judge whether these women considered their society gender unequal. Nevertheless, what follows these women's strife for space in the men's realm is a redefined Islamic womanhood that is accepted by the Muslim community.

Once the renegotiation with the religion is done (or may still be in progress), they negotiate with the Thai society. The emergence of these redefined Malay Muslim women had been left largely unheard of until their appearance in media. VWSF is one of the stages where they can send a message and reshape the idea of what Malay Muslim women are like to the public. With the use of rhetoric, VWSF attempts to erase the predominant image of "antagonistic Muslims" and "passive victims" from the media discourse on Malay Muslim women and increase the visibility of women who are conscious of their rights and duties as a Thai citizen. These women present themselves as Buddhist-friendly, knowledgeable, and "modernized". *Modernized* in this context conforms to the national (and western) notion of modernization (Tantiwiranond & Pandey, 1991). It is found that career women are more pronounced group of women in VWSF. This serves two purposes; 1) to erase the predominant perception of Islam as a misogynistic religion and, 2) to show that the Muslim community is a part of Thai society by adapting (modernizing) itself in accordance to the mainstream society. The more pronounced appearance of these career women in media also serves as an inspiration for other Malay Muslim women to be aware of their capabilities *as women* and step up to join the women in VWSF. The appearance of these successful working women in media narratives, as Panitchpakdi (2007) notes, may be only symbolic, but it poses

a hopeful tendency to develop into a shift in the politic of genders in reality that women may benefit from.

From the above discussion, and as this thesis has consistently argued, there is an attempt to change public discourse regarding Malay Muslims (women, in particular). What makes this phenomenon unique is that the texts (read: resistance to prevailing discourse) are produced by Malay Muslim women, which can be an evidence that this group of women have gained enough social power to gain a “privileged” access to discourse. To borrow T.A. van Dijk’s words:

[T]he more discourse genres, contexts, participants, audience, scope and text characteristics they (may) actively control or influence, the more powerful social groups, institutions or elites are (van Dijk, 1993, p. 256)

However, among those with access to discourse, there is a hierarchy of how much an individual or a group gain control over discourse. However, it is out of this thesis’ scope to explore to what extent this group of women are able to control, manipulate, and create discourses. What can be roughly illustrated here is the process in which they have attempted to put changes in prevailing discourses. With education, negotiation, and compromise that have granted them acceptance and social power as discussed above, these women were able to reconstruct discourses from the most local, narrowest scope (family, community) to a wider, more extensive range (the general public) through media. In the long run, by establishing good relations with the media, they can negotiate identities with the public more widely. A similar successful case has been observed in Indian “Islamic Feminist” movements by Nadjia-Christina Schneider (2009).

Lastly, whether this effort is considered “feminist” is debatable since the concept of Islamic feminism is still erratic. However, I argue that it is feminist based on the definition of Islamic feminism as a feminism that explores women’s issues under a specific cultural context (here: Islam in Thai society) and strives to relieve patriarchal pressure on women with the principles of Islam (Mojab, 2001).

To elaborate, what seems to be the issue of the women in VWSF is the stigmatization of them as passive subjects, mothers, and homemaker given to them by religious construct of genders and reinforced by the portrayals of Malay Muslim in mainstream media. These construction and reinforcement have confined them within the domestic space, making it difficult for them to exercise in public and gain access to resources they claim crucial for survival in present social reality which are knowledge and financial support. Through media, they construct a new Islamic womanhood and negotiate with the surroundings. Their actions have paved ways for Muslim women’s emancipation from domestic sphere, thus gives them an easier access to the public space where the needed resources are available to aid them in self-development which can lead to poverty elevation and empowerment – feelings of self-esteem and self-worth, and having a “voice” in the society. What we see is the negotiation made with understanding and respect to Islamic principles and its surrounding to accommodate women’s empowerment. This “local” feminism is unique in its characteristic and is proven effective in the emancipation and empowering women under the context of Islam and Thai society.



## **CHAPTER 5:**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The South Thailand Insurgency has brought changes in economic and social structures in the southern frontiers of Thailand. Malay Muslim women, a one group who were directly or indirectly affected by the incidents. Loss of loved ones – fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons – has left them with economic and emotional struggles. And the media’s stereotypical negative representation of Malay Muslim has stigmatized them as “antagonistic toward the state” and “passive victims”. The radio program ‘*Voice of the Women from the Southern Frontiers*’ is one of the few stages where Malay Muslim women can construct their identity through narratives about life, culture, and local communities in the area affected by the South Thailand Insurgency.

This chapter first discusses the conclusions drawn from the findings and analysis to prove the research hypotheses. The second section consists of recommendations for further studies of the mediated identities of Malay Muslim women.

By studying the narratives, four rhetoric are found. Firstly, the program has reframed the South Thailand Insurgency to give audience a hopeful perspective. Instead of violence, the audience are shown how the South Thailand Insurgency victims, especially women, were working together among themselves and with the state to achieve a peaceful resolution. Secondly, it has shown a friendly relationship between Muslims and Buddhists. This relationship is built based on the people’s shared belief, exchanges of culture, and socioeconomic codependency, creating a coherence as a community that transcends ethnic

and religious difference (Horstmann, 2011). Thirdly, the programs suggests how education is a crucial and powerful tool that can solve various community issues and eventually lead to conflict resolution in southern Thailand. And lastly, the program has shown how feminine qualities can benefit women in their socioeconomic roles which “traditionally” belongs to men. These women have argued that: women can do it too, and they do it well.

Regarding the research’s first hypothesis: “Malay-Thai Muslim” identity is constructed in the dynamic of Thai (Buddhist) and Malay (Islam) society. This thesis has identified an attempt to include Malay Muslim into Thai national discourse through historical narratives that invite audience to realize and embrace the multicultural nature of Thai society and create a new discourse of Thainess: one can be a Thai without being a Buddhist. The Malay-Thai Muslim selfhood is therefore a mixture of being Malay by blood, Muslim by faith, and Thai by nationality.

Regarding the second hypothesis: Changes in family structure as a result of the South Thailand Insurgency, along with increasing women’s participation in socioeconomic activities have given Malay Muslim women power to renegotiate Islamic womanhood with prevailing gender discourses. This thesis has found that predominant gender construct which is heavily based on religious principles was a hindrance in women’s activities in the public sphere. However, with their increased visibility in public and appearance in media, they were able to gain a privileged access to discourse (van Dijk, 1993) and were able to construct a new one. The redefined Islamic womanhood consists of a traditional and non-traditional womanhood; it is a modernized woman conforming to mainstream Thai’s notion of modernization, and at the same time, preserves the “right” womanhood according to the religious principles.

