

Factors and Reasons of Migration in Tambon Bannang Sata
During the Time of Conflict

Miss Naruemon Yamareng



A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in International Development Studies
Common Course
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Chulalongkorn University
Academic Year 2020
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ปัจจัยและเหตุผลในการเคลื่อนย้ายของคนในตำบลบันนังสตาในช่วงเวลาความไม่สงบ



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาการพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ ไม่สังกัดภาควิชา/เทียบเท่า

คณะรัฐศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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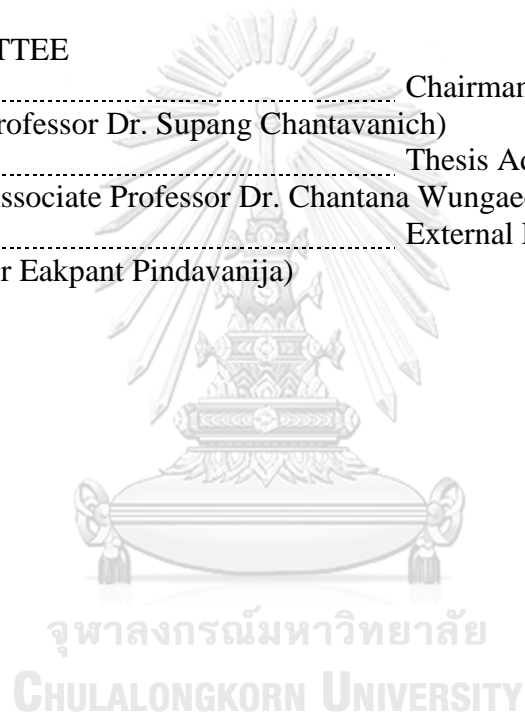
Thesis Title Factors and Reasons of Migration in Tambon Bannang
Sata During the Time of Conflict
By Miss Naruemon Yamareng
Field of Study International Development Studies
Thesis Advisor Associate Professor Dr. Chantana Wungaeo

Accepted by the FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, Chulalongkorn
University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Master of Arts

..... Dean of the FACULTY OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE
()

THESIS COMMITTEE

..... Chairman
(Professor Dr. Supang Chantavanich)
..... Thesis Advisor
(Associate Professor Dr. Chantana Wungaeo)
..... External Examiner
(Dr Eakpant Pindavanija)



นฤมล ชามาเรียง : ปัจจัยและเหตุผลในการเคลื่อนย้ายของคนในตำบลบันนังสตาในช่วงเวลาความไม่สงบ.

(Factors and Reasons of Migration in Tambon Bannang Sata During the Time of Conflict) อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก : รศ. ดร.ฉันทนา หวันแก้ว

งานวิจัยฉบับนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาเหตุผลและปัจจัยในการย้ายของคนในตำบลบันนังสตาตั้งแต่ปี พ.ศ. 2547 ซึ่งบันนังสตาเป็นหนึ่งในพื้นที่ที่ได้รับผลกระทบจากความรุนแรงจากเหตุการณ์ความไม่สงบมากที่สุดแห่งหนึ่ง และยังมีอัตราการย้ายที่สูง และเพื่อศึกษาว่าเหตุผลและตัวแปรในการย้ายนี้มีความแตกต่างกันอย่างไรระหว่างกลุ่มผู้นับถือศาสนาพุทธ และผู้นับถือศาสนาอิสลาม ได้มีการสัมภาษณ์คนประเภทต่าง ๆ ทั้งผู้ที่ย้ายออก ผู้ที่ย้ายเข้า และผู้ที่ไม่เคยย้ายจากตำบลบันนังสตา งานวิจัยใช้ความมั่นคงของมนุษย์เป็นกรอบในการเก็บและวิเคราะห์ข้อมูล ซึ่งพบว่าคนย้ายเข้าและออกจากตำบลบันนังสตาด้วยหลายสาเหตุ ซึ่งสามารถจัดเป็นสามกลุ่มใหญ่ คือ เหตุผลที่เกี่ยวกับครอบครัว เหตุผลด้านความกลัว และเหตุผลด้านความต้องการ โดยเหตุผลที่เกี่ยวกับครอบครัวเป็นเหตุผลสำคัญที่สุดทั้งสำหรับผู้ที่ย้ายออก ย้ายเข้า และผู้ที่ไม่เคยย้าย เหตุผลที่สำคัญไม่แพ้กันสำหรับผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ทุกกลุ่มคือโอกาสในการทำงาน และความเป็นอยู่ที่ดีทางการเงิน ซึ่งเราได้จัดเหตุผลเหล่านี้ไว้ในกลุ่มเหตุผลด้านความต้องการ พบว่ามีผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์จำนวนไม่มากที่ย้ายเพราะความกลัวแม้ว่าพวกเขาจะมีความกลัว ในขณะที่อาศัยในตำบลบันนังสตาก็ตาม มีผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์เพียงสองคนเท่านั้นที่ย้ายเพราะความกลัวโดยไม่ได้มีเหตุผลอื่นร่วม ซึ่งเป็นผู้นับถือศาสนาพุทธหนึ่งคนที่กลัวกลุ่มก่อความไม่สงบ และเป็นมุสลิมหนึ่งคนที่กลัวการปฏิบัติของเจ้าหน้าที่ งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ยังพบว่าความกลัว ประสบการณ์ความรุนแรงโดยตรง และตัวเลขการย้ายในพื้นที่นั้นไม่จำเป็นต้องเป็นไปในทิศทางเดียวกัน สิ่งที่มีผลของความกลัวมากกว่าประสบการณ์ความรุนแรงคือการที่พวกเขา รู้สึกว่าตนเป็นเป้าของการก่อเหตุ หรือรู้สึกไม่สามารถเชื่อมต่อหรือถูกกีดกันจากชุมชนมุสลิมซึ่งเป็นประชากรส่วนใหญ่ นอกจากนี้แม้ว่าจะมีความกลัวแต่ก็อาจจะไม่ได้ทำให้เกิดการย้ายหากพวกเขามีปัจจัยอื่นสนับสนุน ซึ่งทำให้เห็นความสมดุลของเหตุผลด้านความกลัวและเหตุผลด้านความต้องการสำหรับผู้ที่ไม่เคยย้ายของพื้นที่นั้นเหตุผลส่วนใหญ่คล้ายกับผู้ที่ย้ายแต่พบว่าพวกเขาให้ความสำคัญกับความเป็นบ้านเกิด ชุมชน และวัฒนธรรมมากกว่า

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ปีการศึกษา 2563

ลายมือชื่อนิติต
ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก

6081221324 : MAJOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

KEYWORD migration, deep south, violent conflict, reason, factor, human
D: security, buddhist, muslim

Naruemon Yamareng : Factors and Reasons of Migration in Tambon
Bannang Sata During the Time of Conflict . Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr.
Chantana Wungaeo

This study aims to find out the reasons and factors of migration in Tambon Bannang Sata, one of the most violence-affected zones with high mobility rate, since the recurrence of violence in the south in 2004, and how those reasons and factors differ between Muslims and Buddhists. Interview of all categories of migration were carried out including in-migration, out-migration and non-migration. Human security is used as a framework for data collection and analysis. It is found that people moved in and out of Tambon Bannang Sata with many reasons which could be categorized into three mains reasons: family matters, fear and wants. Family factors were the biggest influence for people whether to move in, move out, or to stay in the area. In addition, job opportunity and financial wellbeing, which were classified as “want”, were other the prime reasons for all group. Study found that not as many respondents moved because of fear even they did fear living in the area. There were only two respondents who move merely because of fear, one Buddhist who feared insurgency and another Muslim who feared authority’s treatment. This study also found that fear, direct experience of the violence, and number of migrations in the area are not necessarily correlated. Fear correlates with the feeling of being disconnected and alienated from the Muslim community. Moreover, despite being fear, people might not find a reason to move because they are supported by other factors which shows a balance between fear and want. Reasons of out-migrant for not moving from the area were similar to other groups but they valued hometown, community and culture much more heavily.

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Field of Study:	International Development Studies	Student's Signature
Academic Year:	2020	Advisor's Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor, Associate Professor Dr. Chantana Wungeao, for her valuable guidance throughout my studies. You provided me with the tools that I needed to choose the right direction and successfully complete my thesis.

I would also like to thank all my thesis committee, Professor Dr. Supang Chantavanich and Dr. Eakpant Pindavaija, whose expertise was invaluable in formulating the research questions and methodology. Your insightful feedback pushed me to sharpen my thinking and brought my work to a higher level.

I would like to acknowledge Volunteer Graduates in Tambon Banang Sata to help me reaching out to target respondents and make data collection possible.

In addition, I would like to thank my parents for their wise counsel and sympathetic ear. You are always there for me. Finally, I could not have completed this thesis without the support of my friends and kind hearted locals in Bannang Sata.

Naruemon Yamareng

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since reemerging of violence in the three southern border provinces, as known as the Deep South in 2004, many reports assert that many people are forced to move from their homes. According to The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, since 2004, at least 30 percent of Buddhists and 10 percent of Malay Muslims may have left their homes (IDMC, 2011). Estimation of Institute for National Strategic Studies also indicates that around 20 percent of Buddhist population has abandoned its land after the conflict. However, this estimation contrasts to the study presented by the Asia foundation which suggests that number of Muslims and Buddhists who left the conflict area is not significantly different (Burke, Tweedie, & Phūchārēn, 2013). The study also points that Buddhists being forced out the region is as false as the claims that the government is intentionally occupying the Deep South with Buddhist population. Study shows that the overall Buddhist population has gradually declined over the past 20 years. This trend has been going on way before of violence in 2004. Either way, both sides have the same conclusion that migration from the Deep South is significantly high.

What have not been studied enough is the real incentives of those who moved. Sakee (2008) has studied motivation and incentives of those who move from the Deep South before, but it is only limited to those who moved to Song Kla province. It is still limited for deeper understanding of reasons and factors of the migration in the Deep South, since they move to various destinations (IDMC, 2011), (Abuza, 2011), (Patrawart, 2010). While conflict is one of important factors of the migration, other causes cannot be ignored. It is known that “people do not move when they are satisfied and comfortable with what they have and where they are.” (Sirkeci, Cohen, & Yazgan, 2016) It is important to understand struggles and experience of those living in the conflict-affected areas and those who moved from there.

Assumed that people migrate with several different reasons, and some of those reason could be related to the human insecurity, as Vietti and Scribner points that migration could also be result of lacking of human insecurity (Vietti & Scribner, 2013). This research aims to explore all of the possibility. It would make better understanding of phenomenon of migration, to study the reasons and the factors that compliment to their migration might be needed.

Moreover, as many existing reports claim that people from each religion groups, Buddhist and Muslim, move differently, this study also assumes reasons and factors of migration could vary according to different religion groups. This study will as well focus on differences and commons of the reasons and factors of migration between each religion group.

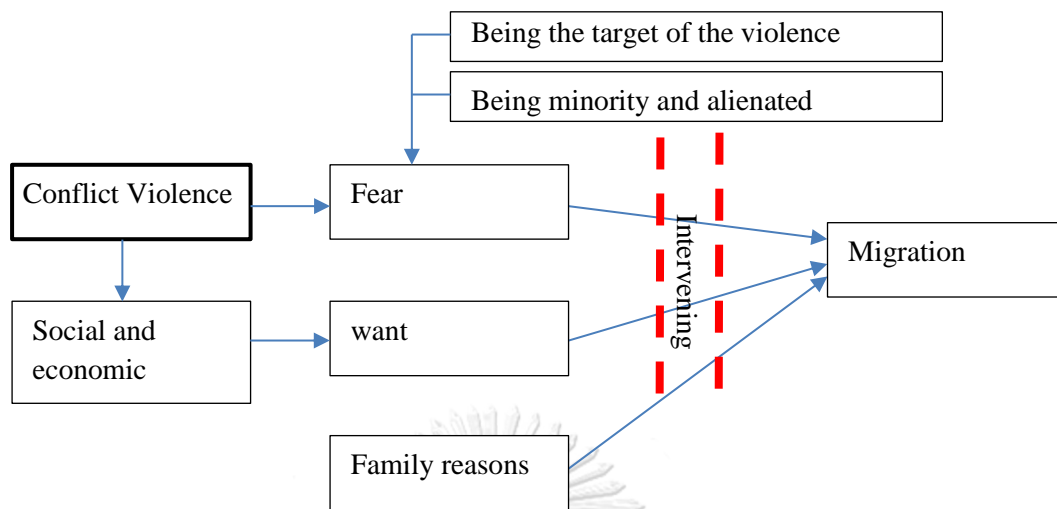
1.2 Research Questions

What are the reasons and factors of migration in Tambon Bannang Sata after conflict in 2004 and how do those reasons and factors differ between Muslims and Buddhists?

1.3 Expected Benefits

Knowledge of reasons and factors of in-migration, out-migration and non-migration of people in Tambon Bannang Sata, Yala provinces, both Muslims and Buddhists. The differences and similarities of that among Buddhist and Muslim migrants which could be useful for the future studies.

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Background of the conflict in the Deep South of Thailand

Before nation state, most of the kingdoms in South East Asia did not govern over a specific border. Instead of conquering and establishing an administration, kingdoms would request tributes from smaller kingdoms as a sign of submission. Siam as well had requested tributes from sultanate Patani kingdoms. Patani's refusing led to many attacks and atrocities. Patani and Siam never have good relationship since Ayuthaya period.

In 1901 King Rama V established of centralized administration over all of the kingdoms within what considered Thailand territory in modern days (Yegar, 2002), including Patani. He divided the region into 7 main districts which includes Patani, Nongchik, Raman, Ra Ngae, Saiburi, Yala and Yaring (Yegar, 2002). While Siam tried to put Patani under control and use many assimilation policies, there were still many rebellions against Siam authority. In 1947, there was big uprising in Palukasamoh village, Bojoh, Narathiwat followed by killing of villagers in Sapan Koto in 1975.

