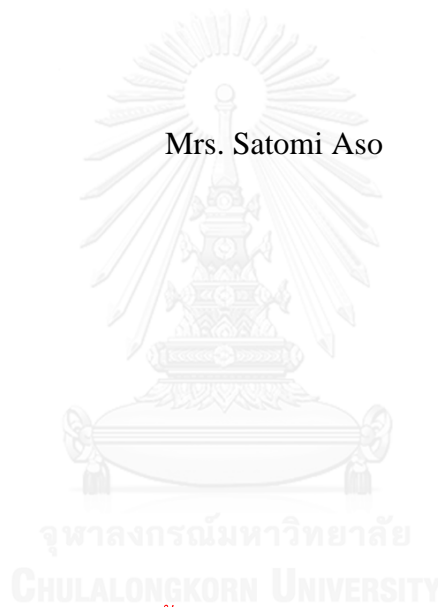


COMMUNITY RADIO AND EMPOWERMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS OF
SHAN MIGRANT WORKERS:
CASE STUDY OF MAP RADIO IN CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

Mrs. Satomi Aso



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วิทยุชุมชนกับการเสริมพลังของคนงานอพยพชาวไทใหญ่: กรณีศึกษาแมพรัดโอใน
เชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
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ชาโตมิ อาโอะ : วิทยุชุมชนกับการเสริมพลังของแรงงานอพยพชาวไทใหญ่: กรณีศึกษาแมพเรดิโอใน เชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย (COMMUNITY RADIO AND EMPOWERMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS OF SHAN MIGRANT WORKERS: CASE STUDY OF MAP RADIO IN CHIANG MAI, THAILAND) อ.ที่ปรึกษา วิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: พิรงรอง รามสูต, หน้า.

ในปัจจุบันการพัฒนามนุษย์ได้รับความสนใจจากโครงการพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศโดยหน่วยงานที่ให้การสนับสนุน การเงินมากขึ้น ขณะเดียวกันวิทยุชุมชนก็เริ่มได้รับความสนใจจากหน่วยงานที่ให้เงินสนับสนุนมากขึ้นด้วยเช่นกัน ทั้งนี้เพื่อเป็น เครื่องมือในการยกระดับการพัฒนาความเป็นมนุษย์ทั่วโลก

ประเทศไทยในฐานะที่เป็นประเทศปลายทางของผู้อพยพจากประเทศเพื่อนบ้าน ไม่ว่าจะเป็นเมียนมาร์ กัมพูชา และ ลาวนั้น แรงงานอพยพในประเทศไทยจึงตกเป็นเป้าในการเอาเปรียบอย่างง่ายดาย เนื่องจากขาดระบบการปกป้องสิทธิขั้นพื้นฐาน ใน สถานการณ์ดังกล่าวนี้สถานีวิทยุชุมชนจำนวนหนึ่งได้เข้ามามีบทบาทสำคัญในการเป็นแหล่งข้อมูลและเรื่องข่าวภาคสังคมในหมู่ แรงงานอพยพซึ่งถือเป็นกลุ่มคนที่ด้อยโอกาสและถูกกลืนโดยกลุ่มหนึ่งในสังคมไทย

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มุ่งศึกษาการสร้างอำนาจและส่งเสริมสิทธิมนุษยชนผ่านเครือข่ายวิทยุชุมชน ระเบียบวิจัยที่ใช้คือ การวิจัย เชิงคุณภาพโดยศึกษากรณีของวิทยุชุมชนผู้อพยพ “แมพเรดิโอ” ซึ่งทำการกระจายเสียงในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ การวิจัยใช้วิธีสัมภาษณ์ เจาะลึกกับผู้ให้ข้อมูลจาก “แมพเรดิโอ” และการสนทนากลุ่มในหมู่แรงงานอพยพจากรัฐฉานซึ่งเป็นกลุ่มคนที่รับฟังการกระจายเสียง จากสถานีวิทยุดังกล่าวเป็นประจำ

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ต้องการชี้ให้เห็นว่า การสร้างอำนาจและส่งเสริมสิทธิมนุษยชนนั้น เป็นรูปเป็นร่างขึ้นโดยวิทยุชุมชนเพื่อ แรงงานอพยพซึ่งเป็นผู้เปราะบางทางสังคมในภาคเหนือของประเทศไทยได้อย่างไร

ผลการวิจัยที่สำคัญคือ การมีส่วนร่วมและการเข้าร่วมของแรงงานอพยพในกระบวนการผลิตสื่อของวิทยุชุมชนนั้น ช่วย ยกระดับการสร้างอำนาจได้เท่าๆ กับการสร้างอำนาจของชุมชน

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SATOMI ASO: COMMUNITY RADIO AND EMPOWERMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS OF SHAN MIGRANT WORKERS: CASE STUDY OF MAP RADIO IN CHIANG MAI, THAILAND. ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. PIRONGRONG RAMASOOTA, Ph.D., pp.

As human development has gained huge attention in international development projects by aid agencies, community radio started to attract the attention of aid agencies as plausible tools for enhancing human development worldwide. In Thailand, a magnetic destination for migrants from the neighboring countries, such as Burma, Cambodia and Laos, migrant workers easily become targets of exploitation due to the ineffective legal system to protect their rights. In this particular situation, some community radio stations play a critical role as information source and social-networking medium for underprivileged and disenfranchised migrant workers in Thai society.

The focus of this research is on the empowerment in human rights through community radio. This qualitative research uses a case-study approach through the migrant community radio, named MAP Radio, broadcasting in Chiang Mai, Thailand. The researcher has conducted in-depth interviews with key informants of MAP Radio and focus-group interviews with Shan migrant workers who are regular MAP Radio listeners.

This research aims to examine how the empowerment of human rights is formed through the community radio for the socially vulnerable Shan migrant workers in northern Thailand. The finding has revealed that participation and involvement of the migrant workers in the community radio production process- enhances the empowerment level as well as the community empowerment.

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
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This thesis is the product of a combination of many different experiences, observations, studies and lessons from many people I have met in my life. All of these elements taken together led me to believe this is a worthy research topic. Listing all the people and events that brought me to this conclusion is not possible in the space allotted. Accordingly, I can only mention the following truncated list of all those who I should acknowledge.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMARC	-	Association Mondiale des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires
CR	-	Community Radio
LAOS	-	The Lao People's Democratic Republic
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	-	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
MAP	-	Migrant Assistance Programme
UK	-	The United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nations
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNI	-	United Nations Information Center Tokyo

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“We might face legal problems. Without MAP Radio, we never know what period, where to go and who to contact for registration.” “We want MAP Radio to broadcast again as soon as possible. We have questions about our VISA which are going to be expired soon. We have no idea how we can renew our VISA. We need the information.” “We are missing the information. We cannot reach the information. I heard that the Thai authority is opening a new registration but we do not know any details. We cannot do anything.”

The military coup on 22 May 2014 in Thailand sparked huge concern among migrant workers across the country. They were scared of arrest and forced repatriation by the military and police under the coup. A rumor on the sudden crack-down of illegal migrant workers by the army fueled their concern even among those with legal documents. The biggest problem for them was that they had lost their only information source which was the community radio broadcasting in their mother tongue in northern Thailand. The military had suspended all independent community radio stations as soon as they seized the power aiming to defuse political tensions as the opponents and supporters of the previous government had been operating community radio stations across the country. It was unknown when the military would allow over 6,000 community radio station to resume broadcasting. Without the information, migrant workers were experiencing anxiety about their status, work and daily life as well as their future.

Over the past 20 years, Thailand has been attracting a large number of less-skilled low-wage workers from the neighboring countries, such as Cambodia, Laos and Burma, as its economic structure depends on cheap labor of migrant workers. Currently, more than three million migrants without Thai nationality are working in the country, especially in fishing and frozen food preparation, manufacturing and construction sectors (Archavanitkul, 2011). However, the legal system to assist

migrants does not work effectively because the Thai government concerns migrant issues against the national security (Otomo, 2012). Migrant workers' rights are difficult to exert in practice in Thailand at both policy and practical levels. Local authorities have imposed limitations on basic rights of migrants, such as banning the use of mobile phone and motorbike and prohibiting public gathering and cultural or religious festivals (Yamada, 2008). Without strong official protection, migrant workers in Thailand easily become the targets of exploitation by employers as they are confronted with the lower-than-minimum wage, unpaid wages, violation of overtime and holiday wage regulations, no compensation for occupational deaths and accidents (MAP Foundation).

In this particular situation, community radio is playing an important role for Burmese migrant workers in providing accurate information which enables them to avoid exploitation and to provide a social space for them to connect with one another and share experiences. Two radio stations, named MAP Radio, targeting Shan and Bamar migrant workers from Burma in northern Thailand are operating under the support of a local NGO, Migrant Assistance Programme (MAP) Foundation. MAP Radio has changed the lives of migrant workers by delivering messages that will help them secure their own human rights.

The research examines how the empowerment of human rights is formed in community radio for migrant workers through their participation in drawing up community agendas in the radio production process, the radio stations' empowerment strategy which allow them to engage in decision making at the community participation level, and level of empowerment that migrant workers have achieved. This research is a case study of an independent community radio, named MAP Radio, aired for the Burmese migrant workers in Thailand. MAP Radio has one station in Chiang Mai and another station in Mae Sot where millions of Burmese migrants moved in several years ago. The objective of this radio station is to empower migrant communities, thus they broadcast mostly in Shan language in Chiang Mai and in Burmese language in Mae Sot. The foci of radio broadcasting are worker s' rights, occupational health and safety in workplace, HIV/AIDS issues, youth power, general

health problems, and cultural topics. Listeners are mainly Burmese migrants who work at construction sites, in factories and in domestic work, tourist and entertainment industry as well as in service industry. This case study is relevant to the research since the main objective of MAP Radio is to empower migrant workers, especially in terms of labor rights, which is in line with the research objective. In addition, the size of the radio station and the number of listeners are relatively small, which makes it more convenient to examine a direct relationship between the radio and its listeners. Moreover, the targets of this radio station is Shan and Burmese migrants who do not share the language with Thai people, and MAP Radio is the only station which broadcasts in Shan in Chiang Mai. It means that there are less external factors affecting migrants' consciousness and action, which helps the researcher in the identification of relation between radio operation and empowerment.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

People empowerment through media has been widely studied for a long time and broadly used in development projects by governments of various countries, such as the United States and Japan, the UN agencies, such as UNESCO and UNDP, international banks and NGOs. The effects of mass media on modernization and democracy have also been mentioned in a number of studies. Nevertheless, the studies of small sized alternative media, including community radio, targeting to empower minorities are not yet complete although community radio has often been used to empower minorities in several development projects recently. Moreover, the studies of community radio targeting at the migrant workers who do not share the language with people in the host country are not common and expected to be developed further.

The aim of this research is to identify the direct relations between community radio, the empowerment of individual migrant listeners and community empowerment, focusing on human rights issues. The analysis and findings of this study will reveal the points that are still missing in the related research. The researcher also tries to expand the meaning and increase the functions of community radio in the migrant worker community.

1.2 Objectives of Research

This research has three main objectives: 1) to examine how human rights issues are constructed through the establishment of community agendas in the production process of MAP Radio and how funding, organizational structure and recruitment of migrant workers at MAP Radio influence the policy and production of MAP Radio, 2) to identify MAP Radio's main human rights empowerment strategies including the content orientation of MAP Radio program and the extent of Shan community participation in decision making in the production of MAP Radio and 3) to examine and identify areas of capacity building for human rights that are delivered to MAP Radio's regular audience/listeners in the community via MAP Radio program and the empowerment level.

1.3 Research Questions

The three research questions are as follows:

Question 1

How are human rights issues constructed through the establishment of community agendas in the production process of MAP Radio?

Sub-question 1.2

How do funding, organizational structure and recruitment of migrant workers at MAP Radio influence the policy and production of MAP Radio?

Question 2

What are MAP Radio's main human right empowerment strategies? To what extent does Shan community participate in decision making in the production of MAP Radio?

Sub-question 2.2

What is the content orientation of MAP Radio program?

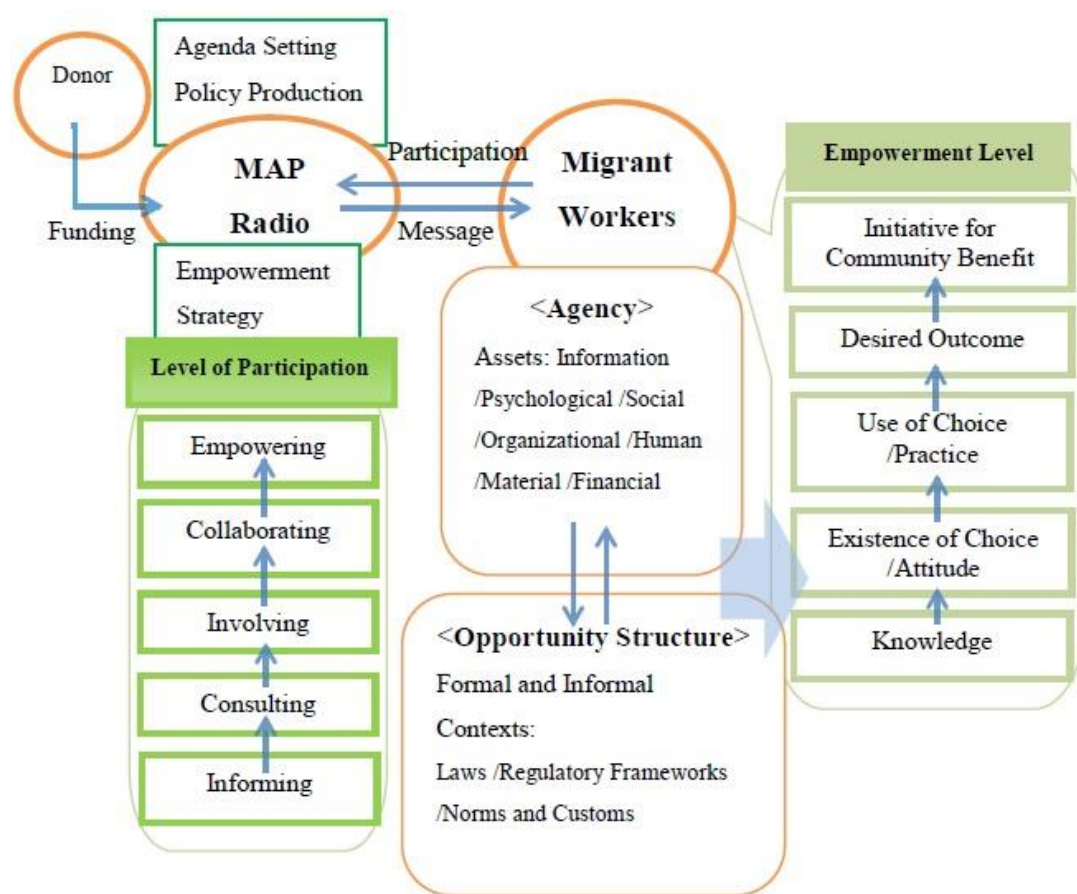
Question 3

What areas of capacity building for human rights are delivered to MAP Radio’s regular audience/listeners in the community via MAP Radio program and to what extent?

1.4 Conceptual Framework

The following figure is a conceptual framework used in this study.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework used in this study



As this study examines how and what messages MAP Radio delivers to migrant listeners and under which empowerment strategies, it is also possible to determine the extent of public participation in the decision making and to find out how migrant listeners participate in the radio station’s activities. In order to determine the level of community empowerment, the researcher analyzes the extent of public participation in the operation of MAP Radio. According to this conceptual

framework, the researcher also examines how human rights issues are constructed through the establishment of community agendas through MAP Radio's content and how MAP Radio improves individual migrant worker's capacity through its messages influencing the agency by assessing changes in the knowledge of migrant workers, the existence of choice and their attitude, the use of choice, desired outcomes and initiative for community benefit in terms of human rights. The researcher also examines how MAP Radio affects the agency's assets in the realization of human rights empowerment. However, this study does not include opportunity structure due to limited time among political changes in Thailand under the military coup.