Due to the limited broadcasting channels of the program, it is not known to what extent these messages reach the public and whether they succeed in negotiating the new Islamic womanhood with the Thai society. However, there is a hopeful potential for more visibility of Malay Muslim women in public. After four seasons of radio broadcasting in local radio channels and online, in 2012, VWSF became a section in a Muslim television program aired in national television. The emergence of the redefined Islamic womanhood that is spread by media will hopefully pave ways to Malay Muslim women's empowerment and will inspire more women to step up and claim their space in the public sphere. In this regard, it is noted by several women in the program that once women stick together, they become more powerful and can overcome obstacles (Episode 18), which in a "Thai" feminist point of view, a woman organization is a means to relieve powers that hinder women's development:

[The women's organizations] provide Thai women with support, space, and resources so that they can gain strength and sisterhood, and resist the system's world-views and actions. Refusing to be blindly obedient to the law or to accept the benign neglect of the state, the women activists read, write and speak as acts of defiance and transformation. They defy the cultural norms of being silent in public and leaving the political sphere to men. Working together, singing or organizing with perseverance, they continue to hold powerful appeal for many young Thai women. (Tantiwiranond & Pandey, 1991, p. 163)

In sum, this research has argued that Malay Muslim women have constructed their identity and negotiate their space in the surroundings through narratives based on a mixture

of being a Thai, a Malay, and a Muslim, and a woman. Thus, from the literature review, I have laid out how transnationality/transculturality has impacted one's display of identity, how ethnic minorities and women have been portrayed in Thai media, and how culture, religion, and genders interact with each other. In the methodology, postcolonial and Islamic feminism theories have provided a conceptual framework to explain a movement in Malay Muslim women from domestic to public sphere. Framing theory is used as a theoretical framework to investigate frames of the narratives, especially regarding the South Thailand Insurgency which is told as the main turning point in Malay Muslim women's lives. Rhetorical analysis is used as a method to analyze narratives in order to outline rhetoric regarding Malay Muslim community and its women. Consequently, the results from the rhetorical analysis have provided information to the discussion about Malay Muslim women identity as well as prove the research hypotheses correct. It is hope that this research will contribute to the studies of minorities in Thailand that will hopefully pave ways to local development and conflict resolution.

Regarding the analysis, texts can be interpreted differently by different audience (Fairclough , 1992; 2010). The analysis was done from the researcher's point of view based on literature and theoretical frameworks alone without a validation from readers and therefore does not respond to the multi-vocal nature of the texts. This thesis can only provide one of the many ways of interpretation and understanding of a text and calls for different interpretations for further contribution to the field.

Due to constraints in time and space, this research is not able to study every season of the radio program and its television edition. Thus, it may not be able to cover all the narratives and rhetoric regarding Malay Muslim women. However, its coverage on the first

season of the program is able to provide a picture of the initial stage of negotiating Malay Muslim women's identity with the Islamic and Thai surroundings. Therefore, further research is recommended on different seasons and edition of the program to illustrate, if any, transformations of Malay Muslim women's identity portrayed in VWSF or other similar programs. In addition, it is recommended to conduct research on the producer and the audience's sides to investigate strategies employed by the producer and the audience's perception and reaction toward the media construction of Malay Muslim women. It is hoped that further research will contribute to the outlining of the direction of peace journalism, which is a new concept introduced to Thai media in 2006 (Thai Journalist Association, 2006).

Finally, it is hoped that this research will contribute to the studies of minorities and genders in Thailand and will raise awareness of the issues regarding ethnic minorities and discriminations. Like the message in *Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers*: Thailand is a heterogeneous society and it is only the best to welcome difference with open arms.

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## APPENDIX

### A. 'Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers' season 1 episode summaries (episodes 1-125)

Every episode begins with the same monologue stating the program's concept and purpose as the following English translation;

[States episode number and title]. Voices you may have never heard. Voices you may think are just the people in the back of the society. Today, the voices from the women of the southern frontiers are ready to tell you stories about life, family, and local communities in the southern border under conflicts and hardships that [they] must overcome in order to bring forth mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among [cultural] diversity.

Episode	Title (Thai)	Title (English translation)
1	เปิดตัวรายการเสียงจากผู้หญิงชายแดนใต้	Introduction to <i>Voices from the Women of the Southern Frontiers</i>
<p>The two hosts introduced the program's concept and purposes; to become an inspiration for the audience to participate in peace-building by showing the once-victims' stories of how they had overcome hardships as a result of the South Thailand Insurgency.</p> <p>The hosts then introduced six main guest speakers, their villages, and main point(s) of discussion of each village.</p>		
2	ความรู้สึกของนักวิจัยผู้หญิงในชุมชนกับการเป็นนักจัดรายการวิทยุ	Female Community Researchers' Feelings toward being a Radio Program Producer
<p>The hosts asked all guest speakers about their feelings and opinions toward being a radio program producer. The guest speakers answered they were excited to take up new roles and get to always learn something new during their field research, and happy to share their stories with the audience.</p>		
3	ประวัติการทำนาเกลือและมารู้จักเกลือหวาน	History of Salt Cultivation and Getting to Know the 'Sweet Salt'
<p>A host and a guest speaker visited a salt field in Baan Tanyong-luloh and interviewed a few salt field workers (including a female worker). It was found that salt used to be a valuable asset. And because of its geographical feature, Baan Tanyong-luloh's salt is said to be less salty but more delicious than salt produced in other area, hence the name 'Sweet Salt'. The Sweet Salt was said to be an essence of Baan Tanyong-luloh's identity.</p>		
4	การทำนาเกลือในปัจจุบัน	Salt Cultivation Today

<p>The community leader talked about changes in salt cultivation technology. The guest speaker conducted interviews with salt field workers (male and female) to illustrate Baan Tanyong-luloh's way of life and emphasized that women, too, participated in every step of salt cultivation.</p>		
<b>5</b>	ปัจจัยที่ทำให้เกลือลดลง	Factors to a Decrease in Salt Cultivation
<p>Climate change and economic struggles were factors leading to the decrease in salt cultivation. Lack of proper product development had made competition with salt producers from the central regions of Thailand (largest salt producer) difficult. Tanyong-luloh's community leader urged younger generations to be aware of the community's uniqueness as the sole salt producer in southern Thailand.</p>		
<b>6</b>	หอยแครงอารมณ์ดี	Happy Cockles
<p>Baan Tanyong-luloh's abundant mangrove forest was suitable for cockle farming. The guest speaker interviewed a cockle farmer who said their "natural" way of farming was not only environmentally friendly but also good for the cockles' meat quality. Cockle farmers organized a group to promote environmentally friendly cockle farming.</p>		
<b>7</b>	กะหรี่ปั๊ป และขนมโบราณ อาชีพของผู้หญิงชุมชนต้นหยงลูโละ	Curry Puff and Old-time Snacks: Tanyong-luloh Women's Career
<p>The episode features interviews with three Tanyong-luloh women. The women usually worked at home, making various snacks for a wholesaler. They learned the skills from older family members. Sometimes they worked together in a group to increase productivity. The issues right now were lack of proper quality control and a decrease in demand.</p>		
<b>8</b>	อาชีพหลากหลายของผู้หญิงในชุมชนต้นหยงลูโละ	Many Careers of Tanyong-luloh Women
<p>The episode features more interview with Tanyong-luloh women who worked at home. They made bread, tamarind candies, and dried fish. They usually worked in a group. The host concluded that women's career group was an advantage in building the community's economic strength and that women also played a part in supporting the family's economic.</p>		
<b>9</b>	ไปทำงานมาเลเซีย	Working in Malaysia
<p>Some women worked in or owned Thai restaurants in Malaysia. The main reason to go to Malaysia was the lack of knowledge which had prevented them to get a job in Thailand well-paid enough to support their family. The women had to leave their children in their parents' care. They encouraged younger generations to study hard so they could find a good job in Thailand and hoped that their knowledge would be useful to the local communities.</p>		
<b>10</b>	มุมมองจากนักวิจัยอาชีพผู้หญิงที่ต้นหยงลูโละ	From Researchers' Point of View: the Careers of Tanyong-luloh's women

