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## **Conflict, Violence and Displacement in Southern Philippines and Thailand**

### **A Day of Analysis**

### **SUMMARY REPORT**

Organized  
by  
Dr Eva-Lotta Hedman  
Senior Research Fellow  
Refugee Studies Centre (RSC)  
University of Oxford

This workshop focused analysis and debate on the dynamics and patterns of conflict, violence and displacement in Southern Philippines and Southern Thailand. Though historically diverse and dynamic areas in their own right, they also figure as the ‘Muslim South’ on the (social, political, and economic) periphery of the Philippine, Catholic or the Thai, Buddhist nation-state, respectively. In the current geo-political context, with Southeast Asia declared the second front in the ‘War on Terror,’ the heightened concern with security has also affected these areas, as evidenced by the reintroduction of joint military ‘exercises’ with U.S. forces in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago, and by the intensification of military raids by Thai government troops in Patani and neighbouring southern provinces.

The workshop, held at St Antony’s College, University of Oxford, brought together a mixture of 35 scholars, practitioners and policy makers to exchange perspectives and expertise, with an aim to explore obstacles and opportunities to human security in Southern Philippines and Thailand. Support for this workshop was generously provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, CAFOD - Asia Section, and the Asian Studies Centre at St Antony’s College.

Papers from the workshop will shortly be made available through the RSC Working Paper Series.

#### **Further Details are available from:**

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### **A Day of Analysis**

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The Refugee Studies Centre (RSC)

University of Oxford

### **Programme**

Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> October 2004,

Dahrendorf Room, St Antony's College, Oxford

9.30 – 9.45

Registration and Coffee

9.45 – 10.00

Welcome Address by Stephen Castles (Director, RSC)

Workshop Introduction by Lotta Hedman (RSC)

### **Session I: Southern Philippines**

Chair: Stephen Castles (Director, RSC)

10.00-10.20

The Cultural Impact of Conflict and Displacement in Two Northern Mindanao Provinces

*RockRock Antequisa (Country Program Researcher, CAFOD)*

10.30-10.50

Terrorism and the Internationalisation of the Southern Philippine Conflict

*Kit Collier (Visiting Fellow, Australian National University)*

11.00-11.20

An Economic and Political Agenda to Address the Conflict in Southern Philippines

*Eric Gutierrez (Researcher, Institute for Popular Democracy)*

11.30-12.30

Discussion

12.30-13.30

**Sandwich Lunch**

### **Session II: Southern Thailand**

Chair: Lotta Hedman (Senior Research Fellow, RSC)

13.30-13.50

The Present Situation in Southern Thailand and Its Impact on Local Populations

*M. Abdus Sabur (Secretary General, Asian Muslim Action Network)*

14.00-14.20

Political Violence, Narratives of Separatism, and Alternative Political Tensions in Southern Thailand

*Carlo Bonura (Assistant Professor, University of Puget Sound)*

14.30-14.50

Electing Integration? Campaigning, Elections and Political Integration in the South

*Jim Ockey (Senior Lecturer, University of Canterbury)*

15.00-16.00

Discussion (Coffee and tea)



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#### **Speakers**

**Cariño V. Antequisa (RockRock)**, Country Program Consultant, Cafod, and Consultative Group Member, VSO Mindanao Program. He is also Secretary of the Board of Trustees for Pakigdait, Lanao del Norte, and a Member of the Management Committee, Trainer, and Lecturer at the Mindanao Peace Institute, Davao City, and (former) Regional Coordinator of the Tri-Peoples Partnership for Peace and Development, Ozamiz City. His publications include 'Reflections on the Mindanao War' (2000) and 'Historical Awareness: A Step towards Forgiveness' (2004) in the quarterly journal *Paglaum*.

**Carlo Bonura**, Luce Assistant Professor of Islamic Societies in Southeast Asia, Department of Politics and Government, University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington. His Ph.D. thesis is focused on Islamic education and the formation of political community in southern Thailand (University of Washington, 2002). His publications include essays on Southeast Asian Studies in an edited volume, *Subject, Knowledge, Discipline: Southeast Asian Area Studies in 21st Century America* (forthcoming).

**Stephen Castles**, Professor of Migration and Refugee Studies, and Director of the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford. He has carried out research on migration and multicultural societies in Europe, Australia and Asia for many years. He currently chairs the UK Home Office Advisory Panel on Country Information. He is the author of numerous publications, including *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (co-authored, 2003, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), *Migration in the Asia Pacific: Population, Settlement and Citizenship Issues* (co-edited, 2003); and *States of Conflict: Causes and Patterns of Forced Migration to the EU and Policy Responses* (co-authored, 2003).