Public Participation Level

As for the level of public participation, the researcher adopts five steps of public participation spectrum to identify the extent of Shan migrant community's participation in the decision making process at MAP Radio. A link between public participation and community empowerment will be stated in CHAPTER II: Literature Review. Indicators for each step are shown in the table below.

Table 1: Measurement of public participation level

	Indicators	Level of participation
Empowering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether the final decision is placed in hands of community members • Whether MAP Radio implements the community's decisions made by ballots or delegates 	Highest
Collaborating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether community's direct advice is taken into account when formulating solutions and incorporating recommendations for decision making as much as possible via advisory committee or participatory decision making 	Middle high
Involving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether community's concerns and responses are jointly considered with community members before making decisions • Whether feedback on how community has influenced decisions is provided 	Middle

Consulting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whether community's concerns and responses are considered in the decision making at MAP Radio via focus groups, surveys or public meetings 	Middle low
Informing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whether community members are kept informed by MAP Radio Whether MAP Radio's information dissemination is effective 	Lowest

Measurement of Individual's Empowerment Level

As for measuring individual empowerment, Alsop (2005) created "agency and opportunity structure." Agency refers to an actor's ability to make meaningful choice including envisaging options. Component or antecedent of such ability is asset, such as psychological asset (capacity to envision), information, organizational asset, material asset, social asset (social capital), financial asset and human asset (skill, literacy and education). Although some assets are not easy to measure, some are easy to measure. On the other hand, opportunity structure includes both formal and informal contexts in which the actor operates. Its components are the presence and operation of formal and informal institutions or rules of game, such as laws, regulatory frameworks, norms and customs, governing the actor's behavior. These components determine whether an individual or a group has access to assets and whether they can use assets to achieve desired outcomes.

Agency and opportunity structure work together to generate different degrees of empowerment. Direct measures of empowerment are possible by assessing: 1) whether an opportunity to make a choice exists (existence of choice), 2) whether a person actually uses the opportunity to choose (use of choice) and 3) whether the choice achieves the desired result (achievement of choice). For example, when assessing the degree of women political empowerment, it is necessary to gather information about 1) whether opportunities for political participation exist (whether elections are held), and if so, 2) whether women attempt to vote and 3) whether they actually vote. When women achieved desired outcome which is the actual vote, the degree of empowerment is high, while if there is no opportunity for women to participate in politics, such as no election, their empowerment level is low.

The research uses an adjusted measurement framework combining the “agency and opportunity structure” and KAP model based on the definition of empowerment whose diverse definitions are explained later in CHAPTER II. The thesis adopts the definition of empowerment as ‘enhancing an individual’s or a group’s capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes (Alsop, 2005),’ because this is the widely used definition in the international development context which MAP Radio refers to. Moreover, the concepts of ‘enhancing capacity’ and ‘transforming choice into desired outcome’ match with the context of this research.

KAP model has been widely used in the area of education and medical health programs to measure the effectiveness of programs by assessing what people know, how they feel and how they behave regarding certain topic provided by programs. KAP model assesses the levels of knowledge, attitude and practice of community. Knowledge refers to people’s understanding about certain topics. Attitude refers to people’s feelings about the topics as well as any preconceived ideas that people may have about them. Practice refers to the ways people demonstrate their knowledge and attitude through their actions (Kaliyaperumal, 2004). The reason to add KAP model to the “agency and opportunity structure” is that the knowledge which is not included in the agency and opportunity structure, such as critical element, is essential to the context of human rights. If people do not recognize or do not know about the existence of rights or the fact that they are actually worthy to have the rights, they will tend to accept the legitimacy of unequal orders.

In addition, this research has added initiative for community benefit, such as to actively encourage others in the community to promote empowerment and to take action in order to realize desired outcomes for the community, because community radio has a strong characteristic to urge participation in horizontal communication with the aim of community benefit, called a positive cycle of empowerment. To reach desired outcomes for the whole community, not only for individual, is the ultimate goal of community radio as stated in CHAPTER II. The thesis works on the concept

of empowerment as ‘community radio enhancing an individual Shan migrant worker’s or Shan migrant community’s capacity to make choices to fight against human rights violation and transform those choices into desired outcomes, which are to achieve better human rights and to initiate the benefit of the whole Shan migrant community by actively encouraging others in the community to promote human rights empowerment and acting to realize better human rights for the community.’ Matrix to measure the degree of individual empowerment used in the thesis is as follows:

Table 2: Measurement of individual empowerment level

	Indicators	Empowerment level
Initiative for community benefit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether one initiates to encourage others in the community towards human rights empowerment • Whether one actively realizes better human rights for the community 	Highest
Achievement of choice (Desired outcome)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether better human rights results are achieved • Whether human rights are protected 	Middle high
Use of choice (Practice)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether one gets to make choices to fight against human rights violation 	Middle
Existence of choice and attitude	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether one wants to fight against human rights violation and whether one has the opportunity to do so 	Middle low
Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether one is informed about human rights • Whether one understands human rights 	Lowest

1.5 Research Methods

The qualitative research is a case study which includes in-depth interviews with key informants of MAP Radio staff and focus-group interviews with Shan migrant workers who regularly listen to MAP Radio. A case study is ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly

evident' (cited in Yin (2003) p. 13-14). As for its benefit, it is explained that 'in general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events' (cited in Yin (2003) p. 1). Yin also states that 'the case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points; ...relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion; and ...benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis' (cited in (Yin (2003)) p. 13-14). Case study was an appropriate method for this research because the thesis examined a contemporary phenomenon in real-life context. The researcher also posed "how" questions and made use of the prior theoretical propositions to guide analysis and form matrix to assess empowerment levels.

The thesis worked on a community radio, called MAP Radio, broadcasting in Chiang Mai in northern Thailand. The reason to choose a station in Chiang Mai rather than the one in Mae Sot, where another MAP Radio station is based, is that MAP Foundation has its headquarter in Chiang Mai and focuses on more labor rights issues. Therefore, the station in Chiang Mai fits the research more.

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with two key informants from MAP Radio and MAP Foundation and five focus-group interviews with thirteen migrant workers who were regular listeners of MAP Radio. The in-depth interviews were conducted in English and the focus-group interviews used a translator to translate the interviews from Shan language into English. Migrant workers who were interviewed were well representatives of Shan migrants who stayed in Chiang Mai. The interviewees varied from female, male and transgender. Their age range was 20-50 years. They also have a variety of main occupations, including domestic workers, construction workers and factory workers. The in-depth interviews with key informants from MAP Radio aimed to gather information related to MAP Radio's production process, structure and empowerment strategies. It clarified how human rights issues were constructed through the establishment of community agendas in the production process and how the organizational structure including migrant worker

recruitment and funding structure influenced the policy and production process of MAP Radio. The focus-group interviews with migrant workers who regularly listened to MAP Radio were conducted to clarify their human rights empowerment levels according to their concerns. Details of interviewees are shown in the table below.

Key informants

- Mr. Seangmuang Mangkorn, Founder and Secretary of MAP Foundation
- Miss. Juthamane Areeya, Manager of MAP Radio

Table 3: Interviewee list for focus-group interview

	Gender	Age	Occupation	Period of stay in Chiang Mai
Focus-group A				
Informant 1	Female	35	Construction worker	12 years
Informant 2	Female	52	Domestic worker	30 years
Informant 3	Female	35	Domestic worker	13 years
Informant 4	Female	36	Construction worker	14 years
Focus-group B				
Informant 5	Female	44	NGO worker	24 years
Informant 6	Female	29	NGO worker	16 years
Focus-group C				
Informant 7	Male	35	Factory worker	9 years
Informant 8	Male	25	Construction worker	7 years
Focus-group D				
Informant 9	Male	36	Construction worker	10 years
Informant 10	Male	33	Construction worker	10 years
Informant 11	Male	30	Construction worker	10 years
Informant 12	Male	39	Construction worker	10 years
Informant 13	Male	28	Construction worker	10 years

Selection of interviewees prioritizes equal distribution in terms of gender and age. It also ensures the representativeness of migrant workers in Chiang Mai. Hence, the interviewees have a variety of major occupations in construction industry and information sector. These selected migrant workers have stayed in Chiang Mai for a longer period which meets the representativeness requirement. The selection criteria

also include interviewees' convenience because migrant workers have to be fulltime employees. The interview outline is shown in APPENDIX.

The data collection methods are basically in-depth interview and focus-group interview. The method and targeted data for each research question are explained in the table below.

Table 4: Data collection methods

Research question	Date needed	Where/Who	Tools
1. How are human rights issues constructed through the establishment of community agendas in the production process of MAP Radio?	Establishment of agendas in production process	MAP Radio staff	In-depth interview
1.2 How do the funding, organizational structure and recruitment of migrant workers at MAP Radio influence the policy and production of MAP Radio?	Effects of funding, organizational structure and recruitment of migrant workers on policy and production	MAP Radio staff	In-depth interview
2. What are MAP Radio's main human rights empowerment strategies? To what extent does Shan community participate in decision making in the production of MAP Radio?	Human rights empowerment strategies	MAP Radio staff	In-depth interview *Analysis of public participation level
2.2 What is the content orientation of MAP Radio program?	Timetable of radio program and content orientation	MAP Radio staff	In-depth interview
3. What areas of capacity building for human rights are delivered to MAP Radio's regular audience/listeners in the community via MAP Radio program and to what	Effects of MAP Radio on migrant workers' knowledge, attitude and practice	Migrant workers who regularly listen to MAP Radio	Focus-group interview *Analysis of empowerment level.

extent?	regarding human rights		
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1.6 Limitations

This research has several limitations. First, time span, research location and target ethnicity of migrant workers are limited. The research was conducted in July - August 2014; therefore, the data was collected in a short period. Moreover, the consideration of opportunity structure, including migrate related laws and regulations, is omitted. The research site is limited to Chiang Mai in northern Thailand, although there are other several cities, including Mae Sot, Bangkok and Samut Prakarn, where a large number of migrant worker's communities are located. In addition, the research focuses only on Shan migrant workers coming from Burma.

Second, there is language barrier. The in-depth interviews with key informants of MAP Foundation and MAP Radio were directly conducted in English. However, the communication with Shan migrant workers during the focus-group interviews used a Shan translator to translate the interviews from Shan language into English. The translator is fluent in both Shan and English with decent background knowledge of migration issues. The translator also used a word-for-word translation; however, the interviews conducted with the help of a translator can also be considered a limitation of the research.

Third, there was an obstacle against non-participatory observation. The research had no possibility for non-participatory observation of MAP Radio operation since the Thai military suspended all community radio stations across the kingdom on May 22nd, 2014. Later, the military government allowed the station to resume broadcasting under several conditions on 25th September 2014 when this research has already been completed. Without non-participatory observation, the research was unable to grasp a complete picture of MAP Radio operation.

1.7 Ethical Issues

This research involves ethical issues since it concerns migrant workers in Thailand which is a sensitive topic. There might be potential to interview migrant workers without legal status especially in the situation of political instability. Although mutual consent is basically required for each interview, anonymity is also necessary on the thesis paper in order to reduce risk for undocumented migrants to be identified and punished by Thai and Burmese authorities.

1.8 Significance of Research

This research enriches the academic knowledge about community radio and empowerment for the socially vulnerable migrant workers. Usual studies on community media are targeting at indigenous people and ethnic minorities but not migrant workers. In this study, the researcher was able to analyze advanced possible functions of community radio in the context of the lives of migrant workers.

Moreover, this research has identified key factors enhancing the empowerment of migrant workers via community radio. In addition, the analysis of MAP Radio operation served as a useful reference in the field of empowerment research. It also contributes to development practices and academic studies.

1.9 Overall Structure of Thesis

The main purpose of this thesis is to identify how human rights empowerment of Shan migrant workers in northern Thailand is formed through the community radio. This thesis has achieved certain findings revealing that the participation of migrant workers through the community radio's production processes enhances their individual empowerment level as well as community empowerment level.

In Chapter II, the thesis presents a general framework regarding the relation between media and minorities and the empowerment in a brief literature review. It also shows the history of community radio and its characteristics and definition. There

is also an explanation about the history and landscape of community radio in Thailand. In addition, historical trend of less-skilled migrant workers from the neighboring countries is stated, including the Thai government's position towards migrant workers and Burmese migrant worker's situation in Thailand. Chapter III provides the findings, including the description of the organization that the thesis works on, such as the background of MAP Radio. It also mentions the influences from funding, organizational structure and migrant worker recruitment on MAP Radio's policy and production process. The main strategies of MAP Radio are also examined in this chapter. Chapter IV describes specific cases of human rights empowerment that migrant workers have experienced under the effects of MAP Radio and how they contribute to the radio production process as general listeners. There is an analysis of migrant community's participation level in the radio production, the empowerment level of migrant listeners and its direct relations with the extent of their participation in building community agendas through the radio contents. It also shows the cases of both high and less empowerment based on the in-depth interviews with migrant workers who regularly listen to MAP Radio. The thesis argues that the more involvement in the radio production the migrant listeners have experienced, the higher level of empowerment they obtain. Chapter V summarizes how community radio has contributed to the empowerment of the socially vulnerable Shan migrant workers to secure their human rights which are supposed to be secured by the authority. Community radio serves as their lifeline that helps Shan migrant workers to prevent being exploited at work. In this section, the thesis also expands the meaning and potentials of community radio for migrant workers. Some implications for further research on this issue are also stated.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review in this chapter covers these following topics; 1) relation between media and the socially vulnerable involving alternative media against the mainstream media, 2) community radio including its history, definition, typical characteristics and the related situations in Thailand, 3) migrant workers' rights which are stipulated in the international convention including the stance of Thai government towards migrant workers and the current situation regarding their rights and 4) empowerment covering measurement of empowerment level and a link between public participation and community empowerment.

2.1 Media and the Socially Vulnerable

The media has both negative and positive influences on the socially vulnerable depending on the way it is used. The negative effects of media on the socially vulnerable and how media is utilized to empower them are as follows:

The socially vulnerable is a group of people who suffer the negative impacts of the media most. They are standing in a more unfortunate position compared to the majority in the society in terms of access to and control of information due to their rare presence in political, economic and cultural domains. Yawata (2009) points at a negative cycle that the socially vulnerable cannot enjoy enough access to information causing larger problems of poverty and marginalization. Furthermore, marginalization

makes them unable to correct their inaccurate or inappropriate images illustrated in the media for their weak social status.

Alternative media for vulnerable minority

Alternative media emerged as a tool to help the socially vulnerable. Thanks to technological innovation, cheap and easy media facilities are available. However, alternative media does not have a universally agreed definition yet. UNESKO (1993) defines alternative communication as the communication that is structured and established as a supplement to the mainstream tradition because the mainstream media does not fully satisfy the communication that certain groups need. Couldry and Curran (2003, p. 7 cited in Yawata, 2009) define alternative media as a media production to challenge the existing centralized media power, while Lewis (1993) claims that alternative media is the way to offer greater access to information and a tool to express own opinions to those whose opinions and views are ignored by mainstream media.

Common characteristics in definitions are “alternative” to existing media, “availability” and “accessibility” for the vulnerable to actively participate in producing and sending information. The United Nations declared the rights of indigenous peoples in 2007 with an emphasis on the importance of indigenous media to challenge stereotypes, enhance indigenous identities, communicate with the outside world and influence social and political agendas. In addition, UNESCO strongly supports alternative media projects through funding.