<p>Baan Tanyong-luloh was a large producer of various snacks. However, a researcher suggested that there were several issues that needed attention; such as lack of a standardized administration that resulted in late payment, extremely low wage in contrast to long hour of work that affected the women's health. It was important to establish a formal organization to provide guidance and support to the working women and the community.</p>		
<b>11</b>	กษัตริย์ 4 พระองค์ สมัยราชอาณาจักรปัตตานี ๑๙๔๕-๑๙๖๐	The Four Queen Regents of Patani Kingdom
<p>The episode features an interview with a historian who told stories about the four queens that ruled Patani Kingdom for a century. The queens brought prosperity in economic and international relations to the kingdom. The friendly relationship between Patani and Ayutthaya (Thailand at present) began during the reign of the last queen.</p>		
<b>12</b>	ความสัมพันธ์ของราชอาณาจักรปัตตานี ๑๙๔๕-๑๙๖๐ และอาณาจักรอยุธยา	Patani-Ayutthaya Relations
<p>The same historian said that Ayutthaya and Patani royal families were distant relatives. Ayutthaya and Patani had been through a warring state but regained corporation during the last Patani queen regent's reign. He further suggest that it was important for the public to realize and accept the multicultural nature of Thai society. The host added that women had long played an active role in politics (e.g. the four Patani queens)</p>		
<b>13</b>	มัสยิดกรือเซะ มรดกอารยธรรมปัตตานี	Kru-Ze Mosque: Pattani Civilization Heritage
<p>A guest speaker; a historian, discussed the importance of Kru-Ze Mosque, its architectural features, and Patani Kingdom when the mosque was newly built.</p>		
<b>14</b>	ประวัติศาสตร์ท้องถิ่น	Local History
<p>The episode talks about two significant historical figures worshipped by the locals, especially the Chinese-Thais. The informant suggested that local history was important as what constituted Thai history and that it was important to study local history.</p>		
<b>15</b>	อาชีพประมงอ่าวปัตตานี	Fishing at Pattani Bay
<p>The episode features an interview with a community development project staff. It is found that fishing was one of the main occupations in the community and was generally a family business. Some fishermen lowered cost by working with neighbors. However, nowadays Pattani Bay was not as abundant, forcing fishermen to find other jobs to make a living. The community was working on marine life and mangrove forest conservation project with the help from local administration.</p>		
<b>16</b>	ศักยภาพและแผนชุมชน	Community's Potential and Community Planning
<p>An interviewee, the community leader, spoke about Baan Tanyong-luloh's strengths: its historical significance, making it a potential tourist spot, and its various local products such as Sweet Salt, cockles, and snacks. Another interviewee, a community development worker, suggested that it was important for locals to establish a development plan.</p>		
<b>17</b>	กลุ่มสตรีร้อยกว่ารางวัล	The Hundred-Award Women's Organization

<p>One of Baan Bugae's strengths was its successful women's organization that had been awarded over a hundred prizes by the government. In an interview, it was said that the awards had inspired women to join the group and gained themselves recognition from the community and local government.</p>		
<b>18</b>	ข้อดีของการรวมกลุ่ม	Advantages of Becoming an Organization
<p>According to interviews with Baan Bugae's female villagers, the women's association had empowered them intellectually and spiritually. They also noted that it was important to working women to have support from the family and to always keep in mind their duty in the household.</p>		
<b>19</b>	ผู้หญิงกับการทำงานอาสา	Women and Volunteer Works
<p>Many women became volunteer workers in development projects in their free time. Most of them maintained their primary jobs (housewife and crafting). An interviewee noted that the women's patience and attentiveness were their advantages. Volunteering allowed them to connect with the society outside the village. They were able to join various trainings and teach what they had learnt to other villagers.</p>		
<b>20</b>	การบริหารจัดการกลุ่มผู้หญิง	Management in Women's Organization
<p>The women's organization was a network of 15 small groups, consisting of over a thousand members. The organization has contributed to the community's strength and self-reliance. It had become a learning center to provide members and guests with knowledge resources.</p>		
<b>21</b>	ศูนย์การเรียนรู้ชุมชน	Community Learning Center
<p>The community's Learning Center was established by the women's organization on the belief that women, when worked together, could drive the society forward. The Center provided a variety of training programs. It was destroyed by the arson attack but was rebuilt. An interviewee noted that the community were able to carry on their work because of the harmony among members.</p>		
<b>22</b>	การก้าวข้ามสถานการณ์วิกฤตของกลุ่มผู้หญิง	Women Organization and Overcoming Crisis
<p>The Learning Center was rebuilt and reopened with the corporation among members and local government. An interviewee noted that their success in recovering the Learning Center had gained the women's self-esteem and even more recognition by the community.</p>		
<b>23</b>	กลุ่มออมทรัพย์ที่มีเงินหมุนเวียนเป็นล้าน	The Million-Baht Saving Co-op
<p>Baan Bugae's saving cooperative was established by a group of housewives, aiming to be a part of the community's financial support. It was well received by the villagers with around 2 million Baht (Approximately 6 million Yen) of asset.</p>		
<b>24</b>	กลุ่มออมทรัพย์กับการปันผล	Saving Cooperative and Its Benefits

The money gained from the cooperative members were used to improve the community's facilities. It also provided loans for members in need. Along with the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, the cooperative provided financial aids for the South Thailand Insurgency victims.		
<b>25</b>	ร้านค้าชุมชน	The Community Store
Baan Bugae had its own community store and a gas station funded by the villagers. The store and gas station were destroyed in an arson but were successfully recovered.		
<b>26</b>	ตลาดนัดชุมชน	The Community's Marketplace
The marketplace opened every Friday, letting villagers sell their household's products. Sellers said in interviews that the marketplace was a way to make extra income, although the business had slowed down since the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency.		
<b>27</b>	สถานการณ์ความไม่สงบที่เกิดขึ้นในชุมชน	The Unrest in the Community
An interviewee and the guest speaker talked about how the South Thailand Insurgency had affected them. It was said that villagers had to be extra careful. Villagers kept an eye out for strangers. Some had initiated group activities to relief stress.		
<b>28</b>	บทบาทที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปของผู้หญิง	Changes in Women's Roles
The episode features an interview with a female volunteer worker. She used to be a housewife and a hairdresser and work part-time in a rubber plantation. Being a volunteer worker had allowed her to learn new skills, including the Thai language, to be able to work with the local administration. She said the reward she had gained from work was the reward from God.		
<b>29</b>	การพัฒนาตนเองของผู้หญิง	Women's Self-development
The guest speaker talked about how she overcame fears and became a volunteer worker. She studied the Thai language, joined adult education and several training courses. She was now confident and were able to work well.		
<b>30</b>	จุดแข็งของผู้หญิงในงานพัฒนา	Strengths of Women in Development Missions
The guest speaker talked about how she dealt with the society's criticism. She brought up women's patience and precision as an advantage that had gained them the community's trust. She believed that obstacles were God's test.		
<b>31</b>	ความมั่นคงของชุมชนที่บ้านบูเกะ	Baan Bugae's Security
Baan Bugae was named a model for community development. According to the villagers, security included having incomes, close friendship among villagers, a strong family, having proper housing, being able to conduct religious rituals, children having access to education, and safety.		
<b>32</b>	สภาสันติสุขประจำตำบลบาโงยซิแน	The Peace Council of Ba-ngoysinae Sub-district
The Peace Council was established with the corporation among villagers, military and police force, and local government. Its main duty was to settle conflicts among members. The guest speaker brought up an example; the establishing of a female-exclusive gym to accommodate Muslim women's needs in accordance to the religious restrictions.		