The violence decline in the early 1980s (Yegar, 2002), though there were few incidents, they not recognized until 2004 when the number and scale of violent incidents rose rapidly. New momentum was not due to conquering but from long tensions between the pro-Buddhist authority and Malay Muslims. The conflict is a complicated intertwining of ethnicity, religion, culture and history. Government used security-led and inflexible approach to respond to resentment which led many local Malay to sympathize with the insurgents, enough that they could start the operations. Only during 2004 -2005 alone, there were 6,543 deaths and 11,919 injuries, with an estimated 15,374 incidents occurring (IDMC, 2011).

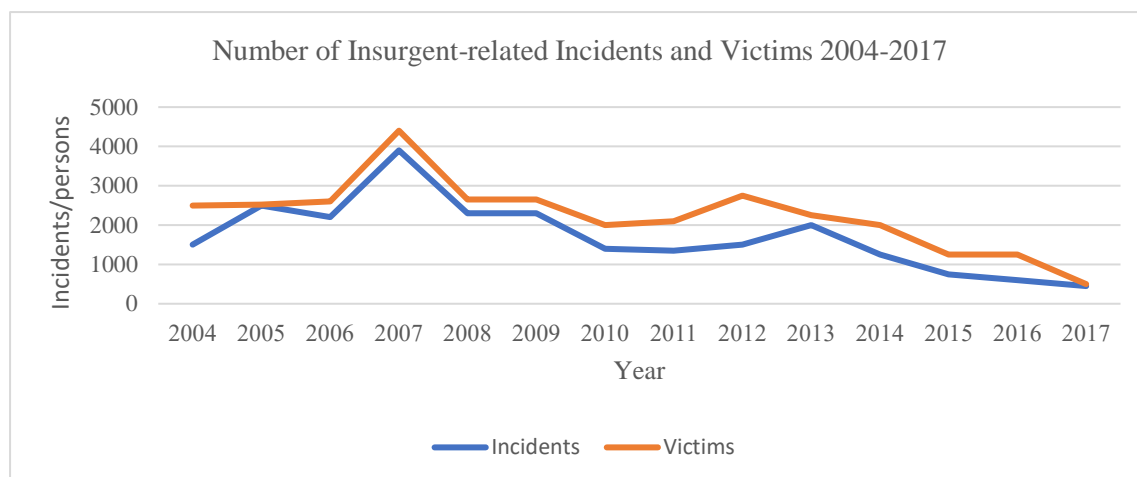
Conflict in the south of Thailand has many similarities to Aceh of Indonesia and Mindanao of Philippines. They are all subnational conflict where an armed opposition movement uses violence to contest current political authority, and to establish self-rule for the local population. Most of these struggles are neither unified

nor well-constructed. Like other subnational conflicts in Asia, it is not discussed much in international level as it is considered sovereignty or security issue, and therefore, international assistance and aid is very little. In Thailand case however, the tension rooted deeply in the long history of local struggles against Thailand centralized state. Subnational conflict areas in Asia typically have three over-lapping forms of contestation: state-minority, elite competition often from same identity group, and communal conflict which is tensions and violence between different identity groups at the local level.

2.2 Current Violence

For the last 14 years the violence has been prolonged. According to monthly report of Deep South Incident Database (*Summary of Incidents in Southern Thailand in 48 months 2010*; ความขัดแย้งชายแดนใต้ในรอบ 13 ปี, 2017), from January 2004 to April 2017, there had been, in total, 19,279 insurgency-related incidents. The intensity had been up and down, and was peak in 2007 (2,409 incidents) and in 2012 (1,851 incidents) as shown below. However, if we look separately by month, the most intense month was in January 2012(ความขัดแย้งชายแดนใต้ในรอบ 13 ปี, 2017), higher than any month in 2007.

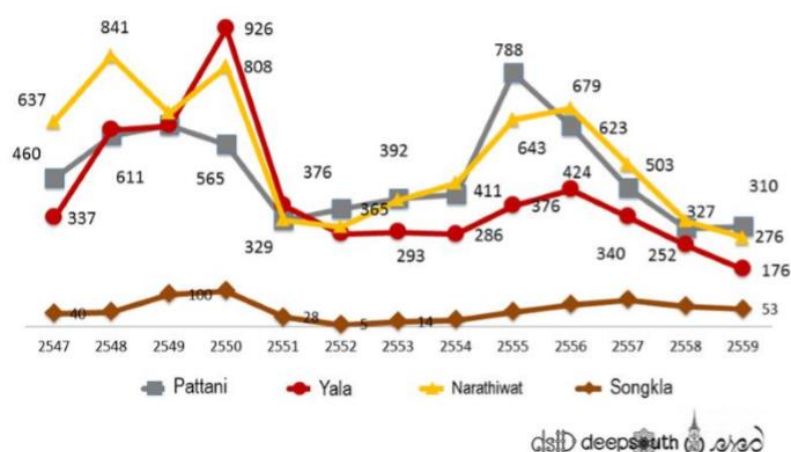
Figure 2 Number of Insurgent-related Incidents and Victims from 2004-2017



Reference: DSID (ความขัดแย้งชายแดนใต้ในรอบ 13 ปี, 2017)

Since 2004, incidents took place in Narathiwat the most which counted 6,959 incidents, 36 percent of all incidents. Following by Patani, there are 6,279 incidents or 33 percent for all incidents, and Yala, 5,357 or 28 percent. Songkla has 683 incidents or 3 percent. However throughout 13 years, there was also a period of time where Patani or Yala had the most incidents as well.

Figure 3 Number of Incidents in the Deep South Compared by Province, 2004-2016



Source : DSID (ความขัดแย้งชายแดนใต้ในรอบ 13 ปี, 2017)

If we consider conflict area in Ampoe level, top 10 Ampoes that had the most incidents taking place were, Mueang Yala (1,713), Ra Ngae, Narathiwat (1,191), Raman, Yala (1,099) Rue Soh, Narathiwat (1,054), Bannangsta, Yal (1,035) Yarang, Pattani (1,016), Nhongchik, Pattani (863), Mueang Pattani (840), Saiburi, Pattani (790), and Bajo Narathirath (639)(ความขัดแย้งชายแดนใต้ในรอบ 13 ปี, 2017). It is important to note that most of these areas were part of 7 historical districts of Patani where many rebels and outlashes took place since Rama 5's occupation (Jitpiromsri, 2016). Though violence had been taking place all around the Deep South, it was usually more concentrated in these 7 districts (Sanongphan, 2012). The data shows that recently in 2015-2017, incidents in these areas were reduced to 1-4 incidents in the course of three months. Tambon Bannang Sata, had the most incidents, 9 incidents in the course of three months.(ความขัดแย้งชายแดนใต้ในรอบ 13 ปี, 2017)

According to monthly report of DSID, from January 2004 to April 2017, 6,544 deaths and 12,963 injured. Though the insurgency claims to fight for the rights of the Malay Muslims, data shows that majority or 60 percent of death is Malay Muslim (Abuza, 2011). According to DSW, most of this number is civilians killed by insurgency. Buddhists however were more injured. According to Institute for National Strategic Studies, there were 4,207 Buddhists injured compared to 2,389 Muslims. While 40 percent of death is Buddhist, they are from 15 percent of the population in the Deep South. However, many of the deaths and incidents were unclear whether they were directly related to insurgency. There were many political rivalries, disputes over business and criminalities which some state officers are reported to engage in (Abuza, 2011).

2.3 Inequality in the region

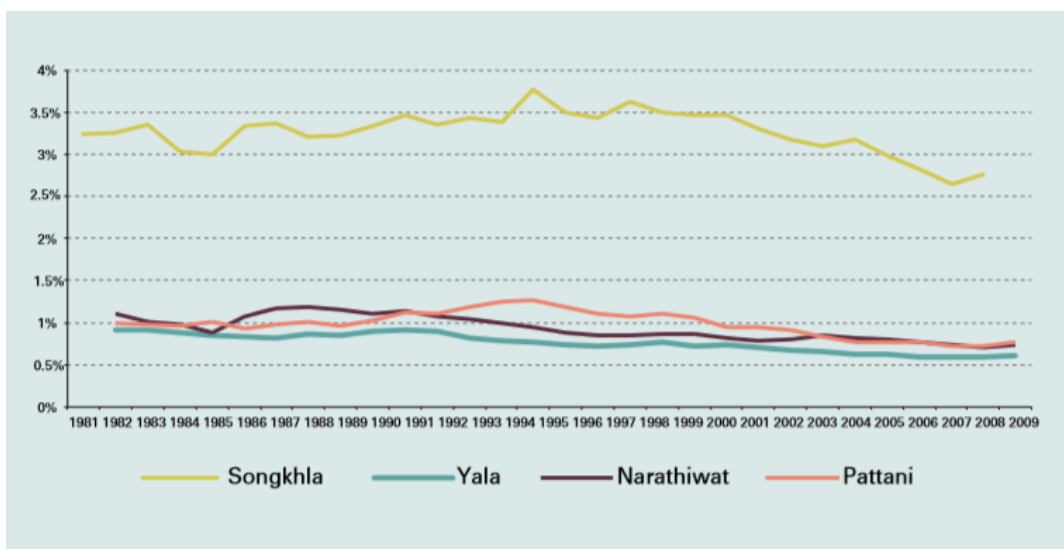
Population of 1.8 million living in the Deep South consists of at least 75 percent Malay Muslims. However, in national level, they are minority of 2.9 percent total population (Burke, Tweedie, & Poocharoen, 2013). Therefore, the centralized administration does not comply well with their culture and practice. They are in a way

marginalized from national politics and development. Inequality between groups is one of the problems in the region which the insurgents also use it to call for sympathizers.

While Thailand economy has been expanding rapidly, Malay Muslims share only small part of benefits and development (Burke et al., 2013). The graph below shows the different share of national GDP between each province in the Deep South and their neighboring province, Songkla.



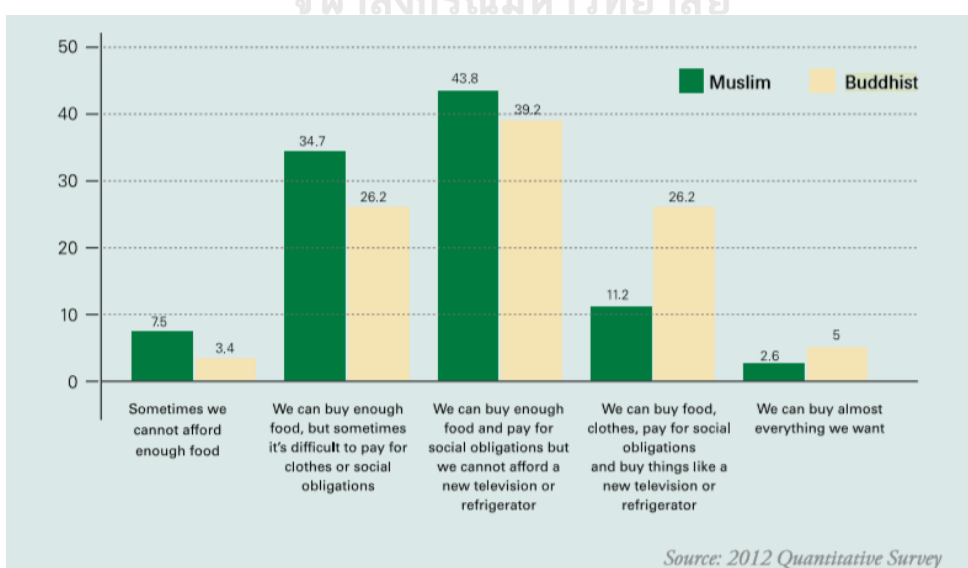
Figure 4 Provincial Share of National GDP (excluding Bangkok)



Source: (Burke et al., 2013)

Survey results by Asia Foundation below shows the gap between Buddhists and Muslims in the Deep South in term of economy. Despite being minority in the region, Buddhists are relatively wealthier than Malay Muslims.

Figure 5 Responds of Muslim and Buddhist Respondents regarding Economic Situation



Source: The Asia Foundation (Burke et al., 2013)

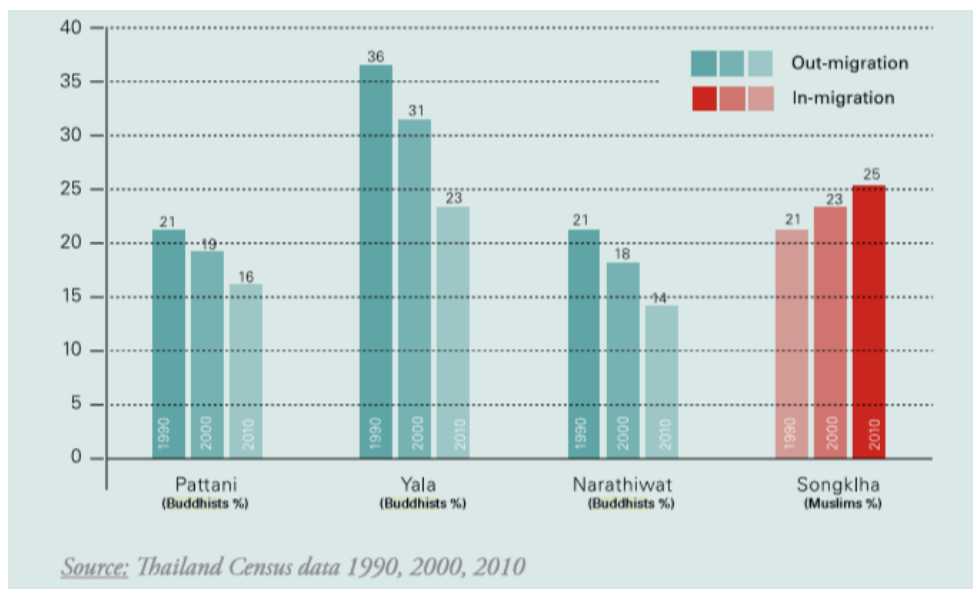
Similar results, another survey of the Asia Foundation conducted in 2010 show that Malay Muslims are generally in lower income groups (Burke et al., 2013). 21 percent of Muslim households in urban areas make less than 8,000 baht per month, while only 11 percent of Buddhist households make the same amount. There are also inequalities in term of socio-economic, data shows that more Muslim children under 5 years old in the Deep South are underweight than Buddhist children in the region, as well as than the overall national average.