Impacts of alternative media

The impacts of alternative media on the socially vulnerable who share the same language with the majority in society were studied by several researchers, including one targeting at ethnic minorities, indigenous people and the handicapped. Alternative media affects the socially vulnerable by transforming them from passive receivers or groups into information senders. This type of participation encourages different messages that existing media cannot produce and enhances greater access and control of information. Moreover, community participation itself aims to prevent monopoly in communication and encourages a variety of opinions. It promotes a plurality of opinions by fostering a fair balance between different parties involved in communication process. Thus, it leads to serving society as a whole (MacBride, 1980 cited in Banjade, 2007).

Alternative media makes considerable positive impacts on the socially vulnerable. It makes them visible and forces the society to restructure the relationship with them. The new communication opportunity affects individual knowledge, attitude and behavior, which also lead to changes in the whole society (Yawata (2009). Considering that media is infrastructure of public sphere in modern society (Hanada, 1999 cited in Yawata, 2009), alternative media allows the socially vulnerable to own and manage their own public sphere infrastructure and obtain access and control of information (Yawata, 2009). However, alternative media tends to face some difficult management challenges, such as the lack of human capital, experiences, budget and attractiveness.

2.2 Community Radio

Community Radio (hereafter CR), in this research, refers to one of the alternative media used in the development projects. However, CR has its particular history and characteristics. The studies of CR in terms of its origin, definition, singular characteristic and its use for capacity building for the socially vulnerable are shown below.

History

Brecht (1932) stated that the potential of radio was revolutionary in the way that signals could be both given and received, which opened the gate to change the apparatus from distribution of information to communication. However, technology advancement could not break down the predominant tendency that radio was heavily regulated by dictators, government and media industrialists. Radio has remained for a long time as an instrument of monopoly capitalism over which the audience exercised no control, except tuning in the channels or switching off the radio (Adorno 2006, p. 169 cited in Elliot, 2008). The first CR was established in 1948 when a Bolivian tin miners' radio program was aired in defiance of the authorities. It was supported by the union dues and controlled by the workers, representing an extension of workers' centuries-long struggle against the oligarchy to exploit them (Huesca, 1995 cited in Elliot, 2008). Hence, a CR model emerged with the characteristics of being controlled by audience, autonomy and connection with challenging power (Elliott, 2008).

Decades after the emergence of the first CR, CR was mentioned in the UNESCO's McBride Commission in 1980 in the context of communication

democratization. The report has pointed out that alternative media which is a two-way communication and participation between the media and listeners/audience in terms of both production and management had been developed to break down the social barriers against communication democratization. The alternative communication had been used among several groups, such as those representing radical opposition of various political or philosophical origins, those aiming to decentralize communication in industrialized countries and trade unions. All are opposed to socially, culturally and politically hegemonic forms of communication (MacBride, 1980).

Several years after the MacBride report was published, CR began to expand globally and was supported by some international trends, including liberalization of the airwaves, increased access to cheap communication technology, 'communication for development' movement among international aid agencies, rising indigenous movements, global progression of civil society and emergence of new transnational social movements. However, in the most part of the world, radio is still strictly controlled by states that impose regulations with the aim to protect the states and commercial broadcasting. Yet, the presence of CR in many locations is pressuring governments to change regulations to open the airwaves up to other voices (Elliott, 2008).

Definition

CR is differently defined by different organizations. For example, Association Mondiale des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires (AMARC), CR's global network, has stated that CR has been used as the medium for the voice of the

voiceless, the mouthpiece of oppressed people and generally as a tool for development. In addition, “When radio fosters the participation of citizens and defends their interests;...when cultural diversity is stimulated over commercial homogeneity...; when everyone's words fly without discrimination or censorship, that is community radio” (José Ignacio Lopez Vigil. 1997, www.amarc.org). On the other hand, UNESCO defines CR as the media that is operated in the community, for the community, about the community and by the community. In that sense, the community can be territorial or geographical entity and also a group of people with common interests who are not necessarily living in the same area. The element that distinguishes CR from other media is the high participation level from community members both in management and production as well as the support from individual community members and local institutions as principal sources for the operation (Tabing, 2002). AMARC claims that CR can also be called rural radio, cooperative radio, participatory radio, free radio, alternative radio, popular radio and educational radio.

Characteristics of CR

According to AMARC, there are three common aspects of CR as follows: 1) non-profit making, 2) community ownership and control and 3) community participation. In addition, several words are commonly mentioned in the articles cited in AMARC website, including volunteer, community-based and controlled operation, pluralism, democracy, social movements and oppressed or marginalized people. Moreover, academic studies and journalists have defined the major characteristics of CR (Coyer, 2009 and Buckely et al., 2009 cited in Ramasoota, 2013) as follows:

- To be independent from government and commercial entities
- To provide programming service for the community (either geographic community or community of interest)
- To be owned and managed by people of that community
- To broadcast for social gains rather than private financial profit
- To hold active involvement of community members as audience as well as participants in program production and station management

UNESCO defines the characteristics of CR which overlap with some characteristics defined by the aforementioned academic studies (Tabing, 2002) as follows:

- To serve a recognizable community
- To encourage participatory democracy
- To offer the opportunity to any members of the community to initiate communication and participate in program production and management and to feel a sense of ownership of the station
- To use technology that is appropriate to the economic capability of the people without becoming dependent on external sources
- To be motivated by community well-being, not commercial considerations
- To promote and improve problem solving skill

In common, the characteristics are independence, community benefit (not commercial benefit) and community member's participation in management and production.

CR and capacity building for the socially marginalized

The support of CR for the socially marginalized has been widely adopted in context of international development aid. One of the main reasons to use CR is that the radio has more advantages, compared to other information and communication technologies, such as telephone and computer. Since radio is cheap and easy to operate, it remains the world's most widespread and accessible communication technology, despite the recent technological advancement (AMARC). Radio is cost-efficient and ideal especially for the huge illiterate population in rural areas. Its language and content could be produced in the most suitable way for community's needs (Noronha, 2003 cited in McPhail, 2009).]

In addition, UNESCO has strongly supported CR projects through funding and publishing CR handbooks and users' guides to help community to start and operate their own CR. The objective of UNESCO's CR project is to address crucial social issues at the community level, such as poverty and social exclusion, in order to empower marginalized rural groups and catalyze democratic processes and development efforts (Tabing, 2002).

An example of the UNESCO's CR project is shown in Nepal where almost 200 CRs are operating (CRSC and NEFEJ, 2011). These CR projects recognize CR as a tool to eradicate poverty and social inequality. Actually, CR is the only appropriate medium to deliver information to a large number of people in Nepal because most villages remain unserved by mainstream media, such as national newspapers due to

poor transportation infrastructure. Rural communities are isolated by mountains, hills and river. In addition, illiteracy barrier is also an obstacle to access to information from newspapers. Moreover, television does not serve well in rural areas due to limited access to electricity. Diversities in ethnicities, cultures, languages and socioeconomic backgrounds are also the reasons why small CRs are appropriate for them to get access to information. The census of 2001 listed 92 mother tongues in the country. CR helps overall development of villages with an emphasis on local languages, identifying the local problems and making relevant authorities aware of the problems to be addressed (Banjade, 2007). Furthermore, CR provides changes in horizontal communication and encourages community members to join free and open debates about various issues in the community (White, 1990 cited in Banjade, 2007). CR also provides community members with a platform for debates (Patel, 1998 cited in Banjade, 2007).

Another well-known example of CR is in the Philippines. Tambuli CR, funded by UNESCO, has empowered rural communities through information to motivate community members to take better advantage of existing development opportunities as well as identify and pursue their own development opportunities through discussion and debate that CR supports (UNESCO). The objectives of Tambuli CR are to provide local access to information, to allow community members to express themselves, to connect members together as a community, to strengthen the sense of identity and to transform the audience from information receivers to participants and managers of a communication system (Daquilanea-Tanoy, 2009).

Community radio in Thailand

Although Thailand has a long legacy of state ownership and control of media, CR in Thailand started in 2001 as a result of media reform movement which emerged after a political crisis in 1999, following a bloody military crackdown on prodemocracy demonstrators and intense censorship in mass media. As a gradual liberalization of the airwaves progresses, CR in Thailand has expanded very dramatically. Over 6,000 CRs have applied for CR license and all obtained a 300-day grace period. However, a series of policy interventions, especially permission of six-minute advertisement on CR, encouraged commercial radio stations to be predominant over true civic CR in the sector. Furthermore, as political tension rose in 2009 and 2010 by so-called the red-shirt anti-government protestors, many CR stations were financially supported by the red-shirt protestors and turned into the mouthpiece for political propaganda although the broadcast of instigating violence and unrest was banned under the CR regulations.

In summary, CR in Thailand has gained its legal status as one of the three tiers in broadcasting, including public, commercial and community. However, CR sector has constantly been faced with state interference, politicization and lack of enabling regulatory framework. It has ended the landscape of CR by commercial and political influences. The social role and long-term sustainability of CR in Thailand remain in doubts (Ramasoota, 2013).

Since the military coup on 22 May 2014 the military had ordered all registered CR stations to stop broadcasting to avoid political disruption from political CR

stations. The military government is going to reregister all CR stations under the new rule to be set by the military government ("Radio station closure leaves migrant communities in the dark," 9th August 2014). As this suspension shows, CR sector in Thailand can be faced with forceful political intervention.

2.3 Migrant Workers

International convention and migrant worker's rights

Human rights of migrant workers are specifically protected by the UN 'Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families' which was adopted in 1990 and entered into force in 2003. The convention stipulates rights protection irrespective of their migratory status. The reason for recognizing undocumented migrant worker's rights is rationalized by the fact that irregular migrants are frequently exploited and face serious human rights violations and need to be provided with appropriate actions (OHCHR, 2005). The Convention stipulates a broad range of rights for migrants, including right to mobility, right to life, right not to be tortured, no slavery, no forced labor, freedom of thought and religion, right to freedom of expression, no arbitrary or unlawful interference, no arbitrarily deprived of property, right to liberty and security, right to equality with national of the state concerned before the courts, safeguards against confiscation and destruction of identity documents, protection from being expelled or deprived of his authorization of residence or work permit on the ground of failure to fulfil an obligation at work, right to protection and assistance of the consular, right to social security right to enjoy the same treatment granted to nationals, right to medical care, right to cultural identity, right to transfer earnings and savings when terminated

employment and right to be informed of rights arising out of the Convention and related law. Moreover, children of migrant workers regardless the place of birth shall have the basic rights of access to education on the basis of equal treatment with nationals of receiving country. Besides, the right to be informed about the conditions of admission and other matters for enabling them to comply with administrative or other formalities is also fundamental.(OHCHR, 2005). In summary, migrant workers regardless of its status can enjoy the right to receive the same conditions with nationals of receiving country in terms of wages, social welfare, medical services and participation in labor union (UNIC).

Burmese migrant workers in Thailand

Over the decades, Thailand has attracted a large number of less-skilled and low-wage workers, especially from the neighboring countries, such as Cambodia, Laos and Burma, because of its economic structure depending on migrants' cheap labor. It is reported that more than three million migrant workers without Thai nationality are working in the country, especially in fishing and frozen food preparation, manufacturing and construction sectors (Archavanitkul, 2011). Among all migrant workers, the overwhelming majority is those from Burma. Since they were mostly illegal entrants, the Thai authorities have established several systems to offer them legal status. In 2004, the Thai government set the mechanism to give temporal identity cards to all illegal migrants from Cambodia, Laos and Burma. Eventually, 1.285 million people obtained the temporal identity cards and 814,000 out of 1.68 million applicants were allowed to obtain work permits. Approximately 90 percent of them were Burmese (Mizuno, 2008).

Less-skilled workers from Burma are widely used in poorly-paid employment in every labor-intensive industry, such as agriculture, fishery and garment manufacture. In Mae Sot, the border area with Burma, 80 percent of Burmese migrants work in garment industry, while in Bangkok they mostly work as domestic workers, in informal sectors and factories. On the other hand, in Chiang Mai, the Thailand's second largest city in the north, construction industry and informal sector, including domestic worker industry, are the largest workplaces for Burmese (Mizuno, 2008).

Migrants who came from Burma belong to several ethnic groups, such as Bamar, Karen, Shan, Pao, Mon, Kachin, Rakhine, Chin, Kayah and Lisu (Mizuno, 2008). They are mainly from the ethnic groups that live in the border area. The border area is the base for anti-government ethnic groups against the Burmese government, such as Karen, and there are still ongoing conflicts there. In addition to the conflicts, persecution and discrimination against ethnic minorities in Burma are push factors for migrant workers into Thailand. The inflow of Burmese migrant consists of two major moves. The first move is a flow of ethnic minority from border areas into the cities, including Chiang Mai and Bangkok. In Chiang Mai, migrants from Shan state in Burma are the biggest ethnic group and Bumar accounts for only 10 percent of the whole Burmese migrants. The second move is a flow of Bamar into the bordering Mae Sot area (Mizuno, 2008). Another characteristic of the Burmese immigrants in Thailand is to stay in the country for a long period of time without preparing to return to their country of origin. A survey conducted in 2008 revealed that the average

duration of stay in Thailand was 5.3 years and the average duration of stay of migrants in Chiang Mai and Mae Sot was 9.0 years (Chamratrithirong, 2009 cited in Huguet, 2011).

Thai government's policy

Now, the question is how migrant worker's rights are protected in Thailand whose economic success has been supported by cheap labor of migrant workers. Although the Thai government pledged specifically to protect migrants' and minorities' rights prior to becoming a member of UN Human Rights Council in 2010, the government has not signed the UN Convention on 'the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families' (Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010 cited in Archavanitkul, 2011). The current mechanisms in the government are not providing protection to migrant workers effectively. There is no clear policy specifically targeting at protection for vulnerable migrants at any administration level. Eventually, the legal system to assist migrants is not inadequate (Archavanitkul, 2011). The reason why the Thai government is reluctant to protect migrant's right is reported that the government recognizes the illegal migrant issues as national security concerns (Otomo, 2012). However, the 2007 Constitution, the latest constitution of Thailand as of October 2014, protects human dignity and right to freedom in Article 4, and stipulates in Article 30 that everybody is equal under the law and has the right to legal protection from any forms of discrimination. Moreover, the Immigration Law stipulates that migrant workers who entered into Thailand legally can enjoy the same social services that Thai national workers can receive (Otomo, 2012).

The Labor Protection Act of Thailand also protects the basic labor rights of all workers in the country, including migrants regardless of their legal status, although the Labor Protection Act of 2008 omitted the wording of “regardless of the title that he is given” in the definition of “Employee” which was stipulated in Labor Protection Act of 1998 (Thai Government, 1998) (Thai Government, 2008). The protection includes guarantees for minimum wage, overtime payment and paid holidays. However, it is a big challenge for migrants, especially those who do not hold legal immigration status, to pursue cases and seek legal solutions against rights violation (MAP Foundation).

Some studies also point out that migrant worker’s rights are difficult to exert in practice although they are protected by law. Furthermore, local authorities impose limitations on basic rights of migrants, such as ban to use of mobile phone and motorbike, prohibition of public gathering and cultural or religious festivals (Yamada, 2008). Migrant workers are not allowed to form their own union, which hampers migrant workers to assert and seek protection of rights through collective bargaining by the union. One typical case is exploitation by employers and brokers, such as lower-than-minimum wage , unpaid wage, violation of overtime and holiday wage regulations as well as no compensation for occupational deaths and accidents (MAP Foundation).