<b>33</b>	งานวิจัยชุมชนเฮะกิตอ	“Ho-gito” Community Research
<p>“Ho-gito” which means “ours” in Malay was a project run by the community providing recreational activities and career trainings for villagers. The project aimed to support orphans and widowed women. The guest speaker said the project had changed the way the public thought of widowers from worthless victims to potential human resource and had helped widowers gain self-esteem.</p>		
<b>34</b>	ชีวิตและชุมชนตากใบ คานโนรีที่ได้รับผลกระทบ	Life in Takbai and Kuannoree and the Effects of the Southern Unrest
<p>Two guest speakers from two villages first spoke about negative effects of the South Thailand Insurgency on the villages. Increased poverty was mentioned as the main issue. At the same time, the villages had become more known by the public and were able to receive help from the state and private sectors. Women started to work as a coordinator between the village and external agencies.</p>		
<b>35</b>	ดีเมื่อกับผลกระทบของชีวิตที่เหลืออยู่	Timoh and the Aftermaths on the Rest of her Life
<p>The episode features an interview with Timoh, the guest speaker’s widowed mother. She had become the family’s sole breadwinner since her husband’s death. Timoh worked very hard despite her worsening health, hoping to send her children to school. Now the guest speaker had taken her father’s place in the family and helped her mother make money.</p>		
<b>36</b>	หะติกะกับผลกระทบของชีวิตที่เหลืออยู่	Hatika and the Aftermaths on the Rest of her Life
<p>Hatika was a female villager whose husband was killed in the Takbai incident. She had five small children. She worked in a rubber plantation and a cattle farm to support the family. Her children received scholarship from the government. She said the scholarship was very important because she would not have been able to send them to school without it.</p>		
<b>37</b>	มะดอกับผลกระทบของชีวิตที่เหลืออยู่ 1	Mado and the Aftermaths on the Rest of her Life. Part 1
<p>Mado was a female villager. She had three sons; one was killed in the Takbai incident, the other two were arrested in the South Thailand Insurgency-related cases. Mado was emotionally destroyed by what had happened to her sons. She was left with a burden to find money to help her sons fight the lawsuits.</p>		
<b>38</b>	มะดอกับผลกระทบของชีวิตที่เหลืออยู่ 2	Mado and the Aftermaths on the Rest of her Life. Part 2
<p>Mado were able to bail her sons out. When Mado’s sons were detained in another province, she was not able to visit them often because of the high transportation cost. She worked with her husband in a rubber plantation but were not able to make much money. Her health was worsening as a result of stress and overworking.</p>		
<b>39</b>	สีตินอร์กับผลกระทบของชีวิตที่เหลืออยู่	Sitinoor and the Aftermaths on the Rest of her Life
<p>Sitinoor was a female villager whose husband was arrested in the South Thailand Insurgency-related case and was given a death penalty. They were waiting for the Supreme</p>		

Court's verdict. Now Sitinor had to raise her five children alone. She worked multiple jobs to make money and send her children to school. She needed the government's support in housing and the children's schooling and hoped her husband's exemption from death penalty.		
40	ความสำคัญและผลกระทบทางด้าน การศึกษากับผลกระทบของชีวิตที่ เหลืออยู่	Importance of Education on the Rest of the Life
The guest speaker talked about difficulties faced by single mothers who worked hard to send their children to school. Scholarships provided by the government were limited and did not reach every children in need. The host then added that education was a key to produce quality human resource and that the government's aid would help erase the children's prejudice and anger against the state and would contribute to a peaceful future.		
41	ความสัมพันธ์พุทธ มุสลิม ก่อนเกิด สถานการณ์	Buddhist–Muslim Relations before the Unrest
Two guest speakers talked about Buddhists in their villages. Buddhists were the minority of the population. Buddhists and Muslims were good friends. Both speakers then discussed activities Buddhists and Muslims did together in the villages such as festivals and various (religious) rituals.		
42	ความสัมพันธ์พุทธ มุสลิมหลังเกิด สถานการณ์ใหม่ๆ	Buddhist-Muslim Relations after the Unrest
After the beginning of the Insurgency, Martial Law was enforced. As a result of the law, villagers were not allowed to hang out in groups. There were cases which Buddhists were murdered in Muslims' rubber plantations and vice versa. Buddhists and Muslims began to mistrust each other.		
43	ความสัมพันธ์พุทธ มุสลิมในวันนี้ที่ดี ขึ้น	Today's Better Relationship among Buddhists and Muslims
After a while, the tension between Buddhists and Muslims declined. They joined the villages' activities and became good friends again.		
44	ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเพื่อนพุทธ มุสลิม	Relationship of Buddhist – Muslim Friends
Two guest speakers talked about their friendship with Buddhist neighbors. Then a host interviewed two Buddhist villagers. It was revealed that the relationship was not only at a personal level but they also depended on each other economically.		
45	การฟื้นฟู เยียวยาความสัมพันธ์พุทธ มุสลิม	Restoring Buddhist – Muslim Relationship
Two guest speakers talked about how they restored relationship between Buddhists and Muslims in their villages. They initiated a development project to support villagers regardless of religions to create trust and encourage cooperation. They encouraged everyone to remember the “good old days” to remind themselves of friendship between Buddhists and Muslims.		
46	มารีแยกกับความสำคัญของการศึกษา	Mareeya and the Importance of Education

<p>Mareeya is a handicapped female villager. She attended an adult education program with the government's financial aid until the 8<sup>th</sup> grade. Now she had to quit because she no longer received the scholarship. Her niece also received the government's scholarship and was going to graduate from a nursing school soon. Mareeya believed education was a crucial tool to improve her quality of life.</p>		
47	สุขภาพอนามัยของผู้คนในชุมชน ควนโนรี	Kuannoree Villagers' Health
<p>Health and sanitation is one of the issues in Baan Kuannoree. The public health center was far from the village. Some villagers suffered malnutrition due to poverty. Some could not afford to build a proper toilet which resulted in unhygienic living condition.</p>		
48	ที่อยู่อาศัยของคนควนโนรี	Kuannoree Villagers' Housing
<p>Due to poverty, some Kuannoree villagers were forced to live in a run-down house with inadequate facilities. They suggested that financial support such as loans from the government would be helpful for them to build proper housing.</p>		
49	ยาเสพติดกับความมั่นคง	Drugs and [Community's] Security
<p>Baan Kuannoree's village headman talked about drugs which was an issue in the village. He suggested that many incidents that had occurred in the village might have been related to drugs. At the moment, villagers and local administration were working together to stop and prevent drug abuse. He concluded that once the village was drug-free, security would follow.</p>		
50	ผลกระทบจากสถานการณ์ในช่วงเกิด เหตุการณ์ใหม่ๆ	The Aftermaths of the Insurgency in Its Early Days
<p>At the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency, Baan Kuannoree villagers were economically affected. Rubber plantation workers could not work before dawn which resulted in a decrease in latex production and price. Factory workers were too afraid to commute to work.</p>		
51	บทบาทที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปของผู้หญิง	Changes in Women's Roles
<p>When the South Thailand Insurgency began, non-villagers were afraid to come in contact with Baan Kuannoree villagers. However, some private agencies stepped in to provide aids for women and children. As a result, women began to work in cooperation with private sectors and later government agencies to restore the community. The guest speaker said the experience was empowering and helped erase mistrust, anger, and prejudice against each other.</p>		
52	การก้าวข้ามวิกฤตทางจิตใจ	Overcoming Emotional Crises
<p>A guest speaker talked about her life after her father's death in the Kru-ze Mosque Incident. She admitted her anger toward the state for making her father and his family the state's enemy. However, she received humanitarian support from various agencies which helped her overcome emotional hardship and was able to erase the bias toward the state and became a community worker. Two more women talked about how religion and motherhood had helped them overcome emotional hardship.</p>		
53	ความมั่นคงของชีวิตและชุมชนที่บ้าน ส้ม ควนโนรี	Security in Life and Community in Baan Som, Kuannoree Sub-district