2.4 Migration of people in the Deep South

The violence has led to migration and displacement. Estimation of Institute for National Strategic Studies indicates that around 20 percent of Buddhist population has abandoned its land. Since 2004, at least 30 percent of Buddhists and 10 percent of Malay Muslims may have left their homes (IDMC, 2011). There are those who moved out of the southern region and those who moved into the relatively safer area in the region. Abuza asserts that insurgents have intentionally attempted to drive Buddhists out of region, especially rural areas. Buddhists, who decide to remain, are living with fear of being targeted (IDMC, 2011). Government tries to ensure their security by setting heavily armed enclaves.

However, there is also evident presented by the Asia Foundation that that Muslims and Buddhists who are leaving the conflict area is not significantly different. Burke, Tweedie, and Poocharoen point that Buddhists being driven out is as not true as the claims that the government is intentionally occupying the Deep South with Buddhist population (Burke et al., 2013). Historical migration flows of Thailand's majority population into the Deep South are far less significant than in Mindanao, where the indigenous population has become a minority over time, or in Aceh, where government transmigration schemes were implemented on a major scale. Study shows that the overall Buddhist population has gradually declined over the past 20 years. This trend was going on way before of violence in 2004s.

Figure 6 Percent of Provincial Population Change, Comparing Buddhist Out-Migration and Muslim In-Migration in 1990, 2000 and 2010



Source: Cited in The Asia Foundation (Burke et al., 2013)

It is seemingly that population from the Deep South moving in and out of the areas with various reasons. There are also studies that large number of Muslims in from Thailand move to Malaysia to seek jobs with the help of network (Bunmak, 2017).

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2.5 Motivation in Migration Decision Making

Hyman and Gleave divide migrants into two groups; first, migrants who are primarily motivated by employment and income, and second, migrants who are primarily motivated by housing factors (Hyman & Gleave, 1978). This can mean seeking better surroundings or seeking to be closer to friends and relatives. They point that first group usually have a systematic tendency to move over greater distance than the latter group. However in recent time, especially after global migrant phenomenon, many assert that migration is more complicated than that. Brettell and Hollifield argue that migration is a complex phenomenon and is itself a social process. People move for various factors and variables (Brettell, Hollifield, Hollifield, & Association, 2000),

more than can divide migrants into two solid groups like Hyman and Gleave did. Although employment and housing factors are the main reasons, these two factors are most often mixed in a migrant's decision making. There are many theories explaining incentive of migration. For motivation theory by John Atkinson and his associates, migration decision process consists of the multiplicative interaction of four variables; availability, motive, expectancy, and incentive (Sell & DeJong, 1978). These four variable decision and destination choices are moderated by individuals with can be based on economics, politics or other societal reasoning.

The human capital approach in migration decision making theory is one of the theories cited by many writers. The human capital approach uses the concept of individual capital formation as the basis for decision making, and migration becomes a personal investment which will be made only if returns for this behavior are justified. Costs and benefits calculated cannot be just monetary, it also includes other kinds of utilities, which for some person, are personal and individualistic. The theory suggests that both current and future monetary and nonmonetary costs and benefits must be weighed in some fashion before movement will occur (Sell & DeJong, 1978). The concept of viewing migration as the result of an individual cost-benefit calculation is not new as it was inspired by classical economy theory.

Similarly, Wolpert proposes the place utility approach to migration decision making (Wolpert, 1932). He explains that migrants will move due to place utility which refers to "the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some position in space." An individual will perceive that different places have different levels of place utility and will tend to locate himself at a place whose characteristics possess or promise a relatively high level of utility than other places (Sell & DeJong, 1978).

This place utility can be also explained by Push and Pull theory in which 'push' and 'pull' factors influencing voluntary out-migration. Push factors or force people out of their traditional localities. Pull factors are factors attracting people to move to new ones. Push and pull factors, in other words, utilities in localities and new places will result in migration.

As mentioned, utilities here can also be nonmonetary like individual preferences which Zelinsky lists as values, pleasures, self-improvement, social and physical habitat, and general life-style (Zelinsky, 1971). Development constraints in the country of origin and development prosperity of elsewhere are likely to motivate people to move, but at the same time they need the resources to do so. People need a certain minimum of social and economic resources in order to be able to migrate. Even with the same cost-benefits calculation, not everyone has the same resource to move. Migration can reflect a person high need of better life as well as higher access to resources. Network is one of the variables that provide persons access to more resources and information as well as chances to find employment and accommodation. Bunmak argues that migrant networks facilitate migration, especially through informal channels (Bunmak, 2017). People with outside network tend to be more mobile. The costs and risks of movement for members of networks are lower because the experiences accumulated by earlier groups are available to for them (Bunmak, 2017). Those who have access to migrant networks are therefore more likely to be safer and to adapt more easily to the new culture than those without networks.

From these literatures, the factors which enter into migration decision making process may be summarized into: (1) factors associated with the area of origin, (2) factors associated with the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles, and (4) personal factors. Theories and models of contemporary migration are often developed from neofunctional models. They define migrants as rational actors who are focused on improving their economic, social, and political well-being that are not available in their place of origin. However, Sirkeci, Cohen, and Yazgan suggest that migration is also largely driven by difficulties, discomfort, disagreements, tensions, and conflicts at localities (Sirkeci et al., 2016). Migration decision and destination choices are not only shaped by individual characteristics, but also cultural and social capital as well as by the local, national and international context (Sirkeci et al., 2016). For example, reducing costs of transportation and other variables make international population movements easier across the world.

It is also important to note that migrants having different level of agency meaning ability to initiating, executing, and controlling their actions. Constraints that people face will limit their agency to different level. People who have been forced to leave their proper or usual place or country because of war, revolution, natural calamity or due to developmental projects, can be called “displaced persons”. Voluntary displacement is also possible. When situation in the usual place is very bad and pressured, some people decide to voluntarily move against their will to where is less desirable but acceptable. To explain this with push and pull theory, the difference between voluntary and involuntary population movements is that the latter are caused by ‘push’ factors only. Levels of anxiety and insecurity are therefore, much higher among involuntary ones (Nanda, 2017).

Another difference between voluntary and involuntary displacement is characteristics of the population. According to Nanda voluntary displacement usually composes by young families in the early stages of their household life cycle (Nanda, 2017). Their migration rather is gradual. They maintain socio-economic ties with their villages. If adversity occurs in their new environment, they still can get support from their families. On the contrary, involuntary displacements are forced, and usually, indiscriminate or occur in mass level like displacement after natural disaster.

2.6 Human Security

Human security is an emerging paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities which challenges the traditional concept of national security by arguing that the proper referent for security should be the individual rather than the state. Human security is a people-centered and multi-disciplinary. It requires understanding of research fields from development studies to strategic studies. *Amartya Sen* who supports this concept argues that development can be seen as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) released 1994 Human Development Report addressing human security. The report argues that "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" for all persons is what leads to global security.

In UNDP's 1994 report includes seven areas of global security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

Economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the world's people are presently economically secure. While the economic security problem may be more serious in developing countries, concern also arises in developed countries as well. Unemployment problems constitute an important factor underlying political tensions and ethnic violence.

Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. According to the United Nations, the overall availability of food is not a problem, rather the problem often is the poor distribution of food and a lack of purchasing power. In the past, food security problems have been dealt with at both national and global levels. However, their impacts are limited. According to UN, the key is to tackle the problems relating to access to assets, work and assured income (related to economic security).

Health Security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. In developing countries, the major causes of death traditionally were infectious and parasitic diseases, whereas in industrialized countries, the major killers were diseases of the circulatory system. According to the United Nations, in both developing and industrial countries, threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas, particularly children. This is due to malnutrition and insufficient access to health services, clean water and other basic necessities.

Environmental security aims to protect people from the short- and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment. In developing countries, lack of access to clean water resources is one of the greatest environmental threats. In industrial countries, one of the major threats is air pollution. Global warming, caused by the emission of greenhouse gases, is another environmental security issue.

Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults. For many people, the greatest source of anxiety is crime, particularly violent crime.

Community security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Traditional communities, particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the world's states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife. The United Nations declared 1993 the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence.

Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their basic human rights. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International, political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance was still practiced in 110 countries. Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information.

Attempts to implement human security agenda have led to the emergence of two major schools of thought on how to best practice human security – "Freedom from Fear" and "Freedom from Want". While the UNDP 1994 report originally argued that human security requires attention to both freedom from fear and freedom from want, divisions have gradually emerged over the proper scope of that protection and over the appropriate mechanisms for responding to these threats.

Freedom from Fear seeks to limit the practice of Human Security to protecting individuals from violent conflicts while recognizing that these violent threats are strongly associated with poverty, lack of state capacity and other forms of inequities. This approach argues that limiting the focus to violence is a realistic and manageable approach towards Human Security. Emergency assistance, conflict prevention and resolution, peace-building are the main concerns of this approach.

Freedom from Want – The school advocates a holistic approach in achieving human security and argues that the threat agenda should be broadened to include hunger, disease and natural disasters because they are inseparable concepts in addressing the root of human insecurity and they kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined. Different from "Freedom from Fear", it expands the focus beyond violence with emphasis on development and security goals.

Critics of the concept argue that the concept is still vague ineffective, and impractical. Some scholars also have argued that the concept of human security should be broadened to encompass military security to cover all human condition. However, by doing so, interest of the state will continue to overshadow the interest of the people.

Since UNDP 1994 report, human security has been receiving more attention from the key global development institutions, such as the World Bank. Tadjbakhsh, among others, traces the evolution of human security in international organizations, concluding that the concept has been manipulated and transformed considerably since 1994 to fit organizational interests (Vietti & Scribner, 2013).

Nevertheless, holistic nature of human security concept and its focus on human individual allow us to look at migration in a broader way. Various factors of migration can be explained well with human security framework. Migration both results from and can lead to human insecurity. Disruptions in the economic lives of individuals and their families, dislocation due to environmental disasters, and political and religious persecution constitute a few of the threats to human security that drive migration on a mass scale. A human security approach would emphasize the multiple factors that give rise to migration flows, including economic deprivation, political persecution, and ethnic cleansing, and would seek to address these conditions before they lead people to migrate.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOOGY

3.1 Research Design

This research is a qualitative research using phenomenology method¹. It aims to understand and interpret people's movement in terms of reasons, factors, and characteristics from their perception, definition, thought and feeling. It is conducted in Tambon Bannang Sata, Yala province from 2018- 2019. This research will collect the primary data from in-depth interview which was collected from those who had migrated out of, migrated into Tambon Bannang Sata, as well as those who had no migration experience during the conflict time in 2004 - 2018. This research will be done by semi-structure in-dept interviews and open-ended inquiries. The questions used in in-depth interview will be divided in four parts

1. Personal information: name, age, religion, gender, occupation
2. Reasons and factors of moving/ not moving
3. Experience encountering violence
4. Perception on migration and religion group.

Data and results will be presented by qualitative description.

3.2 Research Scope

Content of this research was reasons and factors that led to in-migrattion, out-migration and non-migration of people in Tambon Bannang Sata, Yala province. It includes differences and similarities of that among Buddhist and Muslim migrants as well as, the analysis and reflection of the phenomenon.

Respondents are those who move in, move out from Tambon Bannang Sata, Yala province during 2004 to the present, and also, those who have been living in there since before 2004 to the present. Respondents also must be willing to give in-

¹ Winthrop, H. (1949). Phenomenological Method from the Standpoint of the Empiricistic Bias. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 46(3), 57. doi:10.2307/2018944

depth interview about experience and, reasons and factors regarding conflict violence and migration.

3.3 Respondents

Respondents consisted of three groups including out-migration group, in-migration group and none-migration group. Out-migration group means those who had move out of Tambon Bannang Sata during 2004-present. In-migration group means those who had move into the area during the same time period. None-migration group means those who had been living in Tambon Bannang Sata and had not made any movement during the same time period. Exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling² was used to search for respondents. In this type, the first respondent was recruited and then he/she provides multiple referrals. Each new referral then provides more information about other potential referrals and so on, until there is enough number of respondents. The respondents who are willing to give interview will be categorized by migration type and religion as shown in Figure 3.1 below.

Table 1 Number of respondent groups categorized

Respondent group	Number of Respondents		
	Muslim	Buddhist	Total
Out-migration	9	12	21
In-migration	8	3	11
None-migration	8	5	13
Total	25	20	45

3.4 Tool

² Johnson, T. P. (2014). Snowball Sampling: Introduction. *Wiley StatsRef: Statistics Reference Online*. doi:10.1002/9781118445112.stat05720

The tool used in this research was semi-structured interview. There were key words specific content prepared for the interview. Respondents, however, were given chances to answer or share other information related to migration. This tool was passed the reliability and validity check and improved according to the experts.