2.4 Empowerment

Although the concept of empowerment emerged in 1960's and has gained popularity since then, there is no internationally agreed definition. Page (1999) has defined empowerment as 'a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives.' Oxfam, a well-known UK based NGO, defines empowerment as one 'involves challenging the forms of oppression which compel millions of people to play a part in their society on terms which are inequitable, or in ways which deny their human rights (cited in Jupp, 2010).' With more capacity-building view, Alsop (2005) has defined empowerment as 'enhancing an individual's or group's capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.' The World Bank adopts Alsop's definition and regards access to information as one of the four pillars to promote successful empowerment as well as inclusion and participation, accountability and local organizational capacity (World Bank).

Some examples of CR empowering the socially vulnerable in terms of human rights can be seen in several countries, such as Nepal where CR has empowered ethnic minorities whose rights endowment was limited to enjoy the rights to their own culture and language, the right to communicate, the right to information and the right to participate in shaping decisions and policies concerning their community. Information through CR also has opened the gate for the right to social welfare and the right to medical care; otherwise, the ethnic groups will know nothing about them due to lack of media access (Aram, 2013).

Public participation level and community empowerment

Public participation in public decision making process is highly connected with community empowerment. Strong participation leads to higher empowerment level in a community since implementing community's decisions enhances the community's capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired outcomes, which is defined as empowerment. Higher public participation increases the level of public impact. The most advanced form of public participation in decision making is set as empowering by the International Association for Public Participation. The concept of public participation has been generated from the belief that those who are affected by a decision have rights to be involved in the decision making process. The advantage of public participation is to promote sustainable decisions by recognizing needs and interests of all participants. The depth and scope of public participation consists of five stages (International Association for Public Participation) as follows:

- (1) "Informing" stage's public participation goal is to provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problems, alternatives and/or solutions. It promises the public to keep them informed through several tools, such as newsletters, websites and exhibitions. In this stage, effective information dissemination is vital.
- (2) "Consulting" stage's goal is to obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decision. It promises to listen to and acknowledge their concerns as well as to keep the public informed. It considers the public responses and concerns before making decision. However, there is no obligation to make changes according to them. To enhance the practice in this stage, an episode, not a process, is a typical

form. Some examples of tools are focus-group interviews, surveys and public meetings.

- (3) “Involving” stage’s goal is to work directly with the public throughout the process in order to ensure that the public concerns are consistently recognized and considered. It promises joint consideration of the public responses with the community before making decision and to provide feedback on how community has influenced the decisions. To ensure the practice in this stage, this is ongoing process with a face-to-face communication. Some examples of tools are workshops and deliberate polling.
- (4) “Collaborating” stage’s goal is to partner with the public in every aspect of decision making including developing alternatives and identifying preferred solution. It promises to listen to the community for direct advice in formulating solutions and incorporating recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent. The key is a face-to-face dialogue with community representatives. To ensure the practice in this stage, advisory committees and participatory decision-making are the tools.
- (5) “Empowering” stage’s goal is to place final decision-making in hands of the public. It promises to implement the community’s decision. Some examples of tools are ballots and delegated decisions.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research findings in this chapter start with the description of MAP Radio as background information and the examination on how to build human rights issues through the establishment of community agendas in the radio production process which is to answer research question 1. This chapter also examines the influences from funding, organizational structure and migrant recruitment on MAP Radio's policy and contents which conforms to research sub-question 1.2. The answers to research question 2 about empowerment strategies of MAP Radio and the research sub-question 2.2 regarding the radio's orientation are also stated. At the end, the analysis of complementation of MAP Foundation to MAP Radio wraps up this chapter.

3.1 Description of MAP Radio

Project of MAP Foundation

MAP Radio started as one of MAP Foundation's projects several years ago. MAP Foundation is a Chiang Mai Based grassroots NGO established in 1996 out of a network of five Chiang Mai based NGOs who shared the concerns about the conditions of Burmese migrant workers. The Foundation was registered under Thai law in 2002 as a foundation for health and knowledge of the ethnic labor. The number of MAP Foundation staff is 40, including a few Thais, a majority of Shan and several former migrant workers. Their vision is to establish the future where Burmese migrants have the rights to migrate and stay safely as well as where the human rights

and freedom of all migrants are fully respected and observed. The objective of the foundation is to improve the policies related to migrant workers as they are to be formulated and implemented from the human rights perspective, enhancing local migrant worker communities to be able to collectively improve their working and living conditions, increase understanding about the situation surrounding migrant workers and reduce discrimination against them. The approaches that MAP Foundation has adopted are to empower migrant communities by informing them of their rights and voices and to support policy makers to achieve fair and just policies.

Its operations involve 1) the support for identity and education , 2) the spread information about migrant policies through multi-media, such as radio, publications, audio CD and website, including MAP Radio, 3) the support for labor rights, such as teaching migrant workers about their labor rights and safety equipment for work and 4) the support for community health and empowerment. MAP Foundation also provides legal support with lawyers in order to take legal steps against exploitation and get compensation.

History of MAP Radio

MAP Radio started off as a weekly 15-minute-pre-recorded program at the state-run Radio Thailand's ethnic language broadcast slots in 1996. It was operated and produced by MAP Foundation staffs and migrant volunteers. However, there were several restrictions, such as prohibition of live broadcasting, censor requirement for pre-recorded program, broadcasting permission limited to health care topics,

prohibition of Burmese language use. These obstacles had driven MAP Foundation to establish its own CR.

In 2003, MAP Foundation staffs and migrant volunteers tried to establish its own CR; however, they found it difficult without funding. In 2004, FM99, a Chiang Mai civic CR which was founded and operated by a dentist with its aim to empower marginalized people allowed MAP Foundation staffs and migrant volunteers to broadcast live programs. Radio broadcasting by MAP Foundation received support and huge participation from migrant listeners. In 2008, MAP Foundation and migrant volunteers took over FM99 and transformed it into MAP Radio and established another MAP Radio station in Mae Sot.

Broadcasting of MAP Radio

There are 2 MAP Radio stations, FM99 in Chiang Mai and FM102.5 in Mae Sot. Each station's wave can reach to audience who are 3 kilometers away from the station. It also broadcasts online at www.mapradio.org. MAP Radio has launched an application for Android OS smartphones allowing audience to listen to MAP Radio as well. One Thai staff is employed in Chiang Mai and two Thai staffs are in Mae Sot. Many volunteers assist in the radio production, translation and presentation. The broadcasting is live from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. in Chiang Mai and from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m. in Mae Sot. At the Chiang Mai station, around 85% of the language use is in Shan language and the rest is in Thai and Burmese. At Mae Sot station, 90% of the language use is in Burmese and the rest is in Karen and Thai. Both stations provide a brief explanation of each program in Thai, so that the Thai authorities understand the

contents. The brief explanation in Thai is required since the law does not allow community radio stations to broadcast in foreign language and it also helps Thai employers of migrant workers to understand the contents.

The target audience is adult migrant workers mainly from Burma who are working as construction workers, agricultural workers, horticultural workers, animal husbandry workers, factory workers, domestic workers, tourism workers, entertainment workers and service workers. The topics covered in the programs are workers' rights, occupational health and safety in workplace, HIV/AIDS, women's rights, youth power, general health and cultural topics.

3.2 Building of Human Rights Issues as Community Agendas in the Radio Production Process

This finding section will answer the research questions based on the actual research results. The first research question is “How are human rights issues constructed through the establishment of community agendas in the production process of MAP Radio?” There are three key actors in agenda building in the production process of MAP Radio, including MAP Foundation, migrant staff and volunteer DJs and MAP Radio's project manager.

Framed by MAP Foundation

Basically, the agendas that MAP Radio broadcasts have been framed by MAP Foundation because MAP Radio is one of MAP Foundation's projects aiming to directly deliver information to Burmese migrant workers. MAP Foundation has the

vision to establish the future in which human rights of all migrants are fully respected. Its objectives are to improve the policies concerning migrant workers, so that they are formulated and implemented from human rights perspective and to strengthen migrant worker communities, so that they are able to improve their working and living conditions. MAP Radio programs have been framed by MAP Foundation as one of the foundation's projects covering labor rights, general and occupational health, identity and educational issues. The foundation created the radio program's frame in which these specified topics were focused in. Apart from this frame, the other programs, such as news update, were created to directly meet the needs of migrant listeners.

The migrant workers' demands are highly reflected in the establishment of the agendas due to the shebang of MAP Foundation. The founders of MAP Foundation have devoted themselves to migrant worker issues at the grassroots level in Chiang Mai for more than 20 years, which enables MAP Foundation to scoop up direct demands from migrant workers. In addition, the fact that the majority of MAP Foundation staffs are Shan migrant workers contributes to a direct match with Shan migrant workers' needs. Mr. Seangmuang Mangkorn, one of the founders and secretary of MAP Foundation, has realized that the biggest concern among migrant workers is their legal status. Migrant workers in Thailand have to be registered as migrant workers, obtain VISA on their permanent or temporary passport and work permit. It takes time to complete the whole process and the procedures are often changed or modified by the Thai authority. Moreover, brokers have intervened between migrant workers, employers, Thai authority and Burmese Embassy, making

things more complicated, such as causing overcharge and exploitation. Eventually, migrant workers need to pay attention to the information and announcement about legal status in order to secure their legal status in Thailand. Their second concern is unpaid wage issues. Employers sometimes do not pay workers their wages or compensation for the accidental injury at work without any appropriate reasons. Hence, migrant workers are eager to know how to solve the unpaid problem so that they can get their money. The third concern is health and safety at work. Migrant workers are easily exposed to risks at work because they do not know how to protect themselves from danger or injury. However, injury or sickness prevents them from working, which may generate economic difficulties. Thus, they need to know how to prevent sickness or where to borrow safety equipment to be used at work. All agendas that MAP Radio has framed are related to human rights.

In this sense, MAP Foundation listens to and acknowledges public concerns through surveys in their own projects before deciding what topics to be dealt with on the radio. It is the second of five steps of public participation, which is the “consulting” phase in which MAP Foundation promises to keep Shan migrant community informed, to listen to and to understand their concerns although there is no obligation for them to make decisions according to the migrant workers’ opinions and feedback. MAP Foundation has tried to directly reflect community concerns in its projects; however, the foundation does not promise to do so.

Details of content created by migrant workers

Although the content frame is set by MAP Foundation, the content details are prepared by migrant workers who work as DJs at MAP Radio. All DJs have to prepare the topics to talk about on the radio apart from the news and policy announcement which are prepared by MAP Radio staff. MAP Radio has around 35 DJs who run and moderate the radio programs. The majority of 35 DJs is Shan migrant workers. 5 of them are Shan migrant staff and 2 are Bamar staffs of MAP Foundation. There are 17 Shan migrant volunteer DJs and 3 Thai volunteers. The remaining 8 are DJs from other alliance NGOs, such as Shan Culture Association and Worker Solidarity Association, which consist of 8 Shan and 1 Thai. Altogether, the radio station has 29 Shan, 4 Thai and 2 Barma DJs.

As for the news update, the government's announcement regarding new registration and migrant-related regulations and rules, MAP Foundation staffs help to gather the information. Migrant volunteer DJs help translate and read it on the radio. Apart from this information, all DJs have the right to decide what to talk about in the radio programs. For example, one Shan volunteer DJ, informant 7, talked about his own experience of discrimination at a factory on the program titled "Workers and Culture Around Us" on Friday, since he thought that the issue was important to other migrant workers. His story was that the manager was willing to listen to Thai employees; however, ignored migrant workers' voices even though the task and responsibilities among Thai and migrant workers were the same. He shared his own experience to overcome the negative feelings coming from the discrimination in order to maintain mental health and keep working in Thailand as a migrant worker (Informant 7, 2014). He also talked about how to promote friendship in the

community because he thought communicating to one another was important. He also told the consulter to be patient and to overcome short temper at workplace, otherwise, the listener would be faced with the same problem at the new work site and would quit his job again soon. He set these topics for his programs by himself (Informant 7, 2014). Migrant DJs can freely set the topics for discussion, which means they have significant influence on establishment of community agendas in the radio production process.

Reflect demands from listeners through a project manager

The third key actor is a project manager of MAP Radio. The project manager controls the broadcasting quality and ensures that the contents satisfy the listeners. She allows the radio contents to be reflected by requests made by migrant listeners via phone calls, Facebook, letters and listener panel. She holds DJ meetings once a month and ensures all DJs understand the listeners' demands and the policies of MAP Radio, for example, topics about political and monarchy are not allowed. The project manager said that *"Our priority of broadcasting is listeners. Listeners are everything. We broadcast what listeners want to know. (Areeya, 2014)"* At this point, the project manager tries to secure the "involving" stage of public participation spectrum by ensuring that migrant listeners' concerns and issues are directly reflected on MAP Radio.

According to the project manager, the listeners' first concern is labor rights issues, such as updates about migrant policies, new government's announcement about migrant workers' registration, VISA and work permit application process, and

how to solve unpaid wage problem and exploitation case at workplace. The second concern is health care issues, such as hospital checkup, payment for social security status and warning of seasonal diseases. The third concern is news update regarding their hometown, Shan state in Burma. According to the reason for migration of two Informants, the conflict between the government and Shan ethnic group and suppress by the military are push factors for Shan people to migrate into Thailand (Informant 1, 2014; Informant 2, 2014). Others are Shan's cultural topics, such as their traditional songs and their religion. Their priorities are similar to the concerns that MAP Foundation realizes.

Next, the thesis will answer research sub-question 1.2 “How do funding, organizational structure and recruitment of migrant workers at MAP Radio influence the policy and production of MAP Radio?”

3.3 Influence from Funding, Organizational Structure and Migrant Recruitment

Influence from funding

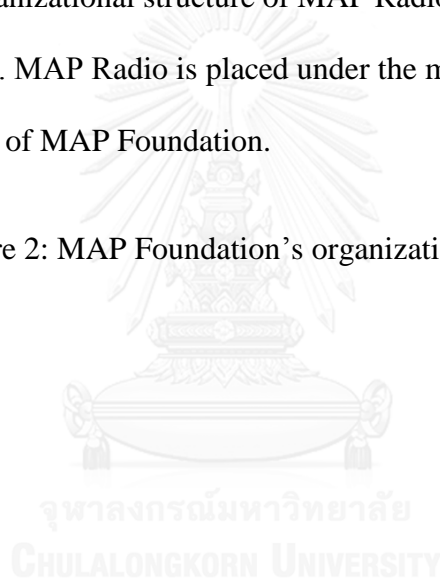
As for the funding, MAP Radio is currently funded separately from MAP Foundation. The current donor is the department of foreign affairs and trade of the Australian government which allocated the aid budget with an interest on migrant issues. However, the Australian government is not a constant supporter of MAP Radio. The radio had different donors in the past years and will be financed by different donors depending on which organizations accept the funding proposals. Donors usually check the evaluation report that the project manager conducts twice a

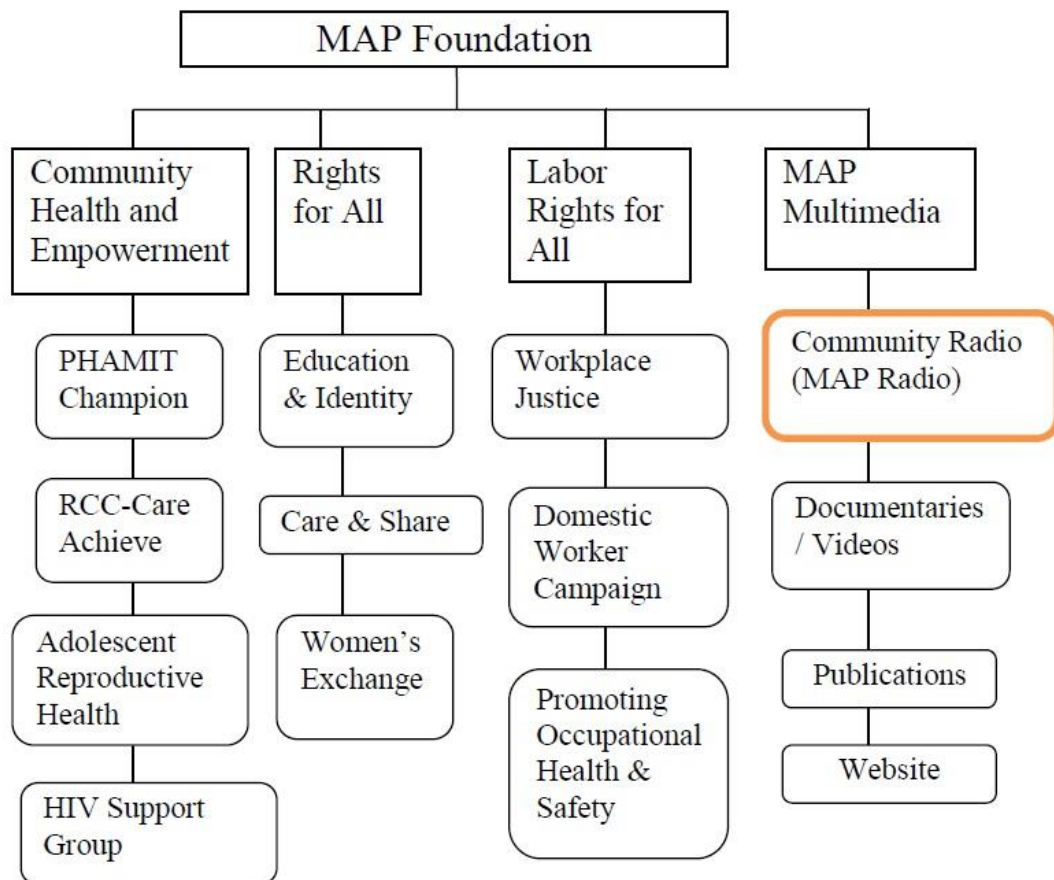
year. However, they have never prescribed or imposed any conditions on the radio content. MAP Radio has never experienced conflicts with donors because the manager has chosen the donors who agree with the objectives of MAP Radio as stated in the submitted funding proposals. Eventually, there is no influence of funding on the policy and production of MAP Radio (Areeya, 2014).