The women in Baan Som talked about what is needed to build the community's security. Family was the most important factor. They expressed their concern about increasing orphans and widowers. Other important factors were education, healthcare, housing, and occupations. They suggest locals and the state to cooperate in order to find a solution.		
<b>54</b>	บทบาทที่เปลี่ยนไปของผู้ได้รับผลกระทบ กรณีแยแนะ สะแลแม ตอนที่ 1	Changes in the Roles of a Victim: the Case of Yana Salamae. Part 1
Yana, a guest speaker talked about changes in her life after the South Thailand Insurgency. She was a volunteer worker and a human right activist and was given several awards from various government and private agencies. She was a mother of eight who embroidered hijab (head scarves) for a living. Her husband worked multiple jobs. She also worked as a coordinator in various village festivals.		
<b>55</b>	บทบาทที่เปลี่ยนไปของผู้ได้รับผลกระทบ กรณีแยแนะ สะแลแม ตอนที่ 2	Changes in the Roles of a Victim: the Case of Yana Salamae. Part 2
Yana's son was arrested in the Takbai Incident. She received support from NGOs and several people with her son's case. Yana said she used to fear of doing what she had never done before such as going to court because she was uneducated, but the need to rescue her son had helped her overcome all fears. The experience had helped her realized that she was not the only one suffering so she started activities providing morale support for other villagers.		
<b>56</b>	บทบาทที่เปลี่ยนไปของผู้ได้รับผลกระทบ กรณีแยแนะ สะแลแม ตอนที่ 3	Changes in the Roles of a Victim: the Case of Yana Salamae. Part 3
Yana's work became acknowledged by the villagers. She became a medium between the locals and external agencies, seeking aids and support for the victims. Her husband was shot and killed in one of the incidents, but Yana said she never felt discouraged and would continue working to help others.		
<b>57</b>	การสานเสวนาในชุมชน ตอนที่ 1	Community Dialogue. Part 1
As a contribution to conflict resolution, the community, with the help from an external agency, arranged a "community dialogue" to provide space for villagers to speak up their stories and opinions to the state officers and scholars. A guest speaker and a state officer said the dialogue had built trust and cooperation among locals and between locals and the state.		
<b>58</b>	การสานเสวนาในชุมชน ตอนที่ 2	Community Dialogue. Part 2
The dialogue had encouraged villagers to speak up their minds. The episode provides an example of a former accused in the Takbai Incident. He was still emotionally hurt by the state officers' treatment toward him. The officers acknowledged their mistake and aimed to improve their ways of dealing with the issues by considering the locals' voices.		
<b>59</b>	ความสัมพันธ์ของชุมชนชายแดนตากใบ	Relationship among Communities in the Takbai Border

Baan Jaroh, Takbai District, shared a border with Malaysia. Trades occurred along the Thai-Malaysian border. Some Malay-Thais have familial relationship with Malaysians such as the guest speaker.		
<b>60</b>	ความมั่นคงของชีวิตและชุมชนตากใบ	Security in Life and Community in Takbai
The guest speaker, a Baan Jaroh (Takbai Community) villager, said that justice was the most important factor to create security in the community. She believed justice would bring peace and understanding. Other factors were secured occupations, constant incomes, and education.		
<b>61</b>	ประวัติชุมชนบ้านเชียรยา	History of Baan Tiaraya
Baan Tiaraya was established around 500 years ago. The majority of the villagers were Muslim. The guest speaker herself was a Buddhist. The village had an abundant sand dune forest which was “the community’s super market” but the forest was deteriorating. The main occupations were fishing, rubber plantation, jiggery (a kind of sugar) production and charcoal production.		
<b>62</b>	ป่าต้นทรายที่บ้านเชียรยา	Baan Tiaraya’s Sand Dune Forest
Baan Tiaraya villagers had relied on the forest’s abundant resources for generations. Villagers fed on vegetation and animals found in the forest and sold products they gained from the forest. After the South Thailand Insurgency, fewer villagers went to the forest out of fear, reducing their incomes.		
<b>63</b>	วัฒนธรรม ประเพณีของคนในชุมชน และความร่วมมือกันของคน 2 ศาสนา	Community’s Culture and Customs, and Cooperation between the Two Religions
The guest speaker and her grandmother described Baan Tiaraya’s Buddhist and Muslims religious festivals. Villagers often helped each other in the rice fields and share food when there was a party or a celebration at the temple or the mosque regardless of the religions. Villagers respected each other’s religious belief. The host then concluded that difference can coexist in peace.		
<b>64</b>	ชุมชนได้ประโยชน์อะไรบ้างจากป่าต้นทราย	Benefits of the Sand Dune Forest
Baan Tiaraya villagers were able to use the sand dune forest’s various vegetation for household consumption and medicinal purposes. They could also sell forest products for extra incomes. The guest speaker described how villagers benefited from each kind of vegetation.		
<b>65</b>	ป่าต้นทรายสร้างอาชีพ สร้างรายได้ให้แก่คนในชุมชนเชียรยา	The Sand Dune Forest: Occupations and Incomes for Baan Tiaraya’s Villager
The guest speaker continued describing the use of the forest’s vegetation. She then emphasized the importance of forest preservation.		
<b>66</b>	สาเหตุที่ทำให้หลากหลายอาชีพในชุมชนเชียรยาสูญหายไป	Causes of the Loss of Occupations in Baan Tiaraya
Changes in ecosystem whether natural or man-made had resulted in loss of valuable resources and loss of occupations. Villagers had to find jobs outside the village. The people’s relationship with the forest was reduced.		
<b>67</b>	มีแขกกับผลกระทบที่เหลืออยู่	Meeya and the Aftermaths that Remains