3.5 Time duration and areas

This research will be conducted duration January and December 2018 at Tambon Bannang Sata, Amphoe Bannang Sata, Yala

3.6 data collection

Main data was primary data which received from in-dept interviews. The data was obtained with following steps;

3.6.1. Preparation

Originally from Yala province, researcher had some friends and connections in the Deep South area including Tambon Bannang Sata . Snowball sampling was started from her friend who introduced her to first group of respondents. In order to understand the context of the area, to build trust, as well as to find more contacts of potential respondents, researcher conducted preliminary fieldwork to Tambon Bannang Sata. This fieldwork was facilitated by researcher's connections and staffs from Office of Bannangsata District Non-formal and Informal Education Centre, as well as Volunteer Graduate of a project under Southern Border Provinces Administration Centre (SBPAC).

On this fieldwork, researcher visit community events in Pa Wang village (Moo 1) hosted by Rubber Authority of Thailand, Yala Province, and another one in Ka Sod (Moo 3) hosted by Bannang Sata District Officials. There were many villagers, government officials, as well as volunteers. On these events, researchers could gather some contacts of respondents. Some in-depth interviews were taken on this trip as the respondents found have limited availability.

Researcher went to Tambon Bannang Sata for the second time to visit Bannang Sata Intarachat School according to villagers' suggestion after asking for

Buddhists who moved away as they said there had been many teachers moving out. Researcher was able to get contacts of many teachers who moved out and in Tambon Bannang Sata. Researcher also visited Bannang Sata District Office to get more information and contact of potential respondents. Unfortunately, it was impossible to print out the whole list however researcher was allowed to look in the system and write down some of the names and addresses.

After getting information of respondents, researcher lists down the potential respondents who did not meet in the events and contacts to introduce them to the research and researcher's information. Researcher asked for their consent and their availability to give interview. Some were done through phone calls and others were done directly in other field trips.

3.6.2 Operation

Many of the respondents were called for in-depth interview after first few fieldtrips. While constantly searching for respondents, especially those who have moved away from the area, researcher started conducting in-depth interviews through phone calls and face to face meeting in Bangkok and in Yala. All of respondents who had moved to other provinces or abroad will give interview via phone calls.

3.7 Quality assurance

This study ensured authenticity which refers to the quality of the data and data collection procedures by using data triangulation. Researcher used more than one data sources to confirm and produce a more comprehensive view of migration in Tambon Bannang Sata and its factors. Researcher used the appropriate method to answer each research questions, considering its nature. While using large number of random sampling to give big picture for question on pattern of migration, research used snowball sampling and individual interviews for the second question on factors of migration due to subjective and sensitive nature of the topic and limitation of the participation.

3.8 Researcher's background, belief and bias

Researcher was graduated in International Relations from Faculty from Political Science. Spent equally time of her childhood outside and in the Deep South, Researchers have observed the conflict as both outsiders and locals. Half of researcher's family is Thai Buddhist and Malayu Muslim. Growing up with both communities, researcher's perspective on ethnicity and homeland is quite neutral while on religion, researcher identifies herself as Muslim. Although Tambon Bannang Sata is considered as a red-zone area, researcher's connection with locals, having the same religion and speaking the same language to majority of locals made it relatively safe for fieldworks.

On conflict, researcher's position is strongly against any violent attack on civilians from any side, especially manipulating religion scripts to do so. Researcher also believes that anyone who has live in the area for a long time can be considered as a local, regardless of their religion or ethnicity. Therefore, the two communities, Buddhist and Muslim, can and should live peacefully together as equal Thai citizens under Thailand state's sovereignty.

3.9 Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis was used to analyze the data. At first, content analysis was conducted to identify and describe results. However, as this research was based largely on perspective, which could be multiple and very subjective, research chose interpretive analysis in order to understand further in what condition and context that respondent gave such response. The researcher would collect respondents' realities and experience, find repetition, and compare them within and across transcripts and across variables deemed important to the study. For example, researcher looked into different response of those who come from different religion and occupation background, or different experience and answered the question "Are people with similar background and experience giving similar response? How is it different to others?"

Interpretive analysis was conducted in three steps, as suggested by Douglas (2017). These steps were done after gaining the data, transcription of the interviews

and verification of those transcripts by reconfirming them with the respondents in another meeting or call. First step is deconstruction where researcher broke down data into component parts and categories or codes that describe the content. It is similar to content analysis mentioned above. Next step is interpretation where researcher was making sense of and understanding the coded data. This was when researcher compared codes and looked for similarities and differences among themes, and comparing findings with those of other studies. The last step was reconstruction researcher concluded the relationships of the prominent codes and themes derived in the interpretation step.



CHAPTER 4: OUT-MIGRATION

In-depth interview was conducted with 21 respondents who had moved out of Tambon Bannang Sata which consist of 12 Buddhist and 9 Muslims. Respondents were not necessary originally from Tambon Bannang Sata. Some of them have moving experience before. 14 respondents were born in Tambon Bannang Sata, 6 respondents were born within the Deep South, and one was born outside the Deep South. 10 respondents moved within the Deep South, 7 respondents moved to other provinces outside the Deep South, and 3 respondents moved abroad. (Malaysia)

Study found that each respondent moved with a combination of many reasons and factors. Most of them had primary reasons, secondary reasons and other supportive factors. Researcher recognized that each respondent had their own uniqueness and individuality base on their different context and circumstances. However, researcher was able to find the similarity and pattern of the reasons and factors each respondent had, which could be grouped into 3 main reasons and factors; family reason, fear of the violence and physical threats that related to the conflicts and want which related to wellbeing and basic need including money, career, and health care other facilities. These 3 reasons and factors, therefore, will be discussed separately.

There were other key variables that researcher observed: having violent experiences and moving experience. Data from interview showed that these two variables might not necessary be corelated. Many respondents with directly violent experience did not move because they fear the violence or even if they did, it was mix with other reasons.

According to the Interview, people moved out of Tambon Bannang Sata with many reasons. Researcher grouped them in two three main reasons; family reason, fear, and want. It is important to note that many respondents had more than one reason to move. Some reasons were more primary than others. Some of the reasons that the respondents had, might not be described directly as their reasons to move in the interview but could be implied that it was also important to the respondents.

4.1 Family reason

Buddhist respondents had family reasons to move out; moving back to their hometown, moving to be closer to family or spouse's family. Beside Buddhist respondents moved to be close to their family, free of family obligation was one of the support factors for respondents to move more permanently. BO-6 said she had thought about moving many years before she actually decided to move. When asked why she thought it was the right time, she mentioned many factors, part of it was "*My parents were both gone. My son is successful and has his own family. Why should I risk my life?*" We can imply from her statement that if her parents were still around, she might not move out from Tambon Bannang Sata even though there was risk. The fact that parents had passed away was not the reason she moved, but surely made it easier for her to follow her decision.

Family, marriage, and children were also the priority for Muslims. MO-16 moved back to her hometown after 8 years working in Tambon Bannang Sata, in which she said she had never intended to reside in Tambon Bannang Sata forever, moving back had always been her plan. Sometimes being with family means to leave the parents and start their own like in MO-15's case, she resigned from a civil servant teacher position and left her parents to marry her husband who was a doctor studying medical specialist in Bangkok. After her husband graduated, she planned to move back to Yala province, however living in Mueang Yala which was her husband's hometown and workplace. She said that she did not feel worried about moving because she still visited her family in Tambon Bannang Sata regularly which she said she usually spent a week per visit. Moving to Bangkok or to Mueang Yala did not mean she cut the connection with the area.

4.2 Fear

Many Buddhist respondents had fear as their primary reason to move. Most critical case of this could be BO-3 who at the time of interview was a retired and reside in Prachuab Kiri Kan. He shared experience when the insurgency put 30,000 Baht price on his head back in 2004 when he was still vice principal of a school in Tambon Bannang Sata, he explained;

“There has always been insurgency as long as I remember, not just these ten years. Many of them were my students. They lived on the mountain. There were killings of teachers but I was not afraid. My students always let me know when something would happen. They always made sure I was safe. Until 2004, they told me the group put 30,000 baht head-money on regular Buddhists and 100,000 on me because I was in a high position, they warned me that they cannot protect me anymore, I better moved away, so I did.”

BO-3's case was the only one case from Buddhist respondents that was forced migration. Even so, we could assume that he was not the only one who had this kind of experience, especially according to the interview, the insurgency's target was not a specific person or limited to any number. This was a serious issue as it is related to human security. Many respondents also said that there were many Buddhists leaving Tambon Bannang Sata without selling their lands or houses because they were threatened and not able to access their lands. BO1 said that she personally knew someone who had been in the mentioned situation but they were not willing to give the interview.

BO-3's fear was not just from the violence that had been threatened against him which he had no protection whatsoever, it was also from being alienated and disconnected in his community. Similar to many Buddhist respondents, BO-3 felt that not only insurgents, but also some Muslims, intentionally pressured Buddhists to move out. He expressed his concern: *“There used to be many Buddhists living on the main road all the way to Betong, how many houses can you count now?.”* Similarly, BO-5 said *“We were put in a situation where we felt like strangers. We just sat around, could not talk to anybody. Less and less people speak Thai on the street.”*

Most of Buddhist shared the belief that Buddhists made up 80 percent of the whole population in Tambon Bannang Sata before the violence arose. There is not any statistical evidence to support the claim and it is hardly possible considering that Buddhists currently make up only around 20 percent of the whole population in Tambon Bannang Sata, and the overall Deep South. However, whether it is a fact, this kind of knowledge undoubtedly can generate intense fear. This dynamic, explained by existential threat theories (Hirschberger, Ein-Dor, Leidner, & Saguy, 2016), is when people feel as if their dominance is endangered, leading to fear. Existence of others can be perceived as an existential threat, and therefore, not only this type of fear is related to human security, it can also lead to a further cycle of conflicts (Fisher and Taub, 2019) which will be discussed more in Chapter 9.

BO-11 was another serious sample of violence-driven migration. Her husband, who was a policeman, was killed in a violent incident. Even though she did not get any threat like BO-3, the fact that her husband died in the Tambon Bannang Sata made living there extremely hard psychologically. She said *“I could not live. I thought about it every day. I was afraid. I was hurt every time I thought about it. It is not safe anymore.”* She was also one of those who left behind their land because of fear. She had left her Durian farm abandoned, until recently when Durian price increased much higher, she hired locals to work on the farm. She said *“My husband had a lot of Durian farmland in Tambon Bannang Sata. I don’t do anything, just hire locals to do it. I visit once in a while. I make more than a million each year in recent years.”*

The rest of respondents confirmed that they did not move specifically or primarily because of the violence. BO-5 who said to move to take care of her sick father-in-law said *“It wasn’t related to the violence. If it was because of that, I would have moved a long time ago when the violence started. I moved because my father-in-law was sick...”* However, when asked if they had any fear when they were living in Tambon Bannang Sata, many respondents, including BO-5, also expressed that they did. BO-5 told that she had always been trying to convince her sister to move out of Tambon Bannang Sata because she worried about her sister’s safety as her sister had been harassed very often. She said *“sometimes, groups of teen men came to the shop*

and said that this house will soon be theirs. They went around Buddhist household to say which houses they wanted.” BO-6 who moved to her husband's hometown to do farming also talked about how she felt, similarly to all of the Buddhist respondents who were retired teachers, that being a teacher in the area made her unsafe and targeted. She said “At the time (of moving), teachers were targeted. We could not wear official uniforms...”

BO-10 said that she had not experienced the violence directly but she also heard the news about how Buddhists were targeted and that made her scared. Though she did not move specifically, she mentioned she felt much more relieved. She said “*I don't have to worry about surrounding any more, more comfortable now.*” BO-09 felt similarly-- relieved, except that she did not make the decision by herself, her mother who moved a few years before, felt very worried about her and kept urging her to move along. Although according to her, she moved for other reasons. She said moving to Amphoe Mueang Yala made everyone in her family happy including herself.

Most of Muslims, however, reacted about the incident differently. None of them expressed that they were afraid of the violence incident, even those who were teachers. However, there was a presence of a different kind of fear. MO-17, MO-19 and MO-20, an Islamic teacher, an Imam and a farmer said their main reason to move was because they feared the danger from Thai authority. While MO-18 and MO-21 who moved to Malaysia said even though they did not move because of fear, they did feel safer away from Tambon Bannang Sata. Respondents MO-17, MO-18, MO-19 were in the blacklist which required them to report themselves monthly to the authority. They did not have any criminal record however they believed the only reason they were in the blacklist was because they were Islamic figures in Tambon Bannang Sata. MO-17 said “*everyone in the area knows this well. If you are an Islamic teacher, you will be on the blacklist, all of us. I haven't known any Islamic teachers who are not in the list.*” He shared his story moving to Phuket that “*When the bus burning incident happened, there was my name on the list. My family was afraid the authority would do something to me or would wrongly accuse me, so I moved to be with a friend. I have been studying and working at the same time before*

but now that I graduated, my mom still has to send me money to use because I have to flee here.” He also said “no one trusted, when you go to report at the police station, no one knows whether you can come back again, whether it will be justice. It is sad. I’m in Phuket being a freelancer in the meantime.”

MO-18 and MO-19 had similar experiences and expressed the inconvenience that they have to report themselves to the authority all the time. MO-20 and MO-21 did not have their names on the list, however, they believed that being a young Muslim man in Tambon Bannang Sata, they had chance of being on the blacklist in the future which they might have to deal with violent interrogation. These respondents' story also aligned with the interview of MI-27, one of the in-migration respondents which suggested that there were many Muslims moved out of Tambon Bannang Sata because they were tired of being suspected and interrogated, especially after the tour bus burning incident where 79 men got arrested. He explained

“...because authority always tries to accuse them. You know tour bus burning incidents right? Muslims in Kasod village cannot live with peace after that. Whole community became suspicious. Witnesses said the guys who did it were wearing black outfits. The authorities would raid into their houses and arrest any guys who own black clothes. When they arrest, it’s not just asking questions, they would beat you before anything. If you answer “I don’t know” they would beat you again, people cannot do anything to fight them. It’s too much. Villagers don’t have dignity or honor anymore. They had to burn all their black clothes because they were afraid of interrogation. They were afraid to go out to work. They thought they could get arrested and would never have a chance to be back home again. They could not have a normal life. So many people moved, they told me they just didn’t want to get beaten up. But what happens is that when you move, authority will believe right away that you are the operator and you become wanted.