Influence from organizational structure

As for the organizational structure of MAP Radio, the radio is one of MAP Foundation's projects. MAP Radio is placed under the multimedia project which is one of the four pillars of MAP Foundation.

Figure 2: MAP Foundation's organizational structure





MAP Radio shares the policy and priorities with MAP Foundation. There are mainly three influences of the organizational structure on the policy and production of MAP Radio. First, both MAP Foundation and MAP Radio have adopted the empowerment approach as their policy, which will be explained in next chapter. Second, the contents on MAP radio conform to MAP Foundation's agendas, such as labor rights, general health and occupational safety issues and education and identity issues. Third, the technical assistance of MAP Foundation enriches and enhances trust in the radio contents. There are several experts working for MAP Foundation. Legal experts and lawyers contribute the contents. They provide legal assistance in case of being exploited at work for migrant workers who consult with MAP Foundation. The solution is also provided on the radio. Experts in migrant policies at MAP Foundation

help to check new registration procedures for migrant workers and any changes in the rules and provide the information through the radio as well. They also check the accurate fee for legal document application, such as VISA and work permit, to prevent being overcharged by broker or employer. Experts in health issues announce warning and preventive actions of seasonal diseases, such as dengue fever, on the radio. With the backup from MAP Foundation, the radio contents gain trust from migrant listeners. Obtaining accurate information is critical for migrant workers who have very limited information sources and sometimes they are confused by unfounded rumors. Information is also one of assets for agency according to the “agency and opportunity structure” for empowerment. The more accurate information MAP Radio delivers, the more possibilities of empowerment migrant listeners obtain. In this sense, the organizational structure contributes to the enhancement of migrant workers’ empowerment.

Moreover, the organizational structure also generates a virtuous cycle of empowerment through making the radio contents more trustful. Migrant listeners who judge the contents trustable tend to have active attitudes to make inquiries about their cases when they are faced with trouble in daily life. Making further use of the radio leads to higher empowerment levels as they know more choices and gain positive attitudes towards the choices and practices, and transform those choices into desired outcomes. According to the migrant listeners, they feel that MAP Radio and MAP Foundation are rescue organizations for them. *"My friend was working for another company and the company did not provide the living wage. So around 10 people gathered and went to MAP office. MAP Foundation assisted them to go to the labor*

protection office and finally they got their living wage.... I feel that if something happens to us, we can talk to MAP. (Informant 9, 2014)" Supports from the experts also enable the DJs to call for any inquiries without any hesitation. When the DJs receive difficult inquiries which are beyond their capacity, they can ask for advice from the experts at MAP Foundation (Informant 7, 2014).

Influence from migrant workers as volunteers on programming and direction of station

The involvement of migrant workers in the radio production is one of the characteristics of MAP Radio. The existence of migrant workers as volunteer staffs and DJs in the radio station is enhancing the policy of ownership by migrant workers. MAP Radio is always open for applicants to be volunteer DJs who can prepare topics to be delivered in the radio programs. The radio station sometimes makes a recruitment announcement for DJs. A one-day DJ training is provided by MAP Radio. Then, the migrant volunteer DJs run the live broadcasting programs which are allocated to each DJ according to the topics. The composition of staffs is particular at MAP Radio. The Chiang Mai station consists of only one Thai staff as a project manager. She says that her role is to facilitate broadcasting by migrant workers through providing DJ trainings, organizing listener panel and DJ meetings, taking care of budgeting and mediating cooperation from MAP Foundation with some migrant volunteers' help in translation. Apart from 1 Thai employee, 20 volunteer staffs who are mostly Shan migrants and few Thais operate the radio broadcasting. The scripts of news about migrant regulations are prepared by MAP and translated from Thai into Shan by the volunteers. DJs have the authority to choose the topics related to the

agendas allocated in specified radio programs and have to prepare what they talk in live broadcasting on the radio.

At this point, MAP Radio is in the fourth or “collaborating” stage of public participation through partnering with some migrant workers as volunteer staffs and DJs. MAP Radio expects some advantages from migrant volunteers and DJs. MAP Radio depends on migrant volunteers in terms of the enhancement of the radio values for migrant listeners, which leads to improving some assets of agency for empowerment.

With the view point of migrant workers from migrant DJs, the radio is able to select topics which are worth being delivered to migrant listeners. It also creates more space for consultation as well as experience and opinion sharing in the contents. Sharing feeling by Shan migrant DJs generates sympathy of the Shan migrant listeners. The migrant DJs are also generating trust in the contents from the listeners. The program manager of MAP Radio emphasizes the importance of migrant worker DJs as they have their own experiences that are similar to the experiences of migrant listeners and they know much more about the difficulties in real life, compared to Thai staff, therefore, they can share the feeling and experiences. For example, one Shan volunteer DJ talked about his own experience of discrimination at a factory. The story told by a Shan DJ attracts more sympathy from listeners because the discrimination on Shan migrant workers was caused by Thai supervisor. If a Thai DJ tells this story, Shan listeners might feel a sense of aversion. However, Shan DJs can explain how to overcome negative feelings of discrimination from the same view

point of Shan listeners. Another story that a Shan volunteer DJ narrated was about being patient at work. He was asked for advice by a listener who had a problem with short temper at work. He could manage to give them advice. However, if he were Thai who did not know the feeling and difficulties, it would not be easy to get consultation going and give advice which the listeners are grateful for because of psychological distance.

Another influence from the migrant DJs is making the radio a social space for migrant workers. The migrant workers communicate with one another, make friends and voice up through the radio programs. MAP Radio tightens the ties of migrant community. Some informants said that they sometimes made call-in to chat with the DJs even though they did not have any specific objective or topic to talk about (Informant 2, 2014). For migrant workers who have to work all the day, it is not easy to go out and hang out with friends. Especially, domestic workers have to work individually and do not have enough time to get information and meet friends. For this group of people, MAP Radio is the only and easy social place to access, communicate one another and share opinions and feelings. MAP Radio has grown a social network as its center. For this function, the migrant DJs improve psychological aspect, such as feeling of security due to having strong community, in asset of agency for empowerment. Some informant has showed that this was one of the benefits that MAP Radio provided for them. *"I got new friends through the radio program. I made call-in 4 to 5 times a day and I made friends through radio program. Even though I do not meet them outside, I felt friendliness and closeness. When we have special events, we get to meet one another. I have made many friends....I think MAP Radio*

program is the main network for everybody. Even in the past, I was faced with many difficulties in the job; however, nobody helped me. Now, I can share the information and help people through the radio. (Informant 5, 2014)" "The radio program sometimes announces that they are organizing festivals, such as Shan's New Year Celebration or Buddhist Lent Festival. So we meet other Shan people. We can meet one another. We think the radio connects everyone in Thailand and Chiang Mai together. (Informant 1, 2, 3, 4, 2014)"

In summary, human rights issues were framed by MAP Foundation in the first place. However, they were established as community agendas through migrant workers' participation through the mechanisms to ensure migrant listeners' voices being reflected in the radio contents. The organizational structure and recruitment of migrant worker at MAP Radio promote empowerment through developing agency's assets, such as information and psychological elements. The organizational structure also secures human rights by providing accurate information about administrative procedures in the announcements with a support from the experts at MAP Foundation.

In the following section, the thesis describes how MAP Radio's empowerment strategy and orientation of its content influence migrant worker's empowerment.

3.4 Main Strategies for Empowerment

MAP Radio has two empowerment strategies, which are 1) to provide as much accurate information as possible and 2) to promote migrants' ownership of

MAP Radio. This part examines how the main strategies contribute to public participation in the radio production and individual migrant listeners' empowerment.

Information

The information that MAP Radio provides covers workers' rights, occupational health and safety, HIV/AIDS, women's rights and general health issues. There are several types of information to be delivered, such as practical information, enlightening information about human rights, migrant's actual experiences and migrant-related news. Practical information includes the authority's announcement about new registration period for unregistered migrant workers, registration process for Burmese citizenship card and hill tribe card, abolishment or revival of migrant fund, changes in migrant-related policy, where to go and who to contact for unpaid wages and violation of regulated working conditions, such as minimum wage, overtime, holidays with pay, occupational safety, compensation for occupational deaths and accidents, actual price of VISA application, temporary passport and work permit. Enlightening information involves what rights migrant workers are supposed to have at work and in daily life. The migrant's actual experiences are how migrant DJs or guests have survived as migrant workers in Thailand, such as solution for frustration at work and struggle in the migrant community. The information helps migrant workers to prevent exploitation at workplace and to avoid being in illegal status by missing any official registration set by the government. This is the empowerment approach that MAP Radio holds on to as its policy. Accuracy of information is critical for migrant workers who are easily exposed to rumors and have very limited information sources.

Providing the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problems is the first step out of the five steps of public participation of which the final step is the “empower” phase. This is the “inform” phase promising to keep the public informed through effective information dissemination, which is broadcasting in MAP Radio’s case.

Information is also the first step for empowerment to let individual know the existing choices to ensure human rights, as this research set “knowledge” as the first level of empowerment. Information is also one of the assets of agency in the “agency and opportunity structure” for empowerment. When the agency obtains more information, he/she gains more possibilities to achieve the empowerment. Moreover, providing information is directly ensuring the migrant worker’s fundamental right to be informed about the conditions of admission and other matters which enables them to comply with administrative or other formalities. Such right is stipulated in ‘the international convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families’ (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 18 December 1990). In this sense, the information itself that MAP Radio delivers directly enhances both human rights and empowerment.

In terms of information about migrant news, MAP Radio pays attention to broadcasting not only negative news but also positive ones for Thai people including employers. It aims to abolish discrimination against migrant workers. These topics are broadcasted in Thai language on MAP Radio and also audio recorded in the form of

CDs to be sent to other radio broadcasters to be used in their radio programs. This effort might indirectly affect migrant workers' empowerment through influencing "norms and customs" of opportunity in the "agency and opportunity structure" for empowerment. If discrimination disappeared and norms and customs in Thai society become more positive or gentle for migrant workers, the empowerment will be realized by them more easily.

Ownership

The emphasis on migrant workers' ownership towards MAP Radio is another empowerment strategy. Community ownership and participation are main characteristics of community radio, as explained in Chapter II. True ownership leads to the highest level of public participation which is the "empowering" phase whose goal is to place final decision making in the hands of the public. The project manager of MAP Radio said that her role in the radio was to facilitate the operations by migrant volunteers. MAP Radio has established some mechanisms to promote and ensure the migrants' ownership.

In addition to the migrant volunteer DJs, MAP Radio holds monthly listener panel in order to meet the migrant listeners' needs and improve the contents of radio program through feedback from migrant listeners. The panel consists of 20 Shan migrant listeners (80% of panel members is the existing members and 20% is for new members who are recruited every time through the radio announcement). MAP Radio announces listener panel to be held on the radio to encourage participation from listeners. The panel discussion gives constructive feedback for further improvement in

the radio programs about contents and quality of information delivery. The project manager moderates the panel and gives feedback to the DJs in the DJ meeting. The listener panel creates a cycle of feedback which promotes migrant listeners' participation in the production process of the radio program. This mechanism secures migrant listeners' involvement in the radio production process added to recruitment of migrant workers as DJs and call-in system. The high participation level generates a sense of ownership among migrant listeners.

Ownership leads to an active use of the radio to solve problems that migrant listeners face at work and in daily life. In the “agency and opportunity structure” for empowerment, ownership might enhance “social” and “organizational” assets of agency. A sense of ownership contributes to the improvement of their social status from the position where they cannot voice up, so that their voices can be heard. Their social status is not high enough to have a powerful voice; however, the fact that they can voice up on the radio when they are faced with problems or exploitations encourages them to have positive attitudes towards choices for empowerment.

Ownership also leads to an increase in a sense of belonging to the organization which is MAP Radio. When migrant workers think that they are members of the organization, it is easier to actively access the information provided by the organization. Enhancing ownership is contributing to the improvement of empowerment through increasing social and organizational assets in agency.

However, if assessing the community ownership of MAP Radio, its level is not at the highest level. MAP Radio is still owned by MAP Foundation in practice and

the final decision making is placed in the hands of the foundation. The operation is also still managed by the Thai project manager who is employed by MAP Foundation. There is no mechanism in MAP Radio to generate community consensus for decision making on the radio production. There is neither ballot nor delegated decision which enables community consensus. Shan staffs and volunteer DJs tend to think that they own MAP Radio and MAP Radio is theirs; however, general migrant listeners do not think so according to the focus group interviews. In this sense, MAP Radio has not achieved the “empowering” level of public participation.

3.5 Orientation of Radio Programs

Lineup

Time allocation to each category of program reveals the orientation of MAP Radio contents. The longest hours are allocated to cultural topics, such as music. The total 29 hours of broadcasting culture topics consists of 16 hours of Thai songs and 13 hours of Shan songs and culture. The second longest period is dedicated to worker’s rights-related contents which have 11 hours each week. Third, the programs focus on women’s rights for 7 hours and religious contents for 7 hours. Religious contents are produced by alliance NGOs and consist of Shan Buddhism Dhamma and Christianity. Fourth, news update, including news from migrant worker’s hometown in Shan state, Burma, is reported. A one-hour news program is broadcasted on Tuesday to Friday and Sunday. 3 hours are general health topics, while 2 hours are about youth topics. Other topics, such as advice on life’s problems, better life and market, are given 2 hours each. Prime time on weekday, from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. which includes lunch and break times for migrant workers, covers labor rights issues and important information

related to migrant's legal status, such as new announcements by the Thai government. Another prime time from 7 p.m. is spared for news updates from Shan state. All lineups of the radio contents cover human rights issues.