Meeya was a Muslim woman living in Baan Tiaraya and was the guest speaker's friend. She lost her husband in an Insurgency incident. She received a career training from the local administration. She produced charcoal and worked in a school for a living. She also teach chicken farming, the skill she had learnt from her late husband to villagers.		
68	อาชีพสาวโรงงาน	Factory Workers
Some female villagers became factory workers due to the decrease in natural resources. They had to leave in the morning and come home at night, which forced mothers to sacrifice their time with families. Some mothers had to quit the job and stay at home, leading to a decrease in family income.		
69	การเยียวยา และการก้าวข้ามของดวง- สุดา	Duangstuda's Recovery and Overcoming
The guest speaker, Duangstuda, was a Buddhist local. She had lost her father and grandfathers in the Insurgency incidents. She was devastated by the loss but was able to stand back up because she realized her duty to take care of the family. She received support from family and friends regardless of the religions. She took the religion's doctrine as a spiritual guidance.		
70	บทบาทที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปของดวง- สุดา	Changes in Duangstuda's Roles
Duangstuda was a single mother. She had had to work multiple jobs to support the family after her father and grandfathers' death. She had learnt a lot of skills from her grandmother and inherited her grandmother's job as a masseuse and a forest product seller. She was also studying Forest Management in a university, hoping to make use of her knowledge in recovering and preserving Baan Tiaraya's sand dune forest.		
71	ความสัมพันธ์ของชาวไทยพุทธ มุสลิมในชุมชนบ้านเทียรยา ต.ตาแทะ ตอนที่ 1	Buddhist-Muslim Relations in Baan Tiaraya. Part 1
The host talked to a senior local. It was revealed that her ancestor was Malay Muslim who later converted to Buddhism. She talked about how villagers used to work together and enjoy parties and festivals regardless of the religions.		
72	ความสัมพันธ์ของชาวไทยพุทธ มุสลิมในชุมชนบ้านเทียรยา ต.ตาแทะ ตอนที่ 2	Buddhist-Muslim Relations in Baan Tiaraya. Part 2
The guest speaker talked about the situation at the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency. Despite the stressful situation, the friendship among villagers remained strong. Religions were not a problem. However, the guest speaker and several Buddhists moved out of the village to the town center for safety but still visited the village regularly.		
73	ความสัมพันธ์ของชาวไทยพุทธ มุสลิมในชุมชนบ้านเทียรยา ต.ตาแทะ ตอนที่ 3	Buddhist-Muslim Relations in Baan Tiaraya. Part 3
The guest speaker, Duangstuda, and her grandmother talked about how villagers supported each other during the stressful situation. Then they talked about their lives after		

moving out of the village. They said they missed their neighbors. The host interviewed a Muslim villager who said she missed Duangsuda and her grandmother too.		
74	ความสัมพันธ์ของชาวไทยพุทธ มุสลิมในชุมชนบ้านเทียรยา ต.ตาเกาะ ตอนที่ 4	Buddhist–Muslim Relations in Baan Tiaraya. Part 4
Duangsuda and her grandmother continued describing their friendship with Muslims neighbors. They reminded later generations to remember the friendship the previous generations used to share and preserve the peaceful coexistence between two religions.		
75	ย่าเคลื่อน คุณแม่นักอนุรักษ์ กับ ผลกระทบของชีวิต	Grandmother Kleaun: the Conservationist Mother and the Aftermaths on Her Life
Grandmother Kluean was Duangsuda’s grandmother. She was well-known by Baan Kuannoree villagers and had been a forest conservationist for many years. She was given an award for her activities in forest conservation. In the episode, she talked about how she had always relied on and felt thankful to the forest. Even though she no longer lived in the village, she still loved the village and the forest.		
76	แนะนำชุมชนบ้านพ้อมิ่ง	Introducing: Baan Po-ming
Baan Po-ming was a Muslim-majority community surrounded by Buddhist a few communities. The main occupation was agriculture with its main products being rice and coconuts. Baan Po-ming was a location of a well-known <i>pondok</i> (Islamic religious school). As a result of the South Thailand Insurgency, nine women, including the guest speaker, were left widowed.		
77	วิถีชาวนา และบทบาทผู้หญิงในการ ทำนา	A Farmer’s Lifestyle and Women’s Roles in the Rice Field
The guest speaker described labor division between men and women in rice farming. It was revealed that women were the major workforce in rice cultivation. The women were said to be highly-skilled farmers. While women worked in rice fields, men often worked in coconut plantation and cattle farms.		
78	ผู้หญิงกับอาชีพรับจ้างปอกมะพร้าว	Women as a Coconut Sheller
Another main agricultural product of Baan Po-ming was coconuts. The coconuts were sold fresh or made into coconut oil. Women often shelled coconuts in exchange for money. They made little money but working together had helped tightened friendships among women.		
79	การปอกมะพร้าว และประเพณี วัฒนธรรมจากข้าว	Coconut Shelling and Rice-related Customs
The guest speaker continued to discuss about women’s careers; coconut shelling and hijab embroidering. Then she went on to describing local custom related to rice. At the end of each harvest, villagers often celebrated together. The guest speaker said the activity tightened relationships among Buddhist and Muslims villagers.		
80	ชาkadข้าวเปลือก	Paddy Zakat
Zakat was a form of religious tax paid by Muslims. Baan Po-ming had a Zakat system which Muslim farmers had to donate certain amounts of paddy to the mosque. The paddy and rice became the community’s welfare for those in need. The village was able to gain more than 10,000 tons of paddy per year.		

81	การกีฬาเพื่อสร้างความมั่นคงที่พ้อมิ่ง	Sports for Friendship at Baan Po-ming
Baan Po-ming organized an inter-community sport day on the day after the Hari Rayao celebration (twice a year). The event created friendship among villagers, relieved stress, prevented drug abuse among teenagers and promoted healthy lifestyle among villagers, especially elderly.		
82	ปอเนาะพ้อมิ่ง ตอนที่ 1	Po-ming <i>Pondok</i> . Part 1
Po-ming <i>Pondok</i> , or the Islamic Culture School of Po-ming, was a well-known <i>pondok</i> in southern Thailand. It was a boarding school, housing approximately 2,500 students (half of which was female) and provided both secular and religious curriculum. The school also provided students with opportunities to study abroad. Graduates often became teachers at smaller <i>pondoks</i> . It promoted and supported local communities' religious activities.		
83	ปอเนาะพ้อมิ่ง ตอนที่ 2	Po-ming <i>Pondok</i> . Part 2
In 2009, a <i>pondok</i> student was injured and two were killed in a gunshot attack as they were having dinner near the school. According to the guest speaker's interview with the headmaster, he felt sorry for the students and their families and considered the culprits "bad". However, religion had helped him and the students' family deal with the shock and sorrow.		
84	นักเรียนปอเนาะ ตอนที่ 1	<i>Pondok</i> Students. Part 1
The host interviewed the school's Head Girl. She believed that Muslims should adapt themselves to the developing world while keeping the essence of a good Muslim. She was going to pursue higher religious education in Egypt. After graduation, she hoped to come home to teach religion. She wanted to spread the "right" religious principles to the public in order to end violence.		
85	นักเรียนปอเนาะ ตอนที่ 2	<i>Pondok</i> Students. Part 2
The host speaker interviewed a non-local male student. He said students from different provinces came here because of the school's reputation. The school allowed students to pursue higher education in both secular and religion and he had plans for both. Then, the host interviewed another female student. She said the school's boarding system allowed students and teachers to bond. She planned to pursue higher education in Malaysia and aimed to study Islamic Laws.		
86	สถานการณ์ความไม่สงบที่ชุมชนบ้านพ้อมิ่ง	The Unrest in Baan Po-ming
Incidents in Baan Po-ming and nearby communities had caused a lot of casualties. The village had a group volunteer workers who helped transport the injured and patients in remote areas to hospitals. The activity was supported by an NGO. A volunteer worker suggested that cooperation between locals and the state was important to find a resolution to the conflict.		
87	สภาองค์กรชุมชนกับความเจริญก้าวหน้าของพ้อมิ่ง	The Community Council and Po-Ming's Development
The Po-ming Community Council comprised of various organizations responsible for each aspect of community activity. The Council provided the community with the bottom-up development scheme that reached the community thoroughly.		
88	อาชีพเพาะปลูกและปักผ้าคลุมผมที่พ้อมิ่ง	Agriculture and Hijab-embroidering in Po-ming