This type of fear which come from the authority was equally hurting human security as BO-3’s case who got threatened to leave the area, if not worse since fear was from the authority who was supposed to ensure safety and security to people.

Although there was no actual threat or intention to force these people out the area, the untrusty and fear should raise concern on government's policy.

4.3 Want

Many Buddhist respondents had their primary reasons to move which can be described as 'want' including moving for the facilities in the city, bigger job position, education and career opportunity. Some respondents did not answer want reasons directly as their reason to move, however, many things they mentioned during the interview can be inferred as factors for them to move, or at least to keep them outside of Tambon Bannang Sata. Most wants are related to public facilities. Besides moving close to children, BO-4 also said simply his reason was that he "*wanted to live in the city.*" It could be identified as personal preference but considering the reason he elaborated, it reflects his wants that had not been fulfil. He mentioned as his reason to move was that he wanted to live in the city where he could access to facilities easier. The facilities that he felt important were, for example, provincial governmental offices, market areas, space and equipment for exercise. He moved to Amphoe Mueang Yala, the city municipal in 2013. Yala City Municipality received many various awards in international level. Yala City Municipality provided many free public services, for example, learning resources, and sport and recreation space. At Tambon Bannang Sata, he could not find these types of facilities and travelling from Tambon Bannang Sata was quite far and inconvenient. Tambon Bannang Sata was about 40 kilometers away of Mueang Yala downtown. Similarly, BO-8 and BO-10 mentioned better facilities in the city. These two also got better job opportunity; BO-8 got to move to bigger school and BO-10 got a job in a government office, of which according to both of them, there are better chance to improve their skills and career path. It is important to note, though unsurprisingly, that there was less job opportunity in the rural area, especially with conflict. As development tends to start from the city, people naturally move from rural to city (Qin H.,2010). BO-2 also said that she moved to Had Yai for her children's education as there were no good option in Tambon Bannang Sata. It raised the question about other children in Tambon Bannang Sata, and the kind of education they are getting. When development is far behind, not only facilities they are lacking of, but also economy is not very good. BO-

12 who were a street seller, move to Amphoe Mueang Yala because she said she can sell better. This reflects Tambon Bannang Sata's sluggish economy. Another interesting point the show how much 'wants' had such a strong impact for people in Tambon Bannang Sata was the fact that BO-11 who moved away after her husband got killed, revisited the district again after many years when the price of Durian raised drastically recently. Even though she said she could not live in Tambon Bannang Sata anymore because of the bad memory, her potential income from her Durian farm could brought her back again for a visit.

For Muslim respondents, many mentioned their primary reasons that could be related to 'want', and few respondents mentioned similar reasons as their secondary reasons. Their want was mostly about finding jobs and income. MO-13 was working in a big company in Bangkok. She moved to Bangkok since her high school as she joined exchanged program to study in a high school in Bangkok. She, then continued her Bachelor degree in Thammasat University and her career after that. However, she said *"I want to go back home to be with my family but I will go back only if I can find a decent job with good income."* When asked about her expected income, she answered *"I am here, I make 25,000 Baht but I will take 15,000 Baht if I can go back home. But it does not seem possible in Bannang Sata. I graduated in economics, it suits private companies more than governmental office but there is no private company in Yala that wants economists or will provide 15,000 Baht salary."* In MO-13 case, we could again see that want has a strong impact on her. She personally does not want to move, but she went against her will because of the limited career and income available in Tambon Bannang Sata. BO-18 and BO-21 who moved to Malaysia were also because of income. Even Bo-19 and BO-20 who said to move because of fear if Thai authority, said being in the in Malaysia or in the city, they felt more convenience and it helped them support their family with higher income.

Beside income, education was also important to Muslims. Similar to BO-2, a Buddhist respondent who moved for better education for children, MO-14's case shows that Muslim in the area were also willing to move when it came to their children's education. He and his family moved from Ngo Kapo, a village in Tambon Bannang Sata to Amphoe Mueang Yala in 2009 when his daughter was getting into

secondary level. He said that he tried to gather lots of information about good schools in the Deep South and then he found confidence in Pattana Wittaya School. At that time, the school just expanded to primary level (from originally only secondary) and he wanted all of his four children to attend this school without having to travel far every day. He said *“It was the only modern Islamic private school for primary education.”* When asked what he meant by good education, he answered *“The school that provides intensive and correct Islamic teaching but also compatible in regular education. My wish is that my children have firm faith and also are successful in their lives.”* His case shows that many people in Tambon Bannang Sata were pursuing good education, though they might not have the same definition of what they were looking for. MO-14 had strong tie to particular culture and belief, he clearly also looked for good modern education and career success for his children equally. There were actually many schools in Tambon Bannang Sata--- public schools that provided regular education with one hour Islamic class per week, and, many other traditional Islamic schools known as ‘Po Nok’ or ‘Ponduk’. The later school provided intensive Islamic teaching which is the religion of majority population. However, most of these schools organized by locals who were not expert in education management, therefore, they still lack of proper curriculum and facilities. Many of them were not even registered as official schools. As majority of population in Tambon Bannang Sata are Muslims, BO-14 could not be the only one who want their children to be educated with Islamic teaching. Many children had to choose either intensive religion study or modern education. Many were sent to informal Islamic schools in which they would not get any regular education necessary for their better career in the future. Other interesting point for MO-14 case was that though his family moved out from Tambon Bannang Sata, he still kept his four children’s names registered in his father’s house in Tambon Bannang Sata. He explained *“I thought that it will be too competitive in the city to apply for a scholarship.”* By having names registered in Tambon Bannang Sata, his children can compete only with other children in the district.

Table 2 Primary Reasons of Out-Migration Classified by Different Variables

Reason	Gender		Occupation		Violence experience		Religion	
	Male	Female	Civil servant	Non civil servant	Directly	Not directly	Buddhist	Muslim
Family reasons	1	8	8	1	3	6	7	2
Fear	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3
Want	3	6	4	5	3	7	6	4

4.4 Other supportive reasons

There are also some factors that although are not the reasons why these respondents moved, they were important to the respondents and did influence respondents' decision. Responsibilities to work and family is the first example. Many respondents moved after they were retired. While many respondents move because of family obligation like BO-5, there were also some respondents who because they did not have any more family obligation in Tambon Bannang Sata, they made decision easier. For example, BO-1 mentioned that she does not have any more family member at Bannang Sata and both her and her husband's parents already passed away, because of that, she did not feel necessary to stay in Tambon Bannang Sata . Similarly, BO-6 mentioned "*My parents were both gone. My son is successful and has his own family. Why should I risk my life?*" as if her parents and her son were still living in Tambon Bannang Sata, she might still stay there despite the risk that she felt.

Connection is another supportive reason. BO-6 was able to move to Nakhorn Sri Thammarat because though her husband's connection, they were able to find a piece of farmland with a good price. MO-21 was able to move to work in Malaysia

and MO-17 was able to move to stay in Phuket and get the job because the help you're their friends.

Some others who did not have the connection, got opportunity or privilege to move easier, especially civil servant teachers who could apply to move to other places within bureaucratic process. BO-3 said that he did not know anybody and felt very lonely and he move to Prachuab Kiri Kan but he had no choice because it was the only place with available position in which he could move the soonest.

4.5 Conclusion

As mentioned before, out-migration in Tambon Bannang Sata was caused by many reasons. Most Buddhist respondents answered family reasons as their primary reason to move. It might not seem like nothing to worry on the surface. However, according to their interview, all of them felt fear and insecure. Fear of the violence was also part of reason many Buddhist respondents moved, even though it was not necessary primary. Also, those respondents who actually moved primarily because of fear, had experienced serious threat to their security. This is worrisome as freedom from fear is one of the most important right and need of the people. For Muslim respondents, though most of them did not fear the violence from insurgency, many of them feared and felt insecure with Thai authority which is more worrisome as Thai authority is supposed to establish trust and protection for people. Beside freedom from fear, people also moved from Tambon Bannang Sata to pursue freedom from want. Want is the most popular answer from Muslim respondents. Some of them moved even though they did not want to. All this reminded that migration in Tambon Bannang Sata deserves more attention because some cases were shown to be related to human security problem.

CHAPTER 5: IN-MIGRATION

In-depth interview was conducted with 11 respondents who had moved into Tambon Bannang Sata which consist of 3 Buddhists and 8 Muslims. 3 respondents who were all Buddhist had moved from outside the Deep South, while other 8 Muslims respondents had moved from within the Deep South.

Study found that respondent moved with only two reasons which are, getting married with locals in Tambon Bannang Sata and job requirement. However, researcher was able to find the similarity and pattern of the reasons and factors each respondent had, which could be grouped into 3 main reasons and factors; family reason, fear of the violence and physical threats that related to the conflicts and want which related to wellbeing and basic need including money, career, and health care other facilities. These 3 reasons and factors, therefore, will be discussed separately.

According to the interview, people moved into Tambon Bannang Sata with quite similar reasons to those who move out except that there was none of the respondents who mention fear as their reason or show that it could be the reason that they moved. Similarly, some respondents had more than one reason to move. Some reasons were more primary than others. It is also important to note that Buddhists who moved into the area are extremely rare. Two of the Buddhist respondents BI-23 and BI-24 were actually Buddhists who married local Muslims and converted to Islam after moving.

5.1 Family reason

Family still was the most important reason. The fact that Respondents BI-23 and BI-24 were Buddhists moved from hometown faraway, Doi Tao and Petchburi, and converted to Islam because of the marriage just showed how much getting marriage to someone they wanted is important to them and worth enough to compromise other things. Marriage was only reason why BI-23 moved. She said *“I had never considered moving to the Deep South until I met my husband. Because I got married, I had to live here.”* It does not seem like there are much other thing to attract her. She also dreamed about going back to her hometown in Petchburi, she said *“yes, it is my dream to be able to work in my home town. Maybe not now, but when I am older, I wanted to move back.”*

All of Muslim respondents except MI-30 and MI-32 moved because of the marriage. One of MI-30's reason to move, though was not about marriage, was also family reason. Though there were limited places to choose to enter the service, he could have chosen the place in other provinces. However, he said Tambon Bannang Sata was the best option for his family visit as his family was in Yaha. He said *"Bannang Sata is close to my home. It is the best this way. I can visit my family any time I want."* He also added that he did not want to work in Ya, his hometown either as a policeman. He explained *"Even I could choose Yaha, I wouldn't. Policemen typically do not like to work in their hometown. It is really hard to work. It is hard to manage relationships, to separate work and family."* For MI-32, he first moved because of the job he found, but marriage was what kept him in Tambon Bannang Sata. He said *"I am not moving back anymore. I got married here. I think I will live here permanently"*

5.2 Want

Career and income are the primary reason for BI-22, MI-30 and MI-32. They moved to Tambon Banning Sata, so they could have jobs and income. BI-22 did not choose to come to work in Tanbon Bannang Sata. He did not have choice unless he was willing to resign, which he was not. However, he also mentioned he was happy to work as a soldier in Tambon Bannang Sata having risk compensation, despite of confronting with insurgent few times before. Not only that, he was at the point of his career where he felt stable and accomplished. He also said *"I have lived here for more than 10 years. Now my rank is high. I have a lot of sub-ordinates."* Similarly, MI-30 and MI-32 did not choose to move to Tambon Bannang Sata specifically or exclusively but they were willing to move into Tambon Bannang Sata because it was their opportunity to start first step to work in the governmental position.

Unlike BI-23, BI-24 was firm about not moving back, she said *"visiting is fine but to go back to live there, I don't want it. There is nothing to do in Doi Tao. It was difficult there. Here is much more developed. I can find job here easier too."* Not only career and income, facilities and convenience were important for BI-24 too. BI-24 moved, according to her, from relatively less developed place, Doi Tao, Chiang Mai.

While for BI-24 and many other respondents who moved out of Tambon Bannang Sata, job opportunity and income can be found in a “more developed” city, MI-25 found her job and income from farmland in excluded area of Ngo Kapo. She used to live with her husband in Mayo, Patani, then spent few years in Mueng Yala before moving to Tambon Bannang Sata where she could have some income working in the farm of her mother while her husband continued to work in the city. She said “Here we have farmland. I can help my mother do farming and earn some money.” She explained downside of working in the city that “when we were living in the city, I did not anything. I was just a housewife. I graduated only secondary school. What else could I do?” According to her, city’s facilities and convenience were that attractive to her when she could have any income.

Moreover, it was found that though most of respondents moved because of marriage, there are both female and male respondents. According to the interview, there are no fixed rules or tradition of which gender is supposed to move into the in-law family. All of them say it depends on the convenience and opportunity. Therefore, even if they did not move because of want, it was still commonly important to people.

5.3 Fear

We found that none of the respondents actually moved into Tambon Bannang Sata because of fear. Obviously, Tambon Bannang Sata had been one of the heaviest violent-affected area in the Deep South. There was no reason to escape violence somewhere else to Tambon Bannang Sata. However, when respondents were asked if they had any concern or fear of the violence before moving into Tambon Bannang Sata, all of the Buddhist respondents admitted that they were worrying about the violence at first but other reasons, marriage / career outweigh the worry.