The significant characteristic of the lineup is entertainment content, such as Thai and Shan songs which accounts for a large part of broadcasting. It has taken 29 hours out of 77 broadcasting hours each week. The manager has explained that the entertainment content needed to attract more listeners. It is fun and comfort for migrant workers who can enjoy Shan songs after long hours of hard working as informant 5 stated that, *"I like listening to general things that they talked about and songs because I worked and felt very tired, so I liked listening to those songs."* Songs also play a role to cheer them up during the working hours. Informant 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 said that they loved listening to Shan songs at work because they felt fun and energetic. Moreover, enjoyment of traditional Shan music itself is one of migrant workers' rights to cultural identity. The entertainment contents help migrant workers to maintain their identity as Shan ethnic.

Call-in system

Another characteristic of the radio is a call-in system. MAP Radio welcomes call-in requests from listeners during the radio programs. Each program has 5 call-in requests on average. Last year, MAP Radio received 13,987 call-ins. 40% of them asked questions and shared experiences and opinions, while the remaining 60% requested Shan songs. Many requested for more detailed information about the legal document process, such as VISA extension, application fee and missing persons. The

call-in system enhances migrant's ownership of the radio, which is the radio's empowerment strategy. It also enables listeners' participation in building community agendas through the radio programs. Responding to the listeners' requests, the radio contents are adjusted to satisfy them. 11 out of 13 informants have made call-ins at least once a day or every two days. This call-in system encourages requests for further information as informant 2 and 11 said that they asked for the information about legal document issues and requested song at the same time.

In terms of public participation, the call-in system is one of the tools used in the third or "involving" phase. It is not a face-to-face tool; however, it ensures consistent consideration of public concerns and responses as an ongoing process. The call-in system enables MAP Radio to work directly with the public to ensure that their concerns are directly recognized in the radio programs.

Call-in system also helps create social space and strengthens the community tie. The DJs and listeners become friends through the radio programs. They also meet in person at the Shan festive events organized by MAP Foundation and other NGOs. As the community tie gets stronger, more migrants' participation in radio production via call-in can be expected. Moreover, stronger community ties help migrant workers who do not have access to MAP Radio to be informed of important information by their friends who listen to MAP Radio.

Content orientation of the radio is created to secure the human rights of migrant listeners. It is also planned to enhance public participation and promote ownership which is one of MAP Radio's main empowerment strategies.

Complementation of MAP Foundation

In addition to the influence from the organizational structure, MAP Foundation and MAP Radio complement each other. The foundation enhances migrant worker's sense of belonging or ownership of MAP Radio through organizing face-to-face events, such as Shan festivals, seasonal events, seminars and workshops, while MAP Radio functions as a direct communication channel for the foundation.

The first function of MAP Foundation is to supple the radio. MAP Foundation sometimes organizes face-to-face events, such as annual celebration to the end of Buddhist lent in October, training sessions or seminars. Those events provide an actual social space for migrant workers to meet in person in order to form the community. In general, migrant workers feel lonely and have no place to go in Thai society which is unfamiliar to them even though they have a few acquaintances in the same city. When they meet friends and acquaintances whom they get to know through the radio broadcasting, they feel that they actually belong to the community. A sense of belonging encourages them to exchange information. The face-to-face event also enhances migrant listeners' ownership of MAP Radio, so that they will make use of the radio as their own organization.

Figure 3: Picture of the celebration event to the end of Buddhist lent in 2014
(Courtesy of MAP Foundation)



Figure 4: Picture of the celebration event to the end of Buddhist lent in 2013
(Courtesy of MAP Foundation)



On the other hand, MAP Radio functions to complement the foundation by spreading the information that MAP Foundation wants to deliver to migrant workers.

The information and legal advice from experts and lawyer at MAP Foundation enable migrant workers to be aware of their rights that are supposed to be secured. It raises awareness among migrant workers who have no opportunity to learn about their rights in Thailand. The radio also advertises the foundation's activities and projects through their announcements.



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

This chapter explains the areas and levels of capacity building in human rights of MAP Radio's regular audience/listeners in the community influenced by MAP Radio, based on the focus-group interviews. Public participation level of MAP Radio is also analyzed in this chapter.

4.1 Area of empowerment

The top 4 areas of empowerment that migrant workers have achieved through MAP Radio are 1) right to be informed of necessities to comply with administrative and other legal formalities, 2) right to avoid exploitation, 3) right to medical care and 4) right to cultural identity. Their most favorite programs are those related to legal document information and their second most favorite programs are the ones concerning health issues (Informant 1, 2, 3, 4, 2014).

As for the future life, they do not have immediate plans to go back to Burma. Moreover, they tend to stay in Chiang Mai for a long period, such as over 10 years. Most interviewees said that they wanted to return to their hometown in future; however, they did not know when and had not prepared for it. Hence, their main concern is the current situation in which they are migrant workers in Thailand. They are not yet worried about their future in Burma at this moment.

Right to be informed of necessities to comply with administrative and other legal formalities

According to the focus-group interviews with the migrant workers, the most widely used information provided by MAP Radio is about legal status. All migrant workers said that they had made use of the information to secure their status. One migrant worker admitted that he only listened to the news and announcements about legal documents (Informant 6, 2014). They also shared the information with their relatives and friends who did not have access to MAP Radio. This type of information promotes the migrant workers' fundamental right to be informed of necessities to comply with administrative and other legal formalities. It also secures their legal status to stay and work in Thailand as well as prevents possible exploitation by employers or brokers due to illegal status. This type of information also includes securing Burmese citizenship and the importance of the citizenship even though they do not have plans to return to Shan state. *"At the beginning of this year, there was news that we had to go back to Shan state and apply for a Burmese citizenship card. After I listened to this news, I called my friends to tell them that we had to go back and apply for Burmese citizenship; otherwise, we would not have any citizenship. I went back to Shan state and acquired Burmese citizenship. If we have Myanmar citizenship cards, we can go back to Shan state and travel in Burma freely. If we do not go back and apply for the citizenship, we will lose our citizenship because we are not Thai citizens. I was worried that later it would not be easy to apply for a citizenship card (Informant 9, 2014)"*

Right to avoid exploitation

Some examples of the right to avoid exploitation are claims of unpaid wage and overcharge for legal document by brokers and employers. For migrant workers who are not familiar with working and living in Thailand, one of the main concerns is being exploited at work. Informant 1 has faced with the unpaid wage problem. She also pointed out that *“the unpaid case that the DJ mentioned was really interesting. If migrant workers cannot get the living wage as their employers do not pay them their wages, they need to know where to go and what document they have to prepare in order to get paid (Informant 1, 2014).”* Informant 6 also narrated that the unpaid wage problem happened to her many times at many places. Informant 3 claimed that the information about the cost of legal document application was really important because she was overcharged for it by broker.

Right to medical care

The right to medical care issue involves both general symptoms, such as headache and feeling sick, and treatments in the hospital. Without the knowledge about hospital procedures, the migrant workers will not receive the same medical care as Thai people do even though they have been registered in the Thai social security health care system.

Right to cultural identity

In terms of the right to cultural identity, places for the migrant workers to enjoy their cultural identity are limited since they are in Thailand which is not their hometown. MAP Radio has secured their right to cultural identity although they do not feel threats against their cultural identity. Informant 1, 2, 3, 4 said that, *“The radio*

program sometimes announces that they are organizing festivals, such as Shan New Year Celebration or Buddhist Lent Festival, where we can go and meet other Shan people. We can meet one another there. We think that the radio connects everyone in Thailand and Chiang Mai together." Informant 1 and 2 also said that, *"One valuable activity of MAP Radio is to make phone calls and talk with the DJs."* Especially for unmarried migrants, it is important to make new friends through the radio. All single migrant informants stated that making new friends was a great benefit. Informant 5 and 8 emphasized the importance of making friends through the radio. *"I got new friends through the radio. I made phone calls 4 to 5 times a day and I made friends through radio programs. Even though I do not meet them in reality, I felt the friendliness and closeness (Informant 5, 2014)."* Enjoying with friends itself does not directly promote human rights empowerment. However, making more Shan friends through the radio programs might enhance psychological asset of agency in the "agency and opportunity structure." Moreover, the more friends they make, the more information is shared among them, leading to information enhancement, which is one of the asset of agency. It provides greater opportunity for empowerment.

4.2 Public Participation Level in MAP Radio

By assessing MAP Radio's operation, its public participation level has reached the "collaborating" level, which is the fourth of five phases in public participation spectrum. MAP Radio is partnering with migrant listeners in decision making through monthly listener panel, volunteer DJs, monthly DJ meetings and call-in system. The listener panel functions as an advisory committee which MAP Radio asks them for direct advice and solutions as well as incorporates their advice and recommendations

into decision making to the maximum extent. It also enables direct dialogue with community. Volunteer DJs and call-in system contribute to participatory decision making. The first or “informing” phase, the second or “consulting” phase and the third or “involving” phase have been achieved through information dissemination by broadcasting and working directly with Shan migrants who work as radio and foundation staffs and volunteer DJs. MAP Radio raises community voices through broadcasting.

However, MAP Radio is not in the situation where the radio will implement what the public decides. MAP Radio holds neither ballots nor delegated decisions among migrant community. MAP Radio does not place final decision making in the hands of Shan migrant community. Although MAP Radio makes use of listener panel to scoop up community concerns and advices, the listener panel consists of Shan listeners who are voluntarily willing to join the panel, not those migrants who are selected or delegated by the community. There are migrant listeners who do not have time to join the panel, too. For example, this researcher also recorded some demands from migrant listeners towards MAP Radio in the focus-group interviews. They have their own opinions and recommendations that they want MAP Radio to reflect on the broadcasting. However, they claim that they do not have time to join the panel on Saturday because weekends are the only time to spend with their families. It might cause unbalance in concerns and recommendations from community which are to be reflected in decision making at MAP Radio. It might not be easy to make community consensus due to the mobility of migrant workers. Yet, it is possible to do so because migrant workers in Chiang Mai tend to stay in the same place for a long

period, such as 10 years or more, according to literature review and the focus-group interviews conducted in this research.

Moreover, migrant listeners do not take initiative to participate in decision making of MAP Radio. It is MAP Radio who is initiating to look to the community voices by organizing and calling for listener panels. The most active actor who holds initiatives in the radio project is not the migrant community, but MAP Foundation. In this sense, MAP Radio has failed to create true community ownership and achieve the final stage of public participation which is the “empowering” phase.

4.3 Empowerment Level of Individual Migrant Listener

The thesis analyzes the empowerment level of each individual informant based on their answers in the focus-group interviews. It is stated according to the area of empowerment that they have achieved. The interviewees’ words and profiles are given before each analysis. According to the focus-group interviews, all informants said that they shared important information from the radio with their friends and neighbors. There might be Shan’s cultural characteristics of a strong community connection as a background. The thesis realizes that this is not the same as “initiative for community benefit,” the highest level of empowerment set as a measurement.

Right to be informed of necessities to comply with administrative and other legal formalities/awareness of right

In the focus-group interviews, all informants admitted that they listened to MAP Radio to secure their legal status as migrant workers in Thailand. It means that

they are aware of what they are supposed to have as migrant workers, especially when they meet legal cases. The awareness of rights is not only about migrant workers but also hill tribe in Thailand and citizen in Burma. This kind of information and migrant related policy updates are delivered through the radio program, named “Voice of Empowerment” aired on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays around noon. These two following cases are real examples of the empowerment of right to be informed of necessities to comply with administrative and other legal formalities.

Informant 2

“As I am holding a hill tribe card, I do not have any problem at work.

However, I like listening to the radio about migrant situations and policy updates.... I share the information with some friends who cannot listen to the radio. Most of my friends have mobile phones, so they can listen to MAP Radio though. (Informant 2, 2014)”

<Profile>

- A 52-year-old female domestic worker who escaped from the civil war in her hometown into Chiang Mai more than 30 years ago. She sends a remittance to half of her family members who still stay in her hometown.
- She is married to a Thai man whom she met in Chiang Mai and has one baby. She does not plan to go back to her hometown in the future because her Thai husband and her baby prefer the life in Thailand.
- She has listened to MAP Radio every day for one year.

<Analysis>

She has no concern about her daily life because she has the knowledge about human rights that she is supposed to enjoy the advantages of a hill tribe card. She is aware of her rights as a hill tribe member through the radio and she realizes that she has not experienced any rights violation. Her empowerment level is ranked at the knowledge level.

Informant 9, 10, 11, and 12

“At the beginning of this year, there was news on MAP radio that we had to go back to Shan state and apply for a Burmese citizen card. After I got this news, I called my friends to share information. All my relatives, my friends and I went back to Shan state and applied for Burmese citizenship If we have Burmese citizen cards, we can go back to Shan state and travel in across Burma freely. If we do not go back and apply for the citizenship, we will lose our citizenship because we are not Thai citizens. I was worried that later it would not be easy to apply for the citizen cards. Without this information from MAP radio, we would lose our status. (Informant 9, 2014)”

<Profiles>

- Informant 9 is a 36-years-old male construction worker who came to Thailand more than 10 years ago for a better job with his relatives who are informant 10, 11, 12 and 13. His parents live in the border area between Thailand and Burma. He is married to a Shan woman and has one child. He has no plan to go back to his hometown because his child goes to a Thai school.
- Informant 10 is a 33-year-old male construction worker whose parents have passed away. He is married to a Shan woman and has one child. He does not want

to go back to Shan state for the same reason as Informant 9.

- Informant 11 is a 30-year-old male construction worker whose parents live in the border area. He got married with a Shan woman and has one child. He also does not have a plan to go back to Shan state for the same reason.
- Informant 12 is a 39-year-old male construction worker whose parents still remain in Shan state. He is still single and wants to go back to Shan state someday.
- Informant 9, 10, 11 and 12 started listening MAP Radio about 10 years ago. They are big fans of Shan songs on the radio. They listen to the radio every day and request songs at least once a day.

<Analysis>

They have made use of the information about legal document to secure their status and to obtain Burmese citizenship. They have fully understood that what rights the Burmese citizen card will give them and what kind of problems they might face without the citizenship. They obtained the knowledge about their rights as well as administrative procedures to apply for Burmese citizenship through the radio. The awareness of rights encourages them to get the related information which secures their status. They have reached the “knowledge” level of empowerment.

Informant 5

“I obtained a hill tribe card from Mae Hong Son more than 20 years ago. However, I lost my ID card once and I did not know how important it was, so I did not follow up. When I met MAP, I was taught that the hill tribe card was really important, so I followed up and got it back.... I had experienced a few difficulties; for example, I

could not apply for a job because I was afraid to be arrested when I did not have legal document. Nobody helped me at that time. The reason why I became a volunteer DJ was that I wanted to share the information to help people....(Informant 5, 2014)”

<Profile>

- A 44-year-old female who came to Chiang Mai 24 years ago after her parents passed away.
- She joined MAP Foundation as a community mobilizer 6 month ago after she had done various jobs, such as painter, patrol security guard, construction worker and shopkeeper. She started listening to MAP Radio a long time ago.
- She listens to MAP Radio every day even during work hours and she often makes call-in 4 or 5 times a day. She has been invited to be a guest speaker by MAP DJ.
- She talked about her life and working experiences as a migrant and why she did not act like a women. She had also worked as a volunteer DJ for MAP Radio for 3 years before she was hired as a staff. She is not married. She wants to visit her hometown in the future; however, she has no objective to go back home because nobody in her family remains in her hometown.

<Analysis>

She gained the knowledge about the advantages of a hill tribe card through MAP Radio and has reissued the card. With the card, she was able to apply for a job without a fear, which was her desired outcome. As a volunteer DJ, she has been actively initiating to encourage others in the community towards human rights empowerment. Hence, her empowerment level is at the highest, which is “initiative for community benefit.”