**Christopher Collier (Kit)**, Visiting Fellow, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, and Consultant, International Crisis Group. His recent research includes a report prepared for the International Crisis Group: *Southern Philippines Backgrounder: Terrorism and the Peace Process* (2004). Other related publications include *The Armed Forces and Internal Security in Asia: Preventing the Abuse of Power* (1999).

**Eric Gutierrez**, Regional Research and Advocacy Adviser for Southern Africa, WaterAid and (former) Deputy Director of the Institute for Popular Democracy in the Philippines. He has written extensively on Philippine politics, and his recent related publications include *The Moro Conflict: Landlessness and Misdirected Policies* (co-authored, 2004), and *Rebels, Warlords, and Ulama A Reader on Muslim Separatism and the War in Southern Philippines* (co-edited, 2000).

**Eva-Lotta E. Hedman**, Senior Research Fellow, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford. She has written widely on the Philippines, including *Philippine Politics and Society in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Colonial Legacies, Post-Colonial Trajectories* (co-authored, 2000). Other publications focus on the political dynamics of forced migration in the region: *East Timor in*

*Transition: Human Rights Law Review* (editor, 1999), and *Aceh Under Martial Law: Conflict, Violence and Displacement* (editor, forthcoming).

**James S. Ockey**, Senior Lecturer, School of Political Science and Communications, University of Canterbury at Christchurch, New Zealand. He has written extensively on Thai politics, with recent journal articles published in *Asian Survey*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Modern Asian Studies*, *Political Science*, and *Sojourn*. The author of *Making Democracy: Leadership, Class, Gender and Political Participation in Thailand* (2004), he is currently finishing a book on local-level politics.

**M. Abdus Sabur**, General Secretary and Co-founder of the Asian Resource Foundation (ARF), and Co-Director of the School of Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation in Bangkok. He is also Co-founder of the Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN) and the Bangladesh Consumer Association. From 1986-1996, he served as Coordinator of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD). He has edited a number of publications, including *Understanding Human Rights: Perspectives from South Asia*, *Interfaith Conference on the Culture of Peace, Globalization and Asian Perspectives for an Alternative Development*, and *Towards Peace in Multi-Ethnic Asia*.



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Hosted by the  
Refugee Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House  
University of Oxford

### **Participants**

**Dedhi Adhuri**

Visiting Fellow, Refugee Studies Centre

**Aguswandi**

Researcher, TAPOL - The Indonesian Human Rights Campaign

**Rubina Ahmed**

Postgraduate Student, Refugee Studies Centre

**RockRock Antequisa**

Country Program Accompanier, Catholic Agency For Overseas Development, Philippines

**Carlo Bonura**

Assistant Professor, University of Puget Sound, Washington

**Graham Brown**

Research Officer, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity

**Andy Carl**

Director, Conciliation Resources

**Isabelle Carton**

Campaigner - South East Asia Team, Amnesty International

**Stephen Castles**

Director, Refugee Studies Centre

**Dawn Chatty**

Deputy Director, Refugee Studies Centre

**Andrew Clayton**

Regional Manager - South East Asia, Christian Aid

**Kit Collier**

Visiting Fellow, Australian National University

**James Darcy**

Acting Coordinator, Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute

**Narola Das**

Refugee Studies Centre

**Rachel Disprose**

Postgraduate Student, Refugee Studies Centre

**Lilianne Fan**

Researcher, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity

**Rosemary Foot**

Professor of International Relations, St Antony's College

**Emma Fraser**

Desk Officer, Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department, DFID

**Katherine Gerson**

International Secretariat, Amnesty International

**Jennifer Griffiths**

Asian Studies Centre, St Antony's College

**Eric Gutierrez**

Contributing Researcher, Institute for Popular Democracy, Philippines

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Senior Research Fellow, Refugee Studies Centre

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Foreign & Commonwealth Office

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Senior Research Fellow, Department for Politics and International Relations

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Joint-Deputy Director, Forced Migration Online

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Postgraduate Student, Refugee Studies Centre

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Desk Officer, Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department, DFID

**James Ockey**

Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Canterbury at Christchurch

**Evangeline Ong-Jimenez**

Political Officer, Philippine Embassy

**Tim Parritt**

Researcher, South East Asia Team, Amnesty International

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Administrative Assistant, Refugee Studies Centre

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**Paul Ryder**

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Secretary General, Asian Muslim Action Network, Thailand

**John T. Sidel**

Reader, School of African and Oriental Studies

**Frances Stewart**

Director, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity

**David Turton**

Former Director, Refugee Studies Centre

**Marianna Volpi**

Postgraduate Student, Queen Elizabeth House

**Chika Watanabe**

Postgraduate Student, Refugee Studies Centre