All of Muslim respondents, however, did not express any concern or fear of the violence at all. They all moved from somewhere within the Deep South. MI-28 said “There were no adjustment. It was normal. It was just like Raman” MI-32 also said that Tambon Bannang Sata was just like her home in Asong, Raman. She had always had many relatives in Tambon Bannang Sata before she got married. In fact, her husband was from her distant relative family. MI-26 and MI-27 were from Tak Bai

and Cho Arong. Both places had similar reputation to Tambon Bannang Sata when it comes to conflict violence. MI-26 said “I am from Tak Bai, I was there when Tak Bai Incident happened. Why would I be afraid of Tambon Bannang Sata.?” He shared his experience dealing with the violence. He said *“I used to teach in Bajo before when gun stealing incident took place. Some of those who involved in gun stealing incidents were my friends. They were manipulated.”* He said he was also in government’s blacklist where he needs to report himself once a month. Although during interview, he declared clearly that he was against all the insurgent group. He said *“It is all politics. Sadly, many teenagers were manipulated. They don’t understand politics and the real situation. When I was in Bajo, I would buy newspapers every day and cut out the news about conflict situation to put on the board, so students could catch up with the news. I always told them that it is all politics. There were people making benefits and we should not be their tools. Up to today, I still go to different Islamic schools to spread the words and to have them beware and not getting involved in the violence group. Some students believe me and some don’t because they have had people told them to join the group before.* He believed that the fact that he was well-known and very active doing quoted activities was the reason that he was on the blacklist.

While fear of the conflict violence was not clearly shown, study found another type of fear. MI-27 claimed that there were many people move away from Tambon Bannang Sata because they were afraid of Thai authority, especially after tour bus burning incidents. He said *“Muslims in Kasod village cannot live with peace after that. Whole community became suspected. Witnesses said the guys who did it were wearing black outfits. Authority would raid into their house and arrest any guy who own black cloths. When they arrest, it’s not just asking questions, they beat you before anything. If you answer ‘I don’t know’ they would beat you again, people cannot do anything to fight them. It’s too much. We don’t have dignity or honor anymore. Villagers had to burn all their black cloths because they were afraid of interrogation. They were afraid to go out to work. They could not have normal life. Many people moved after the incident, many told me they just didn’t want to get beat up. But what happens is that when you moved, authority will believe right away that you involved in the incident and you become wanted.”* His comment about fear of Thai authority

alighted with answers from MO-17, MO-18, MO-19, MO-20 and MO-21. However, none of five out-migration respondents mention being beaten or physically abused in anyway, although they did express irritation of having to report themselves to the authority. MI-27 also claimed to befriend with people who had been abused during interrogation in person however he felt reluctant and did not agree to give the contact because he worried about his friends' safety. Although none of this study's respondents had their experience being abused physically by authority, statement of MI-27 could also be truthful since there had been reports from organizations. According to *Report to Human Rights Council in Universal Periodic Review for Thailand* by Cross Cultural Foundation and Muslim Attorney Center Foundation, in year 2007-2008, Muslim Attorney Center Foundation has received 113 cases of torture allegation related to abuse to get confession from insurgent suspects. In 2008-2009, MAC received another 130 cases and another 57 cases in 2010. Study conducted by Amnesty during 2007-2008 found that "The most common torture techniques were beatings, kicking and stomping on victims, and plastic bags placed over detainees' heads to nearly suffocate them. Four of the victims died in detention from their treatment."

Table 3 Table 4 Primary Reasons of In-Migration Classified by Different Variables

Violence experience	Gender		Occupation		Religion	
	Male	Female	Civil servant	Non civil servant	Buddhist	Muslim
Family reasons	3	5	2	7	2	7
Fear	0	0	0	0	0	0
Want	3	0	2	3	1	2

5.4 Other supportive reasons

Connection with locals could help respondents adjusting themselves and blending in the society, and thus, moving became easier. BI-22 had positive feeling towards local people as he mentioned “I have lived for a long time that I feel like home. Locals are all nice to me. When there are community events or celebration, they always invite me.” Adjusting to the society were a lot for BI-23 and BI-24, they did not just have to move to the environment they had not been to, they also had to adjust to the new religion. However, both of them received very good support from their in-laws. BI-23 who were from Petchaburi, could feel more secured moving to the area because of her husband’s family status. She said “I was not afraid because I came with my husband. His family is well known. Everyone knows them and respects them. If I came alone, I might be afraid.” BI-24 learned religion from her mother-in-law. She said “I did not worry about changing my religion. I always knew that I had to. His mother taught me what I had to do. She treated me very well.” It should be noted that both of them spoke Malayu language quite fluently. At a SAO community event on the same day the interview was taken, BI-23, as the host of the event, were using Malayu to communicate with locals. It was clearly that being able to speak Malayu could help her to connect to the area and its locals easier, and in turns, she could improve her Malayu more. It reminded what quoted in the previous chapter, BO-5 said *“We were put in a situation where we felt like strangers. We just sat around, could not talk to anybody. Less and less people speak Thai on the street.”* Not being able to speak Malayu could make a person feel disconnected or feel like a stranger living in Tambon Bannang Sata where Buddhist population was less.

Another interesting point is that despite of different religion, people’s faith in predestination helped them to cope with the uncertainty. BI-22, a Buddhist respondent mention about his believe in karma, he said *“I am not afraid of death but I am in cautious. I believe if it is not time, you will not die and when it is time, you will not be able to avoid. It depends on the karma.”* Similarly, faith in predestination of God had also influenced Muslim respondents’ level of fear. MI-26 said *“If God destines that you have to die, you will die no matter where you are. Not only people in the Deep South are dying. People dies in some way around the world.”* All other respondents mentioned similar things.

5.5 Conclusion

Family reason, particularly marriage, was the most common reasons of respondents, of any disaggregated group, to migrate into Tambon Bannang Sata. While fear was unsurprisingly not the reason why any respondents moved to the district, study found a respondent who moved into Tambon Bannang Sata also acknowledged that there was fear of authority that drove people to migrate out. Some of his information indicated seriousness of human security issue in the area. Though information given was not from MI-27's own direct experience, it had some validation as it somehow aligned with other organizations' report and study.



CHAPTER 6: NON-MIGRATION

In-depth interview was conducted with 11 respondents who were originally from Tambon Bannang Sata and had not moved out. Respondents consist of 5 Buddhists and 8 Muslims.

Study found that there were mix of reasons that these respondents stayed in Tambon Bannang Sata. Their reasons could fall into five main categories; family reasons, attachment to the hometown and community, Income and wellbeing, culture, and for some, there was no real pull or push factors for them.

6.1 Reasons to stay

6.1.1 Family reasons.

Many respondents said they did want to move because they wanted to be close to family. All of the Muslims respondents except for MN-41 replied family as their primary reason to stay. Some respondents even gave up their opportunity in order to be closer to the family. MN-38 told that she was supposed to move to Phuket at one point, she had stayed there for less than a month before realized she could not live in there by herself. One of the reasons was that she did not want to stay away from the family. Similarly, MN-40 was willing to give up her opportunity to stay closer to her family. She shared that she gave up her opportunity to study at King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang in Bangkok which was well known for engineer major, the major she was passionate about, because she wanted to be close to her family, she said “I got accepted into King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang but I gave up that because I wanted to live close to my family... I knew that Mongkut's Institute was very well known for engineering but I wanted to be able to visit her family regularly.” She instead chose the university in the south. MN-39 who was unemployed, refused to find jobs outside of the Deep South despite how limited jobs availability was in Tambon Bannang Sata. She said “Here if you want to make good money, you just have to be a civil servant, a teacher. Other than that no. Unless you got have some capital, you could start a business. I’m trying to get pass civil servant test but it is hard. Most people can’t pass it the first time. It takes many

years... My parents are already old... I want to go and find a job too. But I'm afraid that if I move far, in case of any emergency, I can't come to my family quickly" (family)

Besides attachment and love, many of the respondents also mentioned that being close to family benefited them in times of need. MN-43 and MN-44 talked about how their family and relatives provided them support when they were sick or when they needed help. MN-45, as a working woman, needed family to help babysit her children.

Sometimes family reason was not just to stay close to the family member physically but also to stay with remembrance of the family. BN-33 whose both parents passed away and all her siblings moved out of Tambon Bannang Sata, still insisted to stay. One of the reasons was that the house that she was living, as well as some other pieces of land in the area, were properties that her parents had worked hard for and passed on to her. She said "It is invaluable. Even for hundred million, I won't sell it.

6.1.2 Attachment to the hometown and community

Many of the respondents, like other typical Thais, had used the word home to refer to the broader area where they live or were born. Many respondents said they had not move because they felt the sense of "home" in Tambon Bannang Sata. Many respondents answered that the reason they did not move out despite violent incidents was simple because Tambon Bannang Sata was their "home" or because they had been living there since they were born. BN-36 explained further that being in the area since she was born made her feel used to and moving to other places will be more "struggle" since she would have to adjust herself to the new place. BN-37 also showed age and attachment could be related too, she said "I am used to living here. I'm not moving now. I'm old." An a 71-year-old lady, or 59-year-old lady at the time when the conflict reemerged, moving to new environment was too much. BN-36 also mentioned "working at home is more peaceful." It was interesting that for her, peace was not only as the opposite of violent incidents but also as the struggle to adjust in the new environment. Some respondents felt obligated to protect and improve their hometown and community. MN-40 who graduated with degree in architecture said

that beside preferring to live with family, she also did not look for job opportunity anywhere else because she wanted to use her degree and knowledge for her hometown. She said “I want utilize the knowledge I’ve learned for my hometown because there are not many people graduated with this major (architecture) here,” even that meant she needed to work as a freelance architect in which she could not make stable monthly salary. BN-36 said MN-43 also mentioned about “protecting community”. MN-43 said that “improve our hometown first before you think it is bad and move out.” And many respondents also showed that community to them might not mean the whole area of Tambon Bannang Sata, but the specific narrower groups of people. BN-34, MN-39 and MN-43 said that having good friends in Tambon Bannang Sata were the reason why they did not want to move out, because friends could help them in need. BN-33 was even more specific, she did not just have sense of attachment to the area, she also wanted to stay for the solidarity of Buddhist community. She said “I need to be here for Buddhists’ solidarity. If we all keep moving out, how is the rest of Buddhists who stay here will be.” It was not surprising that she felt that way as she told she was harassed by groups of Muslim hooligans which, she believed, intentionally tried to drive Buddhists of the area. Her interview was correlated to experience of some out-migration respondents who believed that Buddhist used to make up 80 percent of population in Tambon Bannang Sata, and had been declining since the conflict reemerged. Her interview, however, was quite different from BN-35, a Buddhist respondent who explained that he did not feel threatened by Muslim community, he also said “I have both Buddhist and Muslim friends. I work as normal. When there is a community event, I always join. I have no problem with Muslims, My Muslim friends help me all the time.” Perception difference could be from many factors, one of them could be that BN-35 could blend in and communicate with Muslim locals better as he mentioned, “I can also speak Malayu.”

6.1.3 Income and wellbeing

Though some of respondents were unemployed, none of them was struggling financially. MN-39 was staying with the parents who were well-known as member of wealthy family with old royal Malayu background. Many respondents both farmer

and civil servants said working in the good position or making good money was one of the reasons they did not find the need to move out. In the other hand, moving out could mean losing opportunity they exclusively found in Tambon Bannang Sata. BN-33 had her business on a very good location and BN-35 mentioned “I do farming, I make decent income. Here plants grow well because of good soil. You try to grow plants in other places, it will be not the same. I used to give some fruit trees to people outside Tambon Bannang Sata to grow at their home. The fruits were not as sweet.” Good money for each respondent were not necessary the same. MN-45 described his 4,500 Baht per month salary as “okay”. She explained further “I make 4,500 Baht. It is not a lot but with this amount and I get to stay home, worth it.” For one of the respondents, MN-41, jobs and income was the main reason he stayed in Tambon Bannang Sata but it was not an option he chose. He said “I can find some jobs here. I don’t have education or friends anywhere else. How will I get a job where else?”

6.1.4 Culture

Culture, specifically language and religion were other reasons why some respondents would not live any place else. MN-38 had had opportunity to work in Phuket for less than a month but she could not stay in there because according to her, it was “hard to find halal food.”

6.1.5 Not enough pull and push factors.

Some respondents just mentioned that they simply had no reason to go anywhere else. Moving is investment. People invest for a better life. If people cannot see obvious difference of moving out, it does not worth investing, especially when there is no push. Even when there were numbers of violent incidents, a lot of them did not feel like anything wrong. Whether because they felt too used to, or they did not experience the incidents directly, they did not feel enough push.

6.2 Experience of violence

One might assume that non-migration respondents had not experience nor be affected by the violence before, therefore they did not find the need to move.

Interview show that many of these participants had experienced violent directly meaning that they Have been in the incident, having to involve with the incident physically or legally. Some of them had extreme experience like BN-33 whose house had had arson and according to her, she still felt that she did not get injustice. MO-42 had had bombs planted at his house many times. Many of the respondents were in the same incidents, for example, MN-38, MN-42 and MN-45 who had been in the school bombing incident, the same incident that BO-6 was in.

Some of them did not experience direct violence but the conflict did affect their lives. MN-40 said when she was younger, she went to high school in Mueng Yala. She had to rent a flat because there were times when she stayed in school a little late to do school work, she would not be able to go back home because it would be too dangerous. When asked what time was considered too late, she said 7pm. Many respondents mentioned road block with tree trucks, nails and bombs. MN-36 said the change was obvious after conflict arose, Tambon Bannang Sata, especially her village, Ngo Kapo would be very quiet and dark after around 6:30, She said “I see clear differences before and after the incident. Even I was young, I remember people were hanging out. After evening prayer time, it is all quiet. Pawang is already full of forest, makes it scarier to go out.” There was also a respondent, BN-34 who said he did not feel any different. He said “it depends how you look at it. Bad things happen everywhere. There are more bad things in Bangkok.”