Right to avoid exploitation

The right to avoid exploitation is delivered by legal assistance through the lawyer and legal experts of MAP Foundation on the radio. Legal advice and related information are provided on several programs, including “Voices of Workers” aired on Mondays and Wednesdays in the evening; therefore, migrant workers can listen to it after work.

Informant 1

“I have an experience of being unpaid. We did not get our salary for one month. It was about 6-7,000 Baht. We listened to MAP Radio and got the information about where to go and how to ask for help, and then we tried to do it ourselves..... My uncle helped me to go to Thai authority’s employment office and we got the living wage back. Before I listened to the radio, I did not know anything (Informant 1, 2014).”

<Profile>

- A 35-year-old female construction worker who migrated to Chiang Mai with all her family members 12 years ago due to the civil war between the Myanmar government and Shan group.
- She is married to a Shan guy. She wants to go back to her hometown someday; however, that is no longer a choice because her village has already been burned.
- She started listening to MAP Radio 2 years ago. She listened to the radio every day from 8 p.m. to the end of broadcasting until the military suspended broadcasting.

<Analysis>

Her empowerment is at the middle high level because she has reached the desired outcome by using the information from MAP Radio. Through the radio, she was informed about human rights and the fact that there was a proper way to get unpaid wages back, which means that she has achieved the lowest level of empowerment. Then, her attitude was positive towards the choice and there was the office to help her out, confirming “existence of choice and attitude”, which places her at the middle low level of empowerment. She also made choice to fight against human rights violation by following the instruction given on the radio to go to the employee protection office for a claim, referring to “use of choice” at the middle level of empowerment. Finally, she has achieved “desired outcome” which is to get the unpaid wage back. It is better human rights results at the middle high level of empowerment. She said that she had no chance to share this experience with her friends because most of them did not have the same problem. Moreover, she does not initiate to bring better human rights situation to the whole Shan community. Hence, she has not reached the highest level of empowerment, which is “initiative for community benefit.”

Informant 3

“Before I listened to MAP Radio, when the employer or broker of the company asked for 6-7,000 Baht for legal document, I had to pay that amount because I did not know the actual cost. However, after I listened to MAP Radio, I got to know that the real price was only over 3,000 Baht....I shared the information with my friends and they went to the broker’s house, then the broker who cheated me ran away.... I have already given the money to the broker and he ran away. I could not get back.... Now,

my employer is asking me to pay 12,000 Baht for VISA extension. It is expensive. I have to check the real price. If we are couple, wife is charged 20,000 Baht and husband is also charged 20,000 Baht. It is very expensive. (Informant 3, 2014)”

<Profile>

- A 35-year-old female domestic worker. She came to Chiang Mai 13 years ago because she failed at high school in Shan state and came to Chiang Mai where her relatives lived. Her sisters and brothers are still in Shan state.
- She is not married; however, has a Shan boyfriend. She wants to go back to her hometown in the future; however, she has not planned yet.
- She started listening to MAP Radio 2 years ago. When she worked at a noodle shop in town, the shop owners listened to MAP Radio every day. She listened to the radio whenever she did not have so many customers. Currently, she still listens to MAP Radio.

<Analysis>

She obtained the knowledge about the real price and made her own choice to fight against violation. However, she could not reach the desired outcome which was getting back the extra money she gave to the broker. Hence, her empowerment level is at the middle level, “use of choice.” However, she has high potential to achieve “desired outcome”, which is middle high level, as she can avoid being overcharged. She has used the past experience in order to prevent further overcharge. She is not active and she does not take initiative to realize better human rights for the community; therefore, she does not achieve the highest level of empowerment.

Informant 6

“I also had an experience that my employer did not give me a salary. When I worked in a noodle shop, I got 4,700 Baht. When I had worked there for 6 or 7 months and they did not want to pay me my salary. They said that I was going to use up my money so they could save it for me. And they gave me very late. Normally, salary was paid on 5th; however, the payment date was moved to 10th and moved again to 15th until 2 months later. At that time, I did not know who to ask for help. I had no friend. I did not have a mobile phone and I did not know where to go. All I could do was contacting my relative. I stopped working at the noodle shop and tried to find another job. I did not get paid. However, when I went to another place, the same problem also happened to me many times. Then, I met MAP and I knew there was a solution to the unpaid wages. (Informant 5, 2014)”

<Profile>

- A 29-year-old female who migrated into Chiang Mai with all her family members and relatives 9 years ago because of economic difficulties in Shan state.
- Two years ago, she was asked to be a translator for MAP Foundation because she was good at speaking Shan, Burmese and English. She was also asked to give a talk in the MAP Radio program when she had free time. Then, she was recruited by MAP Foundation and she is working as a DJ and staff for occupation and safety at MAP Radio. She has listened to MAP Radio for a long time.

<Analysis>

She has not had a chance to use the choices that she has learned from MAP Radio because of the timing. She obtained the knowledge and had a positive attitude to fight against human rights violation, which places her at the middle low level of empowerment. Although she had no opportunity to use the choices, she was certain

that she could solve the unpaid wage case if she faces this same problem again in future with the knowledge from the radio. She also actively initiates better human rights situation for the whole community both through radio broadcasting and in person. Eventually, she has reached the “initiative for community benefit”, the highest level of empowerment.

Right to cultural identity

The information about the right to cultural identity is also widely spread among migrant listeners. During the interviews, many of informants said that they really liked to listen to Shan music on MAP Radio and some of them enjoyed Shan friendship through the radio. Shan songs and cultural contents are broadcasted on the programs, named “Shan cultural program,” “Shan songs” and “Shan cultural association program.” However, song requests are welcome during all radio programs.

Informant 7

“What I got from the radio are more friends. Some of them who are broken-hearted call MAP Radio and I offer them counseling through the radio (Informant 7, 2014).”

<Profile>

- A 35-year-old male factory worker who moved to Chiang Mai 7 years ago due to economic reason.
- His parents still remain in Shan state. He is single and wants to go back to his hometown someday.

- He started listening to MAP Radio 7 years ago. He listens to MAP Radio at least 3 hours a day every day. He has also worked as a volunteer DJ for MAP Radio program, titled “Workers and culture around us” from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. on Fridays for 2 years.

<Analysis>

He said that the greatest benefit from the radio is having new friends. He has obtained social space where he can feel close friendship and a sense of belonging. This type of feeling helps him to overcome loneliness. It is important, especially for him, because he is not married. He can live his migrant worker life because he has friends and enjoy the right to cultural identity.

On the other hand, there are some cases where migrant interviewees have not been aware of their rights and have low level of empowerment. Three cases are analyzed and identified as low empowerment examples.

Informant 4

“Since the military coup, I have felt very worried because of my expired VISA. I sometimes cannot fall asleep because I think too much. My friends are also in the same situation. When they go to work, they feel scared whether Thai people will check up on them even though they have temporary passports. Did you check the news? Not only one or two army is coming to check up on us. The immigration office, army and police come together. Three departments come together. Migrant people are feeling scared. Even though most Shan people can speak Thai language and we can

communicate with the authority, army and police, we are worried so much.

(Informant 4, 2014)”

<Profile>

- A 36-year-old female construction worker who escaped from the military’s suppression in Shan state to Chiang Mai 14 years ago. Her parents still stay in her hometown; however, she has no idea whether she will be able to go back to hometown in the future because she married a Shan guy and has a child.
- She has listened to MAP Radio since last year. She listened to this radio station every day when she worked at her previous construction site at Chiang Mai University which is near the radio station. However, she has not been able to receive the radio wave since she moved to new construction site in March.
- She concerns about the extension of her VISA which was expired 4 years ago. She has already applied for the extension; however, she still cannot have her VISA extended because the military coup interrupted the process.

<Analysis>

The right not to be arbitrary arrested and the right to security are fundamental human rights for migrant workers. This has been stipulated in the international convention for migrant workers and their family members (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 18 December 1990). MAP Radio has tried to spread the information that it is necessary for migrant workers to carry ID cards with them at all times in order to avoid arbitrary arrest through the website and audio files. However, the information does not reach Informant 4 while the radio was suspended by the military. Eventually, Informant 4 has not reached the “knowledge” level of empowerment.

Informant 8

“I have some difficulties with the living wage. I am a sub-constructor working with a Thai person who is not an employer. They take sub-contract from the others.... Sometimes, they have money problems. I, as a sub-contractor, cannot get a full amount of wage...., because the house owner that I work for does not give the money to the Thai sub-contractor. Therefore, they cannot give it to me. The Thai sub-contractor goes to the house owner and signs the contract for this and that. Then they take more sub-contracts again. When the job is done, the house owner says “In the contract, I do not say it like this, so I will not pay for it.” So the sub-contractor does not pay me my wages. (Informant 8, 2014)”

<Profile>

- A 25-year-old male construction worker who came to Thailand with his family 7 years ago for a better job. His parents have passed away; however, he still has a brother who lives in Chiang Mai.
- He is married to a Shan woman and wants go back to Shan state someday.
- He started listening to MAP Radio 1 year ago.

<Analysis>

He makes use of the information about legal status in order to secure his legal status in Thailand. However, as for the unpaid problem, he does not have the capacity to make choices and transform choices into desired outcomes since he has never asked MAP Radio, any NGO or legal experts whether there is a legal solution to his problem. He has not asked for any explanation from the Thai sub-contractor who does

not pay him his wages. His empowerment level is very low. He even has not achieved the lowest level of “knowledge” to understand the migrant workers’ rights.

Informant 13

“Sometimes, the DJ says that when we go to the hospital, we pay only 300 Baht. However, in reality, I was asked to pay 500 Baht, not 300 Baht. The doctor explained that it depended on the situation. Not all treatments cost 300 Baht. (Informant 13, 2014)”

<Profile>

- A 28-year-old construction worker who came to Thailand over 10 years ago with Informant 9, 10, 11 and 12. His parents are still in Shan state.
- He is married to a Shan woman and has two children. He has no plan to go back to his hometown because his children are going to a Thai school.
- He has listened to MAP Radio every day and made call-in once a day for 10 years.

<Analysis>

He also makes use of the information about legal status to properly secure his migrant worker’s status the way other informants do. However he does not want to check whether his case at the hospital was based on the regulation. He has never mentioned his case on the radio even though it will be useful for other listeners to know the actual cost in case the DJ provided wrong information. His empowerment level is low because he does not have the knowledge about migrant workers’ rights, which places him at the lowest level of empowerment. Moreover, he has no intention to initiate the community benefit.

4.4 Empowerment level and participation

The highest level of public participation is the “empowering” phase. High public participation brings empowerment to the whole community. In addition, the researcher has found that there was a correlation between empowerment level of individual migrant listeners and the extent of participation in the establishment of community agendas of MAP Radio. Some who have actively involved in the radio contents by call-in and requesting further information have achieved the higher level of empowerment. On the other hand, those who do not actively participate in the establishment of the radio agendas reached the lower empowerment level.

One example is informant 1 whose empowerment is at the middle high level. She has listened to MAP Radio every day until the end of broadcasting at 9 p.m. for more than two years. She often makes call-ins and visits the station because she is interested in becoming a volunteer DJ. Informant 3 whose empowerment is at the middle level has listened to MAP Radio for two years as well. She often listened to the radio when she had a few customers at the noodle shop she worked because the shop owner always listened to MAP Radio. After changing her job to become a domestic worker, she sometimes listens to the radio and often makes call-ins to request songs and ask for further information about legal document process. Other examples are Informant 5, 6 and 7 who are or were working as DJs for MAP Radio. It means that they are also key actors who draw up the agendas.

The examples of low empowerment level and low involvement are Informant 8 and 13. Informant 8 who is faced with unpaid wage problems listens to MAP Radio only one hour a week from 11 a.m. to 12 p.m. on Monday in order to catch up with the information and announcement about his legal status. He has never made any request to the radio. He does not participate in building community agendas at all. Informant 13 is being overcharged at the hospital as he refers to the information he learned from the radio. He thought the price that the DJ mentioned on the radio did not apply to all treatments and he has never asked whether his experience was appropriate under the Thai regulations. He likes listening to MAP Radio and has made some call-ins; however, only to request songs. He did not participate in the establishment of community agendas through the radio. His passive attitude towards the radio makes him for a non-active listener who never seeks for advice on his issues. It means that he does not reach the “knowledge” level in terms of empowerment. The less participation in the radio production discourages him from using the radio as a tool to solve his problems or develop his empowerment.

Less participation in the establishment of community agendas through the radio program could lead to weaker assets of the agency, such as less information, fewer psychological factors for active use of choices for desired outcomes, lower social status compared to the status of those with high level of participation and fewer organizational assets in the “agency and opportunity structure” for empowerment. All of these lead to the lower empowerment level.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Based on the examination throughout this research, this section summarizes the research results according to the following structure: 1) redefinition of community radio, 2) the theoretical formation of human rights empowerment through MAP Radio, 3) the level of public participation which MAP Radio has achieved through their practices in the operation And 4) the relation between participation in the creation of the radio content and individual's empowerment level.

5.1 Redefinition of community radio

This research has found that CR could be more than an alternative media compared with the mainstream and mouthpiece of oppressed people which are the characteristics of CR as stated in CHAPTER II. MAP Radio could show further potentials of CR especially in the context of aiding the migrant community as well as empowering migrant workers. According to the definition, CR should promote community benefit, address crucial social issues, transform the minorities from passive receivers into information senders and provide own public sphere infrastructure.

However, MAP Radio promotes the identification of community benefit and concern through broadcasting in the situation that Shan migrant community does not have a mechanism to identify them. Moreover, MAP Radio provides a social space for migrant workers to fit into although they are foreigners in Thailand. It also

strengthens a community tie, even though they, especially domestic workers, do not have extra time after or before work to deepen communication among them. In addition, it is highly important that MAP Radio can function as a protection system for Shan migrant workers with a massive support from MAP Foundation. This protection system helps them to be aware of and enjoy their rights and gives them power and positive attitude to fight for human rights. It is one of the reasons why most migrant workers participated in this research prefer to stay in Thailand rather than going back to their hometown in Shan state, Burma, while other reasons involve economy and safety.

5.2 Empowerment Formation through MAP Radio

The figure below shows how human rights empowerment is formed through MAP Radio according to the research findings.