Once the rice harvesting season ended, farmers planted various kinds of vegetable and fruit in the rice fields. Farmers were able to make income all year long. In addition to agriculture, Baan Po-ming was famous for its embroidered hijab. Highly-skilled hijab embroiderer were able to make a lot of income. However, according to the interview with an embroiderer, her income had reduced by half since the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency because wholesalers did not want to risk coming to the villager to buy her hijabs.		
89	สถานการณ์ความไม่สงบที่ส่งผลกระทบต่อผู้หญิงและเด็ก	The Southern Unrest and Its Effects on Women and Children
Women and children were not direct victims of the South Thailand Insurgency, but the incidents had had grave emotional effects on them. The host interviewed a girl and her grandmother who lived near Po-ming <i>pondok</i> and survived the gunshot attack at the school. They had suffered post-traumatic distress and insomnia for a long time but was recovering, thanks to the <i>imam</i> (Muslim priest) that gave them emotional support.		
90	ทัศนะมุมมองต่อสถานการณ์ความไม่สงบของชาวพ้อมิ่ง ตอนที่ 1	Po-ming Villagers' Views on the Unrest. Part 1
The host interviewed an <i>imam</i> in Baan Po-ming about his view on the violence in the village. His relative was killed in a gunshot attack. He expressed his concerned on the grave effects of the South Thailand Insurgency on the people who had to live through it. He asked the state to provide consistent support and justice to the locals.		
91	ทัศนะมุมมองต่อสถานการณ์ความไม่สงบของชาวพ้อมิ่ง ตอนที่ 2	Po-ming Villagers' Views on the Unrest. Part 2
Two community leaders suggested the state to communicate with locals and provide a thorough support to reach even the grass-root level. They believed it would help erase prejudice and anger and create cooperation between locals and the state.		
92	ทัศนะต่อความมั่นคงที่ชุมชนพ้อมิ่ง	Views on Community Security in Po-ming
The episode features a few interview with Baan Po-ming villagers. To live a secured life, one first needed to be safe from violent incidents. They also needed constant incomes that enabled them to support themselves. Children needed to be educated. Villagers needed to be able to conduct their religious rituals for peace of mind. Having organizations and the Community Council also made villagers feel empowered.		
93	ความสัมพันธ์ไทยพุทธ-มุสลิมที่ชุมชนพ้อมิ่ง	Thai Buddhist – Muslim Relation in Po-ming
Buddhists and Muslims in Baan Po-ming were good friends. However, after the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency, Buddhists and Muslims became distant. The guest speaker suggested that the friendship remained but the way they interacted had changed such as Buddhist and Muslim friends still talk to each other on the phone but rarely saw each other in person because travelling was not safe and they feared outsiders' negative judgment.		
94	ผู้หญิงที่สูญเสียบุคคลอันเป็นที่รักจากชุมชนพ้อมิ่ง	Baan Po-ming's Women who Lost Their Loved Ones
The host interviewed two Baan Po-ming female villagers whose husbands were killed in the Insurgency incidents. They had to work multiple jobs to support themselves and families. Not all women were able to received support from the government. What they needed		

most was financial aids and career support. They take the religion and family as spiritual refuges.		
<b>95</b>	เยียวยาจิตใจด้วยศาสนา	Healing the Minds with Religion
The guest speaker talked about how she dealt with the loss of her husband. She received emotional support from her friends and relied on religious doctrine as a spiritual guidance. She was able to overcome emotional crisis in the end.		
<b>96</b>	กำลังใจในการก้าวข้ามวิกฤตของคุณมาริส	Marisa's Strength to Overcome the Struggles
The guest speaker, Marisa, talked about how her friends, family, and humanitarian aid providers had helped her overcome emotional hardship. She said she was fortunate to be able to receive support from those people. She felt empowered and inspired by the experience to be the one who provide helps to those in need.		
<b>97</b>	มุมมองความมั่นคงจากนักวิชาการ ตอนที่ 1	Scholars' Views on Security and Stability. Part 1
Three scholars provided their opinions on the South Thailand Insurgency. Individual needed security in life, economic, and spirit. Individual's security and stability must go hand in hand with those of the society. In order to build a sustainable security, it required effort from both individuals and external agencies where individuals were the main actor.		
<b>98</b>	มุมมองความมั่นคงจากนักวิชาการ ตอนที่ 2	Scholars' Views on Security and Stability. Part 2
For security in life, people needed (natural) resources that they could make use of. They needed an equal share of resources among the community. From the religion's point of view, one needed a spiritual guidance to create peace of mind.		
<b>99</b>	ข้อเสนอแนะเพื่อสร้างสันติภาพใน จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ ตอนที่ 1	Suggestions for Peace-building in the Southern Border Provinces. Part 1
Scholars and media professionals suggested some ways to achieve peace in southern Thailand. They believed that women were a high quality human resources and their work could contribute to conflict resolution. They suggested that it was the locals' duty to take part in conflict resolution.		
<b>100</b>	ข้อเสนอแนะเพื่อสร้างสันติภาพใน จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ ตอนที่ 2	Suggestions for Peace-building in the Southern Border Provinces. Part 2
Scholars pointed out women's skills and characteristics – especially endurance and emotional sensitivity – that built a strong family and community and bring about peace. In addition, culture and religion were the topics that should be taken into consideration when discussing security.		
<b>101</b>	ข้อเสนอแนะเพื่อสร้างสันติภาพใน จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ ตอนที่ 3	Suggestions for Peace-building in the Southern Border Provinces. Part 3
Scholars suggested that it was very important to understand issues in southern Thailand thoroughly before coming up with a solution. Force and violent must not be a means of conflict resolution.		

<b>102</b>	ข้อเสนอแนะเพื่อสร้างสันติภาพใน จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ ตอนที่ 4	Suggestions for Peace-building in the Southern Border Provinces. Part 4
A human's right worker suggested that people must be able to participate in public policy making for an effective implementation and corruption prevention. Cultural difference and political disagreement were common, but should not be dealt with violence. He concluded that justice and people's participation in every step of policy-making was important to achieve a peaceful resolution.		
<b>103</b>	ข้อเสนอแนะเพื่อสร้างสันติภาพใน จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ ตอนที่ 5	Suggestions for Peace-building in the Southern Border Provinces. Part 5
Continuing from the previous episode, it was suggested that people and the state must be aware of their rights and duties in policy-making. In addition, another scholar suggested that civilians, not politicians, should be the main actor in peace-building and violence should not be used.		
<b>104</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 1	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 1
Two guest speakers ("researchers") talked about their transitions from victims of the South Thailand Insurgency to social workers who supported the communities and the victims. They said the experience was eye-opening, enjoyable, and had helped them develop various skills.		
<b>105</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 2	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 2
The same guest speakers said the experience in conducting research and making the radio program had helped them realized their own potentials. They felt encouraged by the audience's positive feedback and felt empowered to be able to speak their opinions and experience to the public.		
<b>106</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 3	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 3
Another two guest speakers talked about their experience in making the radio program. They were able to share stories of their lives and communities that were rarely talked about in other media. They were proud to be the voice of local women and make them "visible" to the public. The experience also allowed them to develop various skills.		
<b>107</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 4	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 4
Continuing from the previous episode, the guest speakers said they had had to study a lot to prepare for the field research for the radio program. They believed skills and knowledge they gained from producing the radio program would be useful in their career and personal life.		
<b>108</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 5	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 5