6.3 Conclusion

There were many reasons why people are staying in Tambon Bannang Sata despite all the violent incidents. Fear is usually related to safety but there can be other things that provide the sense of security and safety, and that could be staying with family, being at home and having stable income, as well as living in the familiar culture. Family reason was still one of the most frequent answer. While most of the non-migration respondents said that they do not have any fear living in Tambon Bannang Sata, that did not mean they had not experienced violent directly. When compare the data with out-migration respondents, it had showed that some

respondents who had great fear that they left Tambon Bannang Sata, might have not experienced any direct violent. Therefore, it might be safe to say that fear, violence, and number of migrations in the area are not necessary corelated.



CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

This study aims to find out the reasons and factors of migration in Tambon Bannang Sata since 2004 recurrence of violence in the south, and how those reasons and factors differ between Muslims and Buddhists. Interview of all categories of migration were carried out including in-migration, out-migration and non-migration. Human security is used as a framework for data collection and analysis. It is found that people moved in and out of Tambon Bannang Sata with many reasons which could categorizes into three mains reasons: family matters, fear and wants.

We found prominent consistency in respondents' answer that family factors were the biggest influence for them to move, whether to move in, move out, or to stay in Tambon Bannang Sata. Many moved into their spouses' houses, and others move to live with their children. Most respondents said it was important for them to live close to the family in which family members could support each other and that they felt safer. A family reason was one of the most common reasons for regular migration. Although both Buddhist and Muslim valued living closed to the family, we found one different trend. All of Buddhist married respondents, got married with someone outside the Deep South except for only two cases who in fact converted to Islam later after the migration. Therefore, not as many Buddhist respondents moved along the spouses or moved because of marriage, rather they moved to live with their children or parents. Muslims, in the other hand, were found to be married with only people in the Deep South. This was not totally surprising as Muslims are most concentrated in the Deep South and they are strictly obliged to marry people within the religion.

Almost equally, income, job opportunity and financial wellbeing were another the prime reason for people to move which we classified as "want" reasons. Want in term of human security means are the need that could be achieved with enough financial and economical resource. Previous studies show that income and job opportunity has always been one of the reasons for people in Tambon Bannang Sata and in general to move. However, borderline of what is consider enough to push for the movement depends. One respondent said decent income for her was at least 15,000 Baht per month while another respondent said he felt content with 4,500 Baht

and describe it as “good money.” Opportunities were also different for each individual. Some people found more opportunity in rural nutritious land and others found it in the city full of facilities. Although there had been conflict violence, Tambon Bannang Sata still provide its own kind of opportunity, like plantation and less competition, which could overshadow ongoing violence, and that was why many people were still staying or moving in the area.

For fear, there were a lot less cases that respondents stated “fear” as their reason to move. Even some respondents who said they did fear living in the area but they did not move because of fear. Those who moved because of fear, mostly public-school teacher, had other reasons to move as well. There was only two persons who move merely because of fear on the situation. One Buddhist respondent was forced to leave home by insurgency and another Muslim respondent who move because his fear of being a suspect. It again showed different experience of Muslims and Buddhists in the area. This study found that only two Muslims respondents said they feared insurgency or ever heard other people moving out of fear. While most of Buddhist respondents mentioned they fear for their safety even those who were staying in the area. And while five Muslims respondents said they were afraid of being a suspect and treated poorly by Thai authority, none of Buddhist respondents said they felt that way.

It is true that extreme violent experience of those who move merely because of fear did not apply to most of the respondents. Their critical conditions still deserved a great attention because no one’s human security should be threaten this way. Before official organization can reach out and provide protection for these people, mechanism that effectively tracks down people’s movement is needed. Home registration is one mechanism available, however, it does not explain reasons and experiences of the movements. Also, while most of the non-migration respondents said that they did not have any fear living in Tambon Bannang Sata, that did not mean they had not experienced violent directly. When compare the data with out-migration respondents, it had showed that some respondents who had great fear that they left Tambon Bannang Sata, might have not experienced any direct violent. Therefore, it might be safe to say that fear, violence, and number of migrations in the area are not

necessary correlated. Respondents who did not feel fear said that the violence was nothing related to them and they were not the target. Many out-migration respondents, especially teachers, said the opposite, they felt they were the target. This is clearer what correlate to the fear. It is known in many previous studies that our fear is stimulated when we perceive ourselves a direct target of potential harm. Other than that, feeling disconnected and alienated could stimulate fear as well. This study found that those who did not felt fear, Muslims or Buddhists, were able to speak Malayu, communicate with locals and blend in with predominant Muslim community. In the other hand, many who expressed great fear did mention they felt alienated and left out in their own hometown surrounded by the expanding Muslim community.

Fear and want are not something tangible, rather they have a lot to do with feeling. People feel and perceive differently. Fear and want are relative and subject to other circumstances. It is useful to know that despite being fear, people might not find a reason to move because they are supported by other factors. This might be the fact that a balance between fear and want is managed well by the government relevant and timely measures.

Beside the reasons to move, study further found that opportunity and connection were important too. Muslim respondents who moved to Malaysia could only did that with the help of connection. Some Buddhist out-migration respondents had their friends and connection helping to search for lands and other preparation. It also seemed like teachers were granted opportunity to move more than other people at one point. Most of Out-Migration respondents were civil servant teachers. BO-9 told that around 2007, government had policy that all location transfer request from teachers in Tambon Bannang Sata and other red zone area would be approved. She said “Actually I felt bad for students. There was no teacher left to teach them, how could they study? Some school had only one teacher left after this policy. But then I was one of those who request to move. After they change minister of Education, this policy had never brought back again.” In other words, whether teachers were targeted or whether migration from Tambon Bannang Sata was related to the violence, teachers have more opportunity to move than other people at a period of time.

Reasons for not moving from the area were group differently: family matters, attachment to the hometown and community, income and wellbeing, culture, and also, just simply no significant reason to move out. While family reason and income and wellbeing were still prime reasons, these groups value hometown, community and culture much more heavily. Many respondents emphasize the benefits of having friends and family supporting them during hard time and the disadvantage of not having that. Many of them also felt obliged to stay and contribute to Tambon Bannang Sata. All of these reasons overshadowed the violence experience or the fear.

Migration is not new to the community. There had been evidences that migration has always occurred in Tambon Bannang Sata, since before the outbreak of violence. In some cases, people migrated to explore new land, free space, and new opportunity like MI-25 whose mother moved to Tambon Bannang Sata long before and claimed to be very first people to explore and start Ngo Kapo village. Similarly applied to people who moved out from the area, many of them, especially Muslims, moved to Malaysia to work in Thai restaurants (Bunmak, 2017), and factories (Nisakorn, 2016). Many Buddhists have moved in and out the area for various reasons before the violence as well. BO-6 mentioned that most of her relatives already left the area long before the violence and that made her feel less attached to the area and move easier. Similarly, BO-2 mentioned that her brother resided in Chiang Mai 35 years before the interview. Many of Out-Migration respondents were actually not originally from Tambon Bannang Sata, rather they moved to work in the area long before the conflict. Previous studies and this research found that income and job opportunity has always been the prime reason for people to move. This study also found that family reason is equally important. Many of the respondents, Buddhists or Muslims, moved because of marriage, or they moved to live with their family members who moved to pursue education or job opportunity. Buddhist out-migration respondents in this study moved either to Mueang Yala district or outside the Deep South. None of Buddhist respondents move to other provinces in the Deep South while most of Muslim out-migration respondents moved within the Deep South which could be explained by respondents' comment about culture. Many Muslims respondents felt more comfortable living in the area where they could practice

religion, find Halal food and speak Malayu. Also, since many respondents moved because of marriage, moving within the Deep South is not a surprise trend since a Muslim can only marry another Muslim according to Islamic rule and Muslims population is concentrated in the Deep South.

In conclusion, one factor was generally not enough to lead to migration. People in Tambon Bannang Sata did not necessarily move because of fear, even if they had great fear living in Tambon Bannang Sata. There had been people who moved from fear but the mechanism to track them down was yet to develop in future study. While migration in Tambon Bannang Sata was not significantly different from most regular migration for the most part, few cases of people forced to move were extreme and deserved more attention. It was shown from the data that Buddhist and Muslim had a lot of in common, for example, both value for family. However, they could define safety and good life differently in some circumstances, for example, few Muslim respondents viewed living outside the Deep South alone as unsafe for women, and for practicing Muslims. One Muslim respondent enrolled his children in Mueang Yala because he wants good education for his children, and by that he meant “intensive regular education along with Islamic education.” Meanwhile many Buddhists sent their children to bigger cities like Had Yai or Bangkok for the same reason but with different definition of good education. There was also still gap of understanding between the two groups about each other experience. Many Buddhists respondents felt fear living in Tambon Bannang Sata, and a few Buddhists respondents felt that they were intentionally driven out by Muslim, civilians or insurgency. In the other hand most of Muslim respondents did not even recognize the fear that Buddhists were having. Many Muslim respondents asserted that nobody leaving because of fear, Buddhists or Muslims. Some Buddhists and Muslims also had different understanding about population change in Tambon Bannang Sata. Many Buddhist respondents believed that there were at least 80 percent of Buddhist population no more than 50 years before the conflict and gradually reduced down to 20 percent. This led many Buddhists to believe that this drastic change was part of the fear. None of Muslims respondents recognized mentioned statement. Accessible data does not review whether this information is true. Researcher believes that it is

important to clarify and make it common understanding in future studies as myth and rumor could lead to untrust between the two communities. We might be able to conclude that there has not been enough space or platform for people from both communities to share their understanding, frustration, experience and struggle.

Understanding migration by applying human security framework provide a new perspective on migration's justification. Whether people choose to move is not a problem in this age of globalization, but moving due to fear and violence is not desirable. Human security framework could be useful in many ways. As the data shows that people can tolerate fear when they have enough of want, and same way, they can tolerate that some wants are fulfilled when they feel safe. Some fear and want factors can be traded off and compromised. Hence, understanding and balancing fear and want are very crucial, especially for government, to help people get through conflict time. Also, when attention is paid to migration in conflict area with human security framework, we can see what are the insecurities needed to be treated and that allow government and organizations to tackle people's threat and need correctly.



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APPENDIX

Table 5 Respondents who move out from Bangnang Sata during 2005-2017

Fake name	Demographic			Current Residence	Moving experience prior moving out	Experience Direct Violent	Primary reasons and factors	Secondary reasons
	Age	Gender	Religion					
BO-1	67	Female	Buddhist	Retired teacher	Mueang Yala	Yes	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...My husband moved to Mueng Yala to take position of "Deputy Superintendent of Yala Police Station. If stay in Bangnang Sata, he couldn't grow anymore" (Want) - "...I was inherited with some land in Lampaya (Mueng Yala) but my husband was inherited with a very good piece of land, very good location on the main road next to Cockpit tire shop... and we thought we want to live in the city now." (Want) - "I had depression many years ago. I didn't know." 	<p>Yes</p> <p>"My husband used to work beside Commander Pian. The day he was assassinated, my husband was supposed to be in the same car but luckily, he wasn't. I hasn't been afraid but that time I also thought maybe it is time to move before it becomes his turn. (Fear)</p>

BO-2	63	Female	Buddhist	Retired teacher	Hadyai, Songkla	Yes	No	<p><i>I was losing my mind. I would go out and walk alone long distance without knowing myself... After that, my husband became really worries about me, he won't let me go anywhere alone. So, when he moved, I had to move with him.</i>" (Family reason)</p> <p>- "I moved to live with my daughter, since she got accepted to the school in Had Yai. Now she is already working." (Family reason)</p> <p>- "I sent my daughter to study at Hatyawittayalai School. Education there is nationally well-known..." (Want)</p>	<p>"I don't have any problem but living is better and more convenient here." (want)</p>
BO-3	70	Male	Buddhist	Retired teacher	Prachuab Kiri Kan	Yes	Yes	<p>"... the group put 30,000-baht head-money on regular Buddhists and 100,000 on me ... they warned me that they cannot protect me anymore, I better moved away, so I did." (Fear)</p>	

BO-4	72	male	Buddhist	Retired teacher	Bangkok	Yes	No	- "There's nothing, I just want to move to the city. It's more convenient" (Want) - "My children graduated and worked here, so after my wife and I retired, we wanted to live with our daughter" (Family reason)	
BO-5	65	Female	Buddhist	Retired teacher	Mueang Yala	no	Yes	"I moved because my father-in-law was sick..." (Family reason)	"We were put in a situation where we felt like strangers. We just sat around, could not talk to anybody. Less and less people speak Thai on the street." (Fear)
BO-6	62	Female	Buddhist	Retired teacher	Nakorn Sri Thammarat, Bangkok	No	Yes	- "I moved to my husband's hometown in Nakorn Sri Thammarat... I go back and forth Nakorn and Bangkok to babysit my granddaughter, her father, my son, is studying in England right now" (Family reason)	"... Why should I risk my life?" (Fear)

BO-7	40	Female	Buddhist	Civil servant (teacher)	Pattalung	Yes	No	- "I moved to my home town, I had to enter service as a teacher there. When there was available position in Pattalung, I applied." (Family reason)	
BO-8	27	Female	Buddhist	Civil servant (teacher)	Mueang Yala	Yes	No	- "I moved because I concern about my safety..." (Fear) - "I moved to a bigger school here. It got better facilities and oppotunities. Teaching in bigger school is obviously better" (Want)	
BO-9	45	Female	Buddhist	Government office employee	Mueang Yala	No	No	- "I move back to my hometown...My parents really worried about me since I had to work here" (Fear, Family reason)	"I get to study Master Degree. There are more facilities here. I got better job position and more salary too" (Want)
BO-10	36	Female	Buddhist	Government office employee	Mueang Yala	No	No	"I get to work in the governmental position. Now I have enough money to support my parents... I can also support my younger siblings' education" (Want)	"I just bought a home in the city for the safety, now my family can all move" (Fear)
BO-	59	Female	Buddhist	Retired	Mueang	No	Yes	"I could not live. I thought	"I want my kids to go