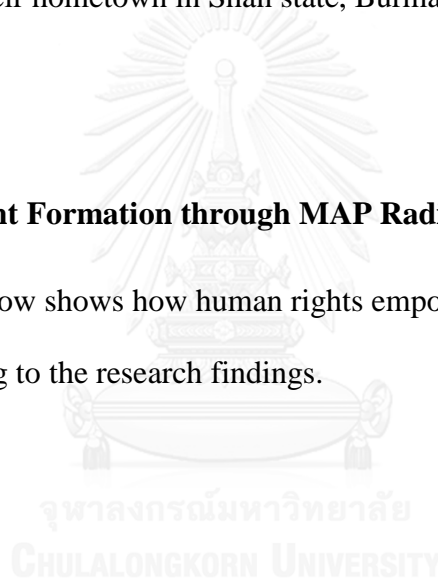
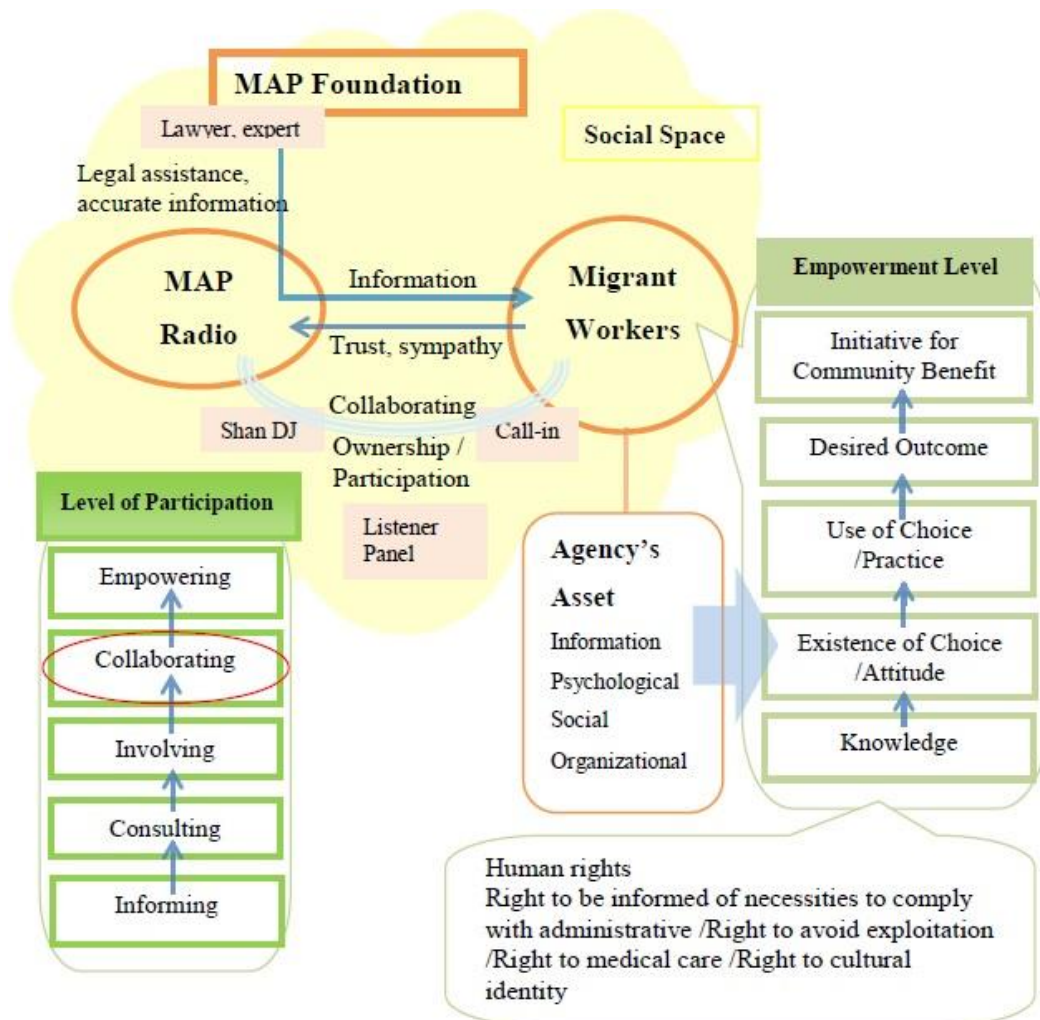


Figure 5: Formation of human rights empowerment through MAP Radio



Human rights empowerment is formed through MAP Radio for migrant workers by improving agency's assets through the organizational structure and recruitment of migrant workers as DJ. MAP Foundation backups the radio station and develops information asset which directly secures human rights and also leads to higher level of empowerment. Shan volunteer DJs play a role to improve migrant listeners' psychological asset so that they have positive attitude towards the knowledge learned through the radio and practice choices in order to fight against human rights violation that they face in their lives as migrant workers. Shan migrant

workers feel comfortable and safe to use the knowledge acquired from Shan DJs who have the same ethnic. Moreover, the listeners tend to think that there is no reason why they cannot solve their problems if some other Shan migrant DJs can solve them. MAP Radio's orientation, including call-in system and monthly listener panel, has functioned to promote migrant listeners' participation in raising human rights issues as the community agendas through the radio broadcasting. Human rights empowerment mainly covers the right to be informed of necessities to comply with administrative and other formalities, the right to avoid exploitation, the right to medical care and the right to cultural identity.

MAP Radio delivers accurate information and legal assistance to migrant workers who are collaborating with MAP Radio to discuss human rights issues as community agendas through the radio production process. Being backed by MAP Foundation, MAP Radio works to generate trust among migrant listeners. Shan DJs have gained sympathy from migrant listeners. Migrant listeners participate in the radio program through call-in system and listener panel, which help to increase a sense of ownership of the radio and secure migrant listeners' concerns and demands reflected in the radio contents. With the support of MAP Foundation, MAP Radio serves as a protection system for migrant workers. The organic links among MAP Foundation, MAP Radio and migrant workers have created a social space for migrant workers to voice up, share experiences and opinions as well as communicate with one another.

5.3 Conclusion

The evaluations of public participation and community empowerment, and individual migrant worker's empowerment through MAP Radio are concluded as follows:

First, the evaluation of MAP Radio's operation has showed that MAP Radio has not achieved the highest level of public participation which is the "empowering" level. It remains in the level of "collaborating" which is the second to the highest level because it lacks the mechanism to generate migrant community's initiative to decide everything about the radio, such as ballots and delegated committees consisting of selected representatives of migrant community. Hence, MAP Radio is not able to place final decision making in the hands of migrant community, which is a critical goal of the "empowering" level. The most active stakeholder in MAP Radio's operations is a project manager of MAP Radio or MAP staffs, not the migrant community. At the "collaborating" level, MAP Radio is working with and looking for direct advice from only active migrant listeners who voluntarily attend listener panel or make requests via call-in. This may result in unfair decision making based on voices from only a part of migrant community and it may also leads to unfair community empowerment. In case that MAP Radio wants to achieve the "empowering" level, it is necessary to let the migrant community make final decisions about the radio projects. Thus, it needs to create the mechanism to generate final decision making from the side of migrant community. Some examples are holding ballots among the whole migrant community and working with Shan community board or delegates of Shan community, if any.

Second, the capacity of individual migrant listeners' empowerment level has been improved through MAP Radio contents. The level of individual's empowerment which is generated through the radio is different for different people according to their level of participation in the creation of radio content. Based on the analysis, the key to improve the empowerment level is the participation of migrant listeners in building the radio contents. Those listeners who have a sense of ownership of the radio and participate more in the establishment of community agendas tend to reach the higher level of empowerment through active use of the radio in order to solve their own problems. Strong participation affects the agency's assets to support migrant listeners to achieve the higher empowerment level.

In summary, it is not enough for MAP Radio to scoop up migrant listeners' voices, including their concerns and recommendations, and to reflect the issues via the radio contents. In order to achieve the "empowering" level, MAP Radio needs to delegate responsibility for the final decision making to Shan migrant community. Once the community accepts responsibility for the final decision making, individual community members will participate more in the radio production and have a sense of ownership of the radio. It enhances individual's empowerment level as well as community empowerment level.

5.4 Implications

This research has several limitations as stated in CHAPTER I, such as the limited research site, the narrow focus and the limited time. The time period was a big

limitation due to the military coup on 22nd May. Since then, the military had suspended all independent community radio stations across the country including MAP Radio. The Thai military government finally allowed some of them to resume broadcasting on 25 September 2014 after four months of suspension. MAP Radio was also allowed to resume under the MOU conditions set by the authority. The MOU stipulated that broadcasting about Thai royal family and politics was not allowed. Only broadcasting for commercial purpose and public service were permitted. This did not cause any changes in MAP Radio's broadcasting (Areeya, 2014). However, the whole research period was still overlapped with the suspension time period. In the interviews, most migrant workers concerned about the military coup's effects on their legal status. The research results might have been affected by the Thai political instability. It is recommended for further research to conduct in longer time period in order to grasp the situation without influences of political instability.

Moreover, the target of this research was limited to assets of agency in the "agency and opportunity structure" for empowerment aiming to focus on community radio's functions towards migrant worker empowerment regarding human rights. For further research, it is recommended to explore the opportunity structure which has influenced empowerment level and to examine a full picture of migrant worker empowerment.

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APPENDIX



จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

APPENDIX A

Interview outline

Research Question 1

- How are human rights issues constructed through the establishment of community agendas in the production process of MAP Radio?
- What are the program agendas of MAP Radio?
- How do you position human rights issues in the agendas?
- How have those agendas been built?
- Who have participated in the agenda-building process?
- How have migrant workers participated in the agenda–building process?
- What is the role of migrant workers (listeners) in the agenda construction?
- How have migrant workers (listeners) participated in the production process of MAP Radio?
- How do you choose the program topics for the weekly labor-related slots (“Voice of Workers,” “Voice of Empowerment” and “Sunday Talk for Better Life” at Chiang Mai station and “Labor Rights for All,” “Occupational Health and Safety” and “Empower Program” at Mae Sot station)?
- What kind of requests or opinions have you received from migrant workers?
- How do you take their requests or opinions into the agenda construction?
- How often do you review the agendas?
- How have the agendas been changed over time since the beginning of MAP Radio and why?

Sub-question 1.2

- How do the funding, organizational structure and recruitment of migrant workers at MAP Radio influence the policy and production of MAP Radio?
- How do ILO and the Australian government aid agency relate the policy of MAP Radio?
- What is MAP Radio’s organizational structure?
- How has the policy of MAP Radio been established and implemented in MAP Radio program?

- How many migrant workers have worked at MAP Radio and what are their roles?
Are they volunteers or employees?
- How does MAP Radio recruit migrant workers?
- How does the existence of migrant workers at MAP Radio, regardless of being volunteers or employees, affect the policy of MAP Radio?

Research Question 2

- What are MAP Radio's main human rights empowerment strategies?
- What are MAP Radio's main human rights empowerment strategies?
- How have the strategies been implemented?
- Who have chosen the strategies?
- Why do you think the strategies work?
- How do you collect the empowerment data results?
- How do you evaluate the results of the strategies?
- What are migrant workers' (listeners') responses to the strategies?
- How have the strategies been changed over time and why?
- Do you have any activities or workshops apart from radio broadcasting?
- How are the activities or workshops relevant to the human rights empowerment strategies?

Sub-question 2.2

- What is the content orientation of MAP Radio program?
- Could you explain the timetable of MAP Radio program?
- What is the orientation of MAP Radio program?
- What do you think about the key for MAP Radio program to gain popularity among listeners?
- Has the tendency of MAP Radio program changed over time?

Research Question 3

- What areas of capacity building for human rights that are delivered to MAP Radio's regular audience/listeners in the community via MAP Radio program and to what extent?

<Basic information>

- Migrant's ethnic, age, period of stay in Thailand, legal status, types of employment, period of employment, Thai language efficiency level, family structure, participation in community, characteristics of community, ultimate goal (Do you wish to go back to your hometown or continue to stay in Thailand? Do you have other options?)

<Concerns about human rights>

- What are your concerns in daily life?
 - What are your concerns for the future?
 - What are your concerns in workplace?
 - Questions related to labor rights and human rights of workers staying and working in Thailand, in case that an interviewee does not realize the existence of rights.

<Degree of empowerment>

Knowledge

- What kinds of knowledge about human rights did you obtain through MAP Radio? (Questions to ask the knowledge about each of basic labor rights, such as minimum wage)

Existence of choice and attitude

(Question about the existence of choice and whether they want to fight against rights violation at work)

Use of choice

(Question about the use of choice or whether the fight against rights violation at work has been started)

Achievement of choice

(Question about achievement of choice or the result of the fight against rights violation at work)

Initiative for community benefit

(Question about initiative for community benefit)

APPENDIX B

Lineup of MAP Radio in Chiang Mai

ခင်းယာမ်း ရှုထောင့် လေး ဝမ်းကွင်းလမ်းကမ်း စံပေးရေတိုက်ကွင်း ကြီးကြပ် 99 - Time table of MAP Radio FM 99 MHz

Day & Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
09:00 to 10:00	SHAN Dhamma ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Christian Program ထမ်းပို့ရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	Christian Program ထမ်းပို့ရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	Christian Program ထမ်းပို့ရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	SHAN Dhamma ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Shan culture program ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Sunday TALK for the better life စောင့်ရှောက်ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ
10:00 to 11:00	W.S.A နိုင်ငံရေးအဖွဲ့များ	Thai Songs သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Christian Program ထမ်းပို့ရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	Northern Storytelling ထွန်းမြန်းလှည့်ပတ်ရေး (ထမ်းပို့ရေး)	SHAN Dhamma ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Shan culture program ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Sunday TALK for the better life စောင့်ရှောက်ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ
11:00 to 13:00	Voice of empowerment သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Here's K-Kids ထွန်းမြန်းလှည့်ပတ်ရေး	Voice of empowerment သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Shan health program ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Voice of empowerment သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Women today program ဆန်းစစ်ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	News around us စာတမ်းများ
13:00 to 14:00			SWAN's program နိုင်ငံရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	SWAN's program နိုင်ငံရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	Voice of empowerment သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Women today program ဆန်းစစ်ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	News around us စာတမ်းများ
14:00 to 15:00	Thai country song ဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Thai country song ဂုဏ်ထူးများ	SWAN's program နိုင်ငံရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	SWAN's program နိုင်ငံရေးဝန်ထမ်းများ	Women Exchange ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Thai country song ဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Thai country song ဂုဏ်ထူးများ
15:00 to 16:00			Shan Songs အိမ်ထောင်ရေး	Shan Songs အိမ်ထောင်ရေး	Women Exchange ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Thai country song ဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Thai country song ဂုဏ်ထူးများ
16:00 to 17:00	Thai Songs သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Thai Songs သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	MAP radio Mae Sod စီမံကိန်း (အဖွဲ့များ)	Evening Market ဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Thai Youth program ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Advice on Life's Problems (ထမ်းပို့ရေး)	Health care for Happiness လုံခြုံရေးအဖွဲ့များ
17:00 to 18:00	Voices of Workers သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Shan culture program ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Voices of Workers သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Shan Songs အိမ်ထောင်ရေး	W.S.A နိုင်ငံရေးအဖွဲ့များ	Advice on Life's Problems (ထမ်းပို့ရေး)	Lanna corner မြို့နယ်အဖွဲ့များ (ထမ်းပို့ရေး)
18:00 to 19:00		Open heart for health care program ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Voices of Workers သီချင်းဂုဏ်ထူးများ	Shan Songs အိမ်ထောင်ရေး	Workers and culture around us ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Advice on Life's Problems (ထမ်းပို့ရေး)	Lanna corner မြို့နယ်အဖွဲ့များ (ထမ်းပို့ရေး)
19:00 to 20:00	Shan tea program ဝန်ထမ်းများ		News Program ထမ်းပို့ရေး ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Shan Songs အိမ်ထောင်ရေး	Workers and culture around us ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Shan culture Association Program ဝန်ထမ်းများ	Shan culture Association Program ဝန်ထမ်းများ

VITA

Satomi Aso was born in Tottori prefecture and raised in Yokohama-city in Japan. Her father, Tetsuji Taniguchi, became a pilot for Japan Airlines Corporation after devoting himself as pilot in the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force for many years. Her mother , Masako, was a registered teacher of Sado, the traditional Japanese tea ceremony lesson, in Urasenke and has been promoting Japanese culture in the community for a long time.

Satomi began her work career as a TV news producer at Japan’s biggest broadcaster, NHK. She actively reported on development issues, especially of refugees, asylum seekers and migrant workers both outside and inside of Japan. After moving to Thailand in 2009 to be a correspondent of NHK World, she reported a great number of development issues across the Southeast Asia region. Satomi completed her first master’s degree in Leadership and Human Resource Management, at the College of Management, Mahidol University, in Thailand in order to enhance her management skills. She also has a Bachelor of Arts in Policy Management from Keio University, Japan.

She is particularly proud of her work as a TV journalist to cast the spotlight on the socially vulnerable and related development. Her belief in “giving a voice to the voiceless” has been revealed through all her works. Her interests are always in the socially vulnerable and minorities who are suffering in this unfair world. Her lifework is to seek for potential of media to serve the socially vulnerable.