Continuing from the previous episode, the guest speakers talked about how the audience's feedbacks had guided them to improving their skills as a radio program host and inspired them to continue working for the community.		
<b>109</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 6	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 6
The last two guest speakers said their experience in conducting field research and making the radio program had taught them teamwork. They got to learn more about their communities' history, culture, and economic and issues they might have overlooked.		
<b>110</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 7	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 7
Continuing from the previous episode, the guest speakers said they were able to receive guidance from professional researchers and media personnel. Although it was their first time conducting field research and making a radio program, they felt it was challenging and had fun doing it. In addition, they had learnt to work in a team and time management.		
<b>111</b>	เสียงสะท้อนของนักวิจัยจากชุมชน ท้องถิ่นต่อการจัดรายการ ตอนที่ 8	Voices from the Local Researchers on Making the Radio Program. Part 8
The same guest speakers talked about how being a part of the radio program had empowered them. They said, according to the audience's feedbacks, women's potential was acknowledged by men. They had become more courageous and confident. They hoped their stories of overcoming crises would inspire and encourage other women.		
<b>112</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนต้นหยงลูโละ ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 1	Baan Tanyong-luloh Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 1
The hosts discussed Baan Tanyong-luloh's main issues: deteriorating natural resources which had caused unemployment and driven people out of the community to work in the city or in Malaysia. Parents, especially mothers, were not able to attend to their families. Another issue was poverty. A lot of women overworked in exchanged for little income. But the village had decently organized career groups and environmental conservation groups which could be expanded to formal organizations in the future.		
<b>113</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนต้นหยงลูโละ ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 2	Baan Tanyong-luloh Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 2
Continuing from the previous episode, the hosts discussed the community's historical sites which were not only a potential tourist attractions but also a symbol of the region's multicultural characteristic. The host then noted the women's dual roles; as a homemaker and as the household's economic supporter. It was suggested that working women should be provided with career trainings and environment that accommodated their dual roles.		
<b>114</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนบูเก๊ะ ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 1	Baan Bugae Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 1
The host moved on to discussing Baan Bugae. The village had strong leaders (including Baan Buage's guest speaker) and highly organized groups and administration with high participation from villagers. The village also constantly worked hand in hand with local government. The hosts said women's endurance and emotional sensitivity were and advantage that had helped accommodate the community's work progress.		

<b>115</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนบูเก๊ะ ผลกระทบและ การก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 2	Baan Bugae Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 2
The host continued discussing Baan Bugae. They talked about Baan Bugae's guest speaker's experience as a women who had turned herself from a victim to a social worker. She was able to deliver her experience and the community's stories to the audience well and inspired the audience to work to improve the community (according to the feedback).		
<b>116</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนตากใบ ควนโนรี ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 1	Baan Kuannoree and Takbai Community Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 1
The hosts discussed Baan Kuannoree and Takbai Community (Baan Jaroh). The villages' issues were poverty, poor healthcare and sanitation, drugs, and lack of access to higher education. However, after the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency, the communities received support from the state (though not thoroughly) and it had development projects led and carried out by strong community workers (the guest speakers).		
<b>117</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนตากใบ ควนโนรี ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 2	Baan Kuannoree and Takbai Community Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 2
The hosts discussed changes in Baan Kuannoree and Takbai Community since the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency. They discussed changes in the guest speakers' role from a housewife to a community worker and a human's right activist. They have connected the communities to government and private agencies so humanitarian aids reached the villagers in need.		
<b>118</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนตากใบ ควนโนรี ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 3	Baan Kuannoree and Takbai Community Analysis. Part 3
The hosts discussed Buddhist-Muslim relation in both villages. Although they grew some distant after the beginning of the South Thailand Insurgency, they were able to restore the good relationship because of the friendship between both religions that had lasted for generations.		
<b>119</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนตากใบ ควนโนรี ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 4	Baan Kuannoree and Takbai Community Analysis. Part 4
The hosts discussed the women's experience as mothers and wives who were indirectly affected by the South Thailand Insurgency – stories that were hardly talked about in other media. They believed that the radio program provided a stage for these women to tell their side of the story and would inspire the audience one way or another. In addition, by letting local women participate in the making of the radio program, the hosts believed that women, although with little education, were able to develop themselves into a potential social worker.		
<b>120</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนเตี๋ยรยา ผลกระทบ และการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 1	Baan Tiaraya Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 1
The hosts discussed Baan Tiaraya's natural resources and their economic benefits, and the effects of the village's deteriorating environment. Then they discussed Buddhist-Muslim relation. Lastly, the hosts discussed how family and religion had helped the guest speaker overcome various hardship following the South Thailand Insurgency.		

<b>121</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนเทียรยา ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 2	Baan Tiaraya Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 1
The hosts discussed Baan Tiaraya's guest speaker's performance as the community's representative. They said the guest speaker was able to express her experience and stories of the community well. Her and her grandmother's stories were moving and received positive feedback from the audience.		
<b>122</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนพ้อมิ่ง ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 1	Baan Po-ming Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 1
The hosts discussed women's participation in economic activities and the village's unique customs related to rice, its main agricultural product. Then they discussed the roles of religions as villagers' spiritual refuge. Lastly, they discussed the village's aim to become self-reliance, which villagers believe would be the foundation of a strong community.		
<b>123</b>	วิเคราะห์ชุมชนพ้อมิ่ง ผลกระทบและการก้าวข้าม ตอนที่ 2	Baan Po-ming Analysis. Effects and Overcoming. Part 1
The hosts discussed audience's feedbacks on the episodes about Baan Po-ming. Local audience said they were introduced to issues they never knew about the community. The guest speaker was said to be able to illustrate life and issues in the community well.		
<b>124</b>	ข้อค้นพบที่ได้จากงานวิจัย และการจัดทำรายการวิทยุ	Lessons and Ideas from Conducting Research and Making the Radio Program
The hosts summarized issues and hardship faced by women in each village. They said that coordination among villagers, community consciousness and friendship among villagers were the main contribution to a successful implementation of community development projects and peaceful coexistence between Buddhists and Muslims. Religion played an important role as a spiritual refuge. Motherhood was a factor that pushed women to fight and overcome fear and discouragement. Women believed that their compassionate and gentle nature would contribute to peace-building in the community.		
<b>125</b>	ข้อค้นพบเกี่ยวกับมุมมองความมั่นคง และขอบคุณผู้ฟัง รวมทั้งเสียงทุกเสียงในรายการ	Lessons and Ideas Regarding Views on Security. [Our] Thanks to the Audience and Every Voice
The hosts summarized the local women's views on security that "security" included 1) safety in life and assets, 2) having religions as a spiritual guidance and able to maintain one's religious and cultural identity, 3) having a strong mind; being able to overcome emotional crisis, anger, and religious prejudice, 4) having a secured job, 5) having a community organization and being able to participate in one, 6) having a happy family, 7) children having opportunities for higher education, 8) receiving equal treatment from the state regardless of the religions.		