11				teacher	Yala				about it every day. I was afraid. I was hurt every time I thought about it. It is not safe anymore.” (Fear)	to good school too” (Want) “But now the Durian price is very high... I don't do anything, just hire locals to do it. I visit once in a while. I make more than a million each year in recent years.” (Want)
BO-12	32	Female	Buddhist	Merchant, Sewing	Mueang Yala	No	No	No	“I open the shop here; I can sell better than in Bannang Sata.” (Want)	
MO-13	25	Female	Muslim	Company employee	Bangkok	No	Yes	No	- “I will go back only if I can find a decent job with good income” (Want)	
MO-14	47	Male	Muslim	Logistic company employee, freelance research assistant	Mueang Yala	No	No	No	- “I wanted my kids to go to good school... If we live here, very close to the school, they don't have to travel far every morning.” (Want)	
MO-15	28	Female	Muslim	Former Civil servant (teacher)	Bangkok	No	No	No	“My husband was working at Yala hospital. When we got married, he didn't want	

MO-16	32	Female	Muslim	Civil servant (teacher)	Pattani	Yes	No	<p><i>me to work anymore, so I just moved into his family's in Yala. Now he is studying in Bangkok, I just follow."</i> (Family reason)</p> <p><i>"I just move back home"</i> (Family reason)</p>	<p><i>"Staying with family can cut down a lot of expenses."</i> (Want)</p>
MO-17	25	Male	Muslim	General freelancer, Islamic teacher	Phuket	Yes	Yes (Being in the blacklist)	<p><i>"My family was afraid the authority would do something to me or would wrongly accuse me, so I moved to be with a friend."</i> (Fear of Thai authority, insurgency)</p>	
MO-18	27	Male	Muslim	General freelancer, Islamic teacher, farmer	Malaysia	No	Yes (Being in the blacklist)	<p><i>"Living in Malaysia, income is much better, if ones has connection, they will surely want to come"</i> (Want)</p>	<p><i>"I heard about bomb and people wrongly accused before. I don't really understand it until my name is on the blacklist. I was very scared. My parents were also very scared, they also wanted me to work in Malaysia"</i> (Fear of</p>

MO-19	55	male	Muslim	Imam, farmer	Mueang Yala	No	Yes	<p>"I was in gas station bombing incident. There have been many assassinations on Islamic teachers. Being an Imam, you will be targeted by both Thai authority and insurgency. I have to be extra careful. And so, I built in the house in Mueang Yala..." (Fear of Thai authority and insurgency)</p>	<p>Want (income, facilities)</p>	<p>Thai authority)</p>
MO-20	21	Male	Muslim	General freelancer, farmer	Malaysia	No	No	<p>"I am everything they will suspect. I'm young. If there is any incident, for sure, they will look after me... if not police, people in the insurgency will go after you wanting you to join. I better moved" (Fear of both Thai authority and</p>	<p>"Back home I cannot do anything. Any job I got hired, they paid very little, not enough to buy food to eat." (Want)</p>	<p>Thai authority)</p>

MO-21	20	male	Muslim	General freelancer,	Malaysia	No	No	insurgency)	<p>“I don't want to have problems. I don't want to involve in any issue. I just want to stay away from police, military and the Juwae (fighter in insurgency group” (Fear of both Thai authority and insurgency)</p> <p>“I have a friend who came here before. I saw him made a lot of money sending it to his parents, building a house. So, I asked him to come and stay with him” (Want</p>
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Table 6 Respondents who move out from Bangnang Sata during 2005-2017

Fake Name	demographic				Move from	Experience Direct Violent	Primary reasons and factors	Secondary reasons and factors
	Age	Gender	Religion	Occupation				
BI-22	58	male	Buddhist	Civil servant (Soldier)	Udornthani	Yes	<i>"I didn't choose, I couldn't choose. I had to resign if I was not coming here... I have lived here for more than 10 years. Now my rank is high. I have a lot of sub-ordinates."</i> (Want)	
BI-23	36	Female	Buddhist	Civil servant (SAO)	Phetchaburi	No	"I had never considered moving to the Deep South until I met my husband. Because I got married, I had to live here." (Family reason)	
BI-24	32	Female	Buddhist	Government contracted employee	Doi Tao, Chiang Mai	No	"I met him when we were working at a 7-11 branch in Bangkok. Then we decided to get married, I moved to his house here" (Family reason)	"visiting (Doi Tao) is fine but to go back to live there, I don't want it. There is nothing to do in Doi Tao. It was difficult there. Here is much more developed. I can find jobs here." (Want)

Fake Name	demographic			Move from	Experience Direct Violent	Primary reasons and factors	Secondary reasons and factors
	Age	Gender	Religion				
MI-25	42	Female	Muslim	Farmer	Mayo, Pattani	Yes	<p>“At first, my mother urged me to move in with her... She built extended part of the house and want me to live with her.” (Family reason)</p> <p>“I used to live with my husband in the city but I couldn't have any income... Here we have farmland. I can help my mother do farming and earn some money” (Want)</p>
MI-26	51	male	Muslim	Contracted Islamic teacher in Ban Pa Wang School (a public primary school)	Tak Bai, Narathiwat	No	<p>- “I got married and moved here. My wife is a local in Tanbon Bannang Sata” (Family reason)</p> <p>- “I used to study in Fatoni University. Living here was more convenient to continue the study” (Want)</p> <p>life style</p>
MI-27	32	male	Muslim	Islamic teacher in an Islamic Sunday school	Choh Airong,	No	<p>“Because this is my wife's home. She is the only daughter... I moved when I got marriage with her.” (Family reason)</p>

Fake Name	demographic			Move from	Experience Direct Violent	Primary reasons and factors	Secondary reasons and factors
	Age	Gender	Religion				
MI-28	35	Female	Muslim	Vegetable farmer Raman, Yala	No	“I got married.” (Family reason)	“I can earn income here growing vegetable” (Want)
MI-29	38	Female	Muslim	Rubber farmer Pattani	No	“I got married with a local” (Family reason)	“My husband got land here, so living here we can earn income to support the family” (Want)
MI-30	26	Male	Muslim	Civil servant (Police) Yaha, Yala	Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I was assigned to enter the service here as police” (Want) - “Bambang Sata is close to my home, it is the best this way. I can visit my family any time I want.” (Family reason) 	
MI-31	43	Female	Muslim	Farmer Asong, Raman, Yala	yes	“Senior family members introduced us to get married, so I did and moved here.” (Family reason)	“I can work here.” “It is more convenient here” (Want)
MI-32	40	Male	Muslim	Government contracted employee Raman, Yala	No	“I was looking for a job and I got the job here. It is governmental position.” (Want)	“I am not moving back anymore. I got married here. I think I will live here permanently” (Family reason)



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Table 7 Respondents Who Stayed in Tambon Bannang Sata During 2005-2017

Fake Name	demographic				Have Considered Moving	Experience Direct Violent	Fear	Reasons to Stay
	Age	Gender	Religion	Occupation				
BN-33	65	Female	Buddhist	Shop owner	No	Yes (Arsons and harassment)	<p>“I am not afraid, if I am, I will leave long ago. They can kill me, but I will still die at home”</p> <p>- “My shop is on a very good location. It is in front of Bannang Sata Intarachat School... I can still make enough income. There are always customers” (Income)</p> <p>- “My parents worked for it and passed it to me. I can’t just leave it.” (Family)</p> <p>- “I need to be here for Buddhists’ solidarity. If we all keep moving out, how is the rest of Buddhists who stay here will be.” (Community)</p>	
BN-34	50	Female	Buddhist	1. Seller in the market 2. Farmer	No	Yes (Gas station bombing)	<p>“I’m afraid but cannot do anything. Life goes on”</p> <p>- “It is my hometown. I have lived here since I was born.” (Hometown)</p> <p>- “I have work, regular income...” (Income)</p> <p>- “...and good neighbors both Buddhists and Muslims who help each other with the business.” (Community)</p>	

Fake Name	demographic			Have Considered Moving	Experience Direct Violent	Fear	Reasons to Stay
	Age	Gender	Religion				
BN-35	51	female	Buddhist	No	No	<p>“When there are incidents, we just have to be more cautious, that’s all. Don’t be heedless.”</p> <p>- “I have both Buddhist and Muslim friends. I work as normal. If there is any community event, I always join. I can also speak Malayu.” (Community)</p> <p>- “I do farming, I make decent income. Here plants grow well because of good soil.” (Income)</p>	
BN-36	49	Female	Buddhist	No	Yes “I have seen an incident”	<p>“I believe in Karma... If it’s not your time, you are not going to die”</p> <p>- “But because we are the locals, we have to protect our community. There are still many relatives and friends. Living at other places will be more struggle. Working at home is more peaceful.” (Hometown)</p>	
BN-37	71	female	Buddhist	No	No	<p>“I am used to living here. I’m not moving now. I’m old.” (Hometown)</p>	

Fake Name	demographic				Have Considered Moving	Experience Direct Violent	Fear	Reasons to Stay
	Age	Gender	Religion	Occupation				
MN-38	24	Female	Muslim	ว่างงาน	Yes	Yes “When I was really young, there was bombing in front of the school.”	At first, I felt shocked. It was a big chaos. But after the incident was under control, life goes on normally.”	<p>“I like to live close to family. My parents worry about me.” (family)</p> <p>“It is different culture and language in other places... It’s hard to find Halal food” (culture)</p> <p>“I have no relatives and friends there, I don’t like living at other places” (Family and Community)</p>
MN-39	23	Female	Muslim	unemployed	Yes	No	“I see clear differences before and after the incident. Even I was young, I remember people were hanging out. After evening prayer time, it is all quiet. Pawang is already full of forest, makes it	<p>- “It is my birthplace. My whole family is Bannang Sata. Everybody knows, my last name originated here.” (hometown)</p> <p>- “My parents are very old and retired.”(family)</p> <p>“I want to go and find a job</p>

Fake Name	demographic			Have Considered Moving	Experience Direct Violent	Fear	Reasons to Stay
	Age	Gender	Religion				
MN-40	25	Female	Muslim	Freelance architect	Yes	No	<p>too. But I'm afraid that if I move far, in case of any emergency, I can't come to my family quickly." (family)</p> <p>- "I got accepted into King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang but I gave up that because I wanted to live close to my family" (family)</p> <p>- "I want utilize the knowledge I've learned for my hometown because there are not many people graduated with this major (architecture) here." (hometown)</p>
MN-41	28	male	Muslim	1. General freelancer 2. Teach at an Islamic Sunday	No	Yes "I have been stuck on the road when the authority blocked the	<p>scarier to go out."</p> <p>"When I was in high school, I went to school in Mueang Yala. It happened many times when I couldn't go back home after school because the road was blocked. Of it was too late, we were just afraid to go back."</p> <p>"I am not afraid. I trust Allah's plan. Just be careful."</p> <p>- "It is my home." (hometown)</p> <p>- "Language and culture here is my lifestyle." (culture)</p>

Fake Name	demographic			Have Considered Moving	Experience Direct Violent	Fear	Reasons to Stay
	Age	Gender	Religion				
					roads to arrest the insurgents.”		- ‘I can find some jobs here. I don’t have education or friends anywhere else. How will I get a job where else?’ (job and income)
MN-42	56	male	Muslim	Yes	Yes (Bombing at the house many times)	“ ‘I am not so afraid. Actually, there have been bombs at my house many times. I don’t know whether it is someone who envy me or the insurgent people. I’m still not sure. But facing this many times, no one would help you, everybody has to help themselves.”	- ‘I have lived here since I was born.’ (hometown) - ‘All my relatives are in the Deep South.’ (family) - ‘After thinking about it, I think it will not be so different to move out. You will face something one way or another.’
MN-43	48	male	Muslim	No	No ‘But I have to involve in arresting and searching after the incidents and	‘I am somewhat afraid too sometimes. Because I have to cooperate with authority. Sometime I had to be there when there is searching or arresting. I have to	- ‘we are local people, we have to help protecting our community...improve our hometown first before you think it is bad and move out.’ (community and hometown) - ‘I have relatives and friends

Fake Name	demographic			Have Considered Moving	Experience Direct Violent	Fear	Reasons to Stay
	Age	Gender	Religion				
					bombs.”	educate villagers and make understanding. I have to be very careful. Sometimes, I went to attend a meeting with authority and when I was back, someone in the village got arrested. They thought I was the one giving the information. When I try to maintain relationship with villagers, authority thinks I am an insurgent’s spy. This position is very uncomfortable and I have to be patient.”	here. Many friends. We visit each other when we are sick” (family and community) - “...my people are here, this is my base.” (politics)
MN-44		Female	Muslim	Yes	Yes “My husband was wrongly charged and imprisoned	“I am afraid because now I have to be against authority. Anything I do, they can use it to charge me anytime”	- “I have thought about moving to Meung Yala, so it is easier to follow my husband’s case. but no one will take care of the children... I have to stay

Fake Name	demographic			Have Considered Moving	Experience Direct Violent	Fear	Reasons to Stay
	Age	Gender	Religion				
					in Mueang Yala”		here because my husband’s mother can help raising the children” (family) - “I have a good job here too.” (income)
MN-45	23	male	Muslim	No	Yes (bombing)	“Yes, a little bit. I am a teen male and as a volunteer graduate member, I have to meet and cooperate with many people...I don’t afraid much because most of people here are my friends or relatives.”	- “I want to live close to my family, if we need anything, we can always get support from each other.” (family) - “I live at my house; it saves a lot of money...” - I make 4,500 Baht. It is not a lot but with this amount and I get to stay home, worth it.” (Income)

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จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

VITA

NAME Naruemon Yamareng
DATE OF BIRTH 3 May 1993
PLACE OF BIRTH Phang Nga



จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY