Applying Grounded Theory to the Study of Persons Displaced from Fighting in a Temporary Shelter, Thailand
การประยุกต์ใช้ทฤษฎีฐานรากเพื่อศึกษาผู้หนีภัยจากการสู้รบ ในพื้นที่พักพิงชั่วคราว ประเทศไทย

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ประเทศไทยเป็นประเทศหนึ่งในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ซึ่งเป็นสังคมพหุลักษณ์ ที่มีพัฒนาการและความเป็นมาทางประวัติศาสตร์ วางอยู่บนพื้นฐานของความหลากหลาย ทางชาติพันธุ์ และความซับซ้อนเชิงโครงสร้าง แต่นโยบายที่ละเลยการศึกษาวิจัยในกลุ่ม ไทยศึกษา ซึ่งเน้นการวิพากษ์วิจารณ์ในเชิงทฤษฎี ทั้งในประเด็นที่เกี่ยวกับชาติพันธุ์และ อัตลักษณ์ทางวัฒนธรรม ทำให้กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ต่างๆที่มีอยู่เป็นจำนวนมาก ถูกทำให้กลาย เป็นเพียง "คนกลุ่มน้อย" หรือ "คนชายขอบ" ความเข้าใจผิดของนักวิทยาศาสตร์สังคม บางกลุ่ม ทำให้เกิดกระบวนการผลิตซ้ำของวาทกรรมการพัฒนาในยุคสมัยใหม่ ที่ทำให้ บุคคลเหล่านี้กลายเป็น 'คนอื่น' ของสังคมไทย ผู้เขียนประยุกต์ใช้ทฤษฎีฐานราก โดยใช้ การศึกษากรณีตัวอย่าง กับผู้ที่อาศัยอยู่ในพื้นที่พักพิงชั่วคราวแห่งหนึ่งในประเทศไทย โดยการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกและสังเกตแบบมีส่วนร่วม หลังจากนั้นจึงวิเคราะห์ข้อมูล ด้วยหลักความสอดคล้องต้องกันของเนื้อหาและเรื่องเล่า แล้วจึงนำเสนอผลการศึกษา โดยการพรรณนาคุณภาพชีวิตในพื้นที่พักพิงชั่วคราว และนำเสนอโดยใช้แผนที่ทางสังคม แสดงเส้นทางการขนส่งเหยื่อของกระบวนการค้ามนุษย์ เพื่อเปิดประเด็นโต้แย้งเรื่อง นโยบายการพัฒนาที่ละเลยประเด็นด้านการค้ามนุษย์ที่เกิดขึ้นกับบุคคลไร้รัฐ

ผลการศึกษาพบว่า ผู้หนีภัยจากการสู้รบจากประเทศพม่าเข้ามาในประเทศไทย ต้องตกเป็นเหยื่อของการค้ามนุษย์ด้วยมูลเหตุปัจจัยสำคัญคือ 1) การมีคุณภาพชีวิตที่ต่ำ เนื่องจากข้อจำกัดด้านระบบบริหารจัดการของพื้นที่พักพิง 2) การพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจที่ ขาดการวางแผนและการไม่มียุทธศาสตร์ด้านการค้ามนุษย์ และ 3) การมีสถานภาพเป็น "บุคคลไร้รัฐ" ของผู้ที่อาศัยอยู่ในพื้นที่พักพิงชั่วคราว ผู้เขียนเสนอว่า ประเทศไทย

ควรปรับปรุงกฎหมายที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการค้ามนุษย์ โดยเฉพาะในส่วนของการละเมิดสิทธิ
มนุษยชนที่เกิดขึ้นในระหว่างกระบวนการขนย้าย เพราะกระบวนการดังกล่าวทำให้
เหยื่อบาดเจ็บ ถูกบังคับให้สูญหายและตาย นอกจากนี้ รัฐบาลไทยในฐานะที่เป็นส่วนหนึ่ง
ของประชาคมเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ควรเพิ่มบทบาทเชิงนโยบายในระดับภูมิภาค
เพื่อปรับปรุงกฎหมายและแนวปฏิบัติที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการค้ามนุษย์ โดยประสานความ
ร่วมมือกับหน่วยงานผู้ลี้ภัยแห่งสหประชาชาติ และคณะกรรมการประสานงานบริการ
แก่ผู้หนีภัยฯ โดยปรับปรุงระบบบริหารจัดการของพื้นที่พักพิงให้เอื้อต่อการมีคุณภาพ
ชีวิตที่ดี สะท้อนปัญหาของสถานการณ์ด้านการค้ามนุษย์ที่เกิดขึ้นกับผู้ที่อาศัยหรือ
เคยอาศัยอยู่ในพื้นที่พักพิงชั่วคราว ร่วมกำหนดนิยามที่ชัดเจนต่อ 'สถานะชั่วคราว'
ตลอดจนเปิดโอกาสให้ผู้พักพิงฯในฐานะที่เป็นพลเมืองโลก ได้รับสิทธิเท่าเทียมในการ
เข้าถึงแหล่งทรัพยากรเพื่อพัฒนาศักยภาพและทักษะด้านการสื่อสาร การทำงาน และ
ทักษะด้านสังคมวัฒนธรรม เพื่อให้ผู้พักพิงฯเหล่านี้ เป็นพลเมืองโลกที่มีคุณภาพในการ
ร่วมพัฒนาภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ต่อไป

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Abstract

    Like other Southeast Asian countries, Thailand has always been
a nation of ethnic diversity. Being diverse and having complex structures,
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ethnicity and ethic relations. However, for a long time, the absence of
theoretical discussion of ethnicity and cultural identity in Thai studies and
in much of Asian studies in general also neglects the existence of ethnic
diversity of people. Moreover, misunderstanding by some social scientists
creates discourse by making them out to be merely 'minorities' or
'marginal' in their own region (Gladney, 1998: 1-9).

    The authors carried out a study of persons displaced as a result
of fighting (PDF) in a temporary shelter in Thailand. They applied grounded
theory within the study through in-depth interviews and participant
observation to collect data from the target populace. Then, they analyzed
data by using content analysis, method of agreement, and narrative

technique. The data are presented in the form of narrative description and social mapping. The authors criticized the negligent development policy of Thailand concerning human trafficking.

The results showed that PDF in the temporary shelter were trafficked because of three major factors: 1) low quality of life from the Shelter's poor management and limitations of resources; 2) no state strategic policy concerning human trafficking; and 3) vulnerable status of PDF as 'stateless' people. The authors suggested that to prevent problems of human trafficking, Thailand needs to reconsider current shelter's management and develop a clearer definition of what is now called 'temporary' status of PDF. To build a sustainable socio-economic development in Southeast Asia, it is crucial for state governments to intervene. First, they need to improve laws and regulations relating to human trafficking, especially those occurring during the transit process. The loss of life, injuries and enforced disappearance of PDF needs to be stopped. Second, governments need to play a crucial part in improving shelter's management by providing policy recommendations and improve their strategic cooperation with the United Nations High Committee of Refugee Agency Thailand (UNHCR) and other agencies. Third, a clearer definition of the term 'temporary' is needed. Fourth, they must allow PDF to take parts in regional development, so that they have equal accessibility as global citizens in capacity building programs for improving their communication skills, working skills, and socio-cultural skills as a priority.

Key words: Persons Displaced from fighting (PDF), Grounded Theory, Human Trafficking

Introduction

Like other Southeast Asian countries, Thailand has always been a nation of ethnic diversity over its long history. Being diverse and having complex structures, Thailand is a 'pluralist society' and can be understood better in terms of ethnicity and ethic relations. However, for a long time, the absence of theoretical discussion of ethnicity and cultural identity in Thai studies and in much of Asian studies in general also neglects the existence of ethnic diversity of people. Moreover, misunderstanding by some social scientists creates discourse about these people by making them out to be merely 'minorities' or 'marginal' in their own region (Gladney, 1998: 1-9).

In the post-war period with decolonization and nation building, a major project of most developing nations in Southeast Asia has been undertaken to construct strong characteristics of national identity or create an 'imagination' of national similarity. These policies include nationalism based on shared homogeneity, national identity, defining state's boundaries between the particular state and its neighbors, establishing a national language, constructing narratives of a shared history (which mostly involve shared struggles or wars against enemies, neighbors or outside intruders), and shared national symbols (which commonly include flags, rituals, national days, anthems, institutions, national 'cult' in a capital city, monumental architecture and so on.) (Evans, 1998).

Educational policy rooted in nationalism is specially designed to socialize younger generations into the 'imagination' of a national society with similarity. Deculturalization becomes one of the crucial key concepts used for designing curricula. Replacing traditional culture and local wisdom with formal education is a major tool. The implementation normally involves replacing a local language with the official language, replacing a local learning culture with formal schools, and replacing self-reliance

with dependency. In order to accomplish this, education is used to create a kind of 'cultural genocide.' As a result, cultural hybridization emerges. It includes cultural assimilation, neglecting traditional culture, and melding of cultural frames such as values, goals, and visions (Sirasoonthorn, 2010).

Laos, for instance, is a fascinating case. The complex alterations in political and ideological positions within the country exhibit a unique social transformation. The changes began with its French protectorate status. There was an emergence of national identity in opposition to the French colonialization, leading onward to a free kingdom based on ethnic diversity, then to a poly-ethnic socialist state which incorporated all ethnic peoples based on socialist principles, and finally to a post-socialist nationalism during the socialist revolution when the state dismantled the monarchy and Buddhism. In the late 1980s, retreating from socialism, the political leaders of Laos decided to create the country's national identity by using the cultural homogeneity provided by Buddhism (Pholsena, 2006: 10-11). The mix of socialist principles with a 'unity within diversity' framework helped Laos to reconstruct a shared authentic cultural heritage by embracing all ethnic cultures based on shared Buddhist values and principles.

Myanmar, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, offers an excellent example of managing nationalist policy on the basis of ethnic diversity. During that time, the rapid growth of a global economy in the Myanmar Delta led to major social transformation. The influx of Indian merchants and increasing varieties of new occupations generated separate indirect rule by local elites in upland areas. Recognizing that there were important roles carried out within the village system in so called 'tribal' areas where diverse and exotic cultures of ethnic groups were practiced, Britain applied a deliberate policy of 'divide and rule'. To support a British development discourse, ethnographic narratives were

constructed together with establishing local museums in upland ethnic areas. By doing this, different cultures, values, beliefs, and behaviors were better understood. To ensure that there would be armed conflicts, ethnic peoples were divided by territory, clan and kinship. The situation was more complicated when mixed with the presence of major ethnic groups in lowland areas and Myanmar. These included the Mons, the Karen, and the Arakanese. Although this may have been necessary for administrative and commercial purposes, the strategy showed a more complex role of cultural differentiation whereby some styled themselves to be more enlightened, 'civilized' and progressive (Taylor, 1982, 1987). During the late colonial period, the nationalism policy emerged. In order to maintain clear racial and cultural boundaries between colonizers and colonized, ethnicity and identity served to maintain the importance of boundaries (Owen, 2005: 246).

These examples show 'ethnocratic states', which were dominated by majority ethnic communities. This 'ethnocracy' refers to situations in which the states act as the agency of the dominant ethnic community in the promotion of its ethnic policies, values, and resource distribution as the core of its nationalist ideology and practice (Smith, 1991: 34, 36; Silverstein, 1980: 239). To prevent ethnic rebellion, members of the ethnic majority are appointed to dominant public office and political institutions. By doing this, there is a solidification of the dominant ethnic identity which threatens 'other' ethnic groups (Brown, 1994: 64). As a result, ethnic rebellions emerge. The authors agree with Pholsena (2006) that a nation should not be only about myths and images, and it is crucial that it makes sense to the citizens, offering them equal access to resources; as citizens they should have rights as well as national obligations. By this, all ethnic groups are included in the development process and become add to the power of the nation.

The problematic nature of nation-building together with the confrontation posed by ethnic diversity have long challenged social scientists. This has led to posing paradigm changes by some sociologists that results in criticism of literal theories for their inability to provide a better understanding of dynamic and borderless social phenomena. Although neo-Marxist interpretations of society have tended to offer prominence to class analysis and to see ethnic tensions and conflict as ideological expressions of economic processes, or in Brown's words 'a derivative manifestation of class' (Brown, 1994: 206), ethnic ideologies may also be described as 'false consciousness' because they disguise outlining economic structures (Cham, 1975; Kahn, 1992: 170-174). Ethnic identity and consciousness may interrelate with economic processes and at times be generated by them. However, they can also directly influence economic and political action. In other words, ethnic considerations can be a primary force in creating particular organizational forms, behavior, values and social consciousness. It may also provide a new mode of identity formation through which members of a particular ethnic group come together to pursue their own interests (Brown, 1994: xii).

Apart from this, 'ethnic' can be used as an idiom in development discourse about existing political and historical relationships (Kahn, 1992: 256-257). The four crucial commonalities of sociological imagination that highlight health, structure, culture and critique can also help social scientists from merely focusing on particular individual ethnic experiences to focus on the wider global society, or in Mills's words 'think himself away from the familiar routines of daily life' (Mills, 1959: 5-7).

Thailand has nine temporary Shelters which were established for persons displaced from fighting (PDF) who were fled from Myanmar. The Shelters have numerous social problems starting from policy to the individual level. These problems included human trafficking, insufficient

health care, poverty, and environmental degradation respectively (Buadaeng and Sirasoonthorn, 2012).

Problems of human trafficking in the Shelter is one of the major concerns of involving organizations. The numbers of victims is increasing each year. The person displaced from fighting who reside in the Shelter become trapped. This article is based on three basic assumptions. First, it is based on belief in the power of ethnicity. Second, it outlines the significance of ethnic community consciousness which has been gathered from grounded construction of ethnic engagement. Third, it offers a sociological perspective which addresses social dimensions such as equality, and relations of social organizational principles of ethnicity, power and patronage (Evers, 1980).

By using grounded theory, the construction of civic republicanism based on social movement and identity on three crucial dimensions is exposed. The dimensions include space, time and context. The authors highlight that in order to reconstruct a society based on virtue, value, trust and equality, ethnic community consciousness arising from individuals' understanding of the needs of their own community must be emphasized. Their critique is of an extreme nationalism based on similarity and cultural homogeneity that is often applied to the situation of PDF. To help build a better global society, they suggest that civic ways of thinking need to be imprinted on those involved in global development planning and on citizens at all levels.

Objective

This article aims to highlight the low quality living conditions of PDF in a temporary shelter in Thailand. By doing this, various forms of dehumanization during human trafficking process were revealed.

Definition

Persons Displaced from fighting (PDF)

The person who is forced to flee his or her homeland because of war or internal fighting. They are often referred to as refugees, although they do not fall within the current legal definition of a refugee. In this article refers to those PDF from Myanmar who are resettled in a temporary shelter in Thailand.

Grounded Theory

The theory is a social research method which help the authors to seek out and conceptualize human trafficking through the process of constant data comparison. In this article, it includes qualitative and quantitative methods.

Human Trafficking

The trade of humans, most commonly for the purpose of forced labor, modern slavery, or commercial sexual exploitation. It can occur within a country or trans-nationally. It is a crime against the person because of the dehumanization, and violation of the victim's rights.

Methodology

Grounded theory was applied within the study for framed methodological analysis. The theory is a research method which help the authors to seek out and conceptualize human trafficking through the process of constant comparison (Chamaz, 2006). First, ethnographic field work was adopted as the main form of data collection. Then, in-depth interviews and participatory observation were conducted inside the Shelter. To identify human trafficking process, 27 victims were selected as a result of a quantitative preliminary study (Buadaeng and Sirasoonthorn, 2013).

Later, a category system, including initial phrase and selective focus coding, were designed. To develop the category system, firstly, different types of coding were conceptualized. These included word-by-word coding, line-by-line coding, incident-by-incident coding and *in Vivo* codes. Second, selective focus coding was outlined. This included axial coding and theoretical coding. Third, a triangulation method was applied to process the data before analysis with four objectives: 1) to ascertain validity; 2) to reduce bias; 3) to confirm the data and; 4) to elaborate the data (Yoddamnern-Atttig and Tangcholtip, 2009). Last, a human trafficking route from Myanmar to the heart of the temporary shelter and from the Shelter to downtown Bangkok was revealed. The data were analyzed by using content analysis and the narrative method. In this article, a case study was presented in form of social mapping and description.

The study site was a temporary shelter located in lower northern Thailand. Its unique characteristics included: 1) the largest area in size; 2) where the largest number of residents were located; 3) containing the highest density of residents; 4) has the highest density of surrounding seven local village communities within ten kilometers radius; 5) has the greatest socio-economic impacts on local communities including ethnic diversity, natural resources degradation, environmental problems, and criminal problems; and 6) a high degree of involvement in dehumanization and human trafficking (Kijvirojkul, 2008; Buadaeng and Sirasoonthorn, 2012; Buadaeng, Sirasoonthorn and Siriponpibul, 2014).
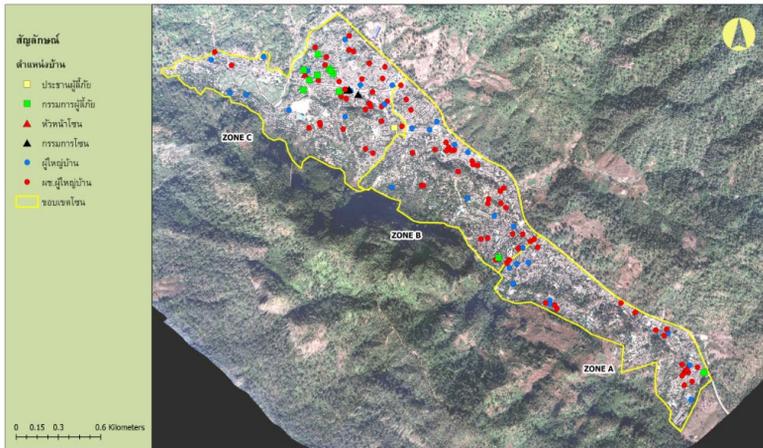
Figure 1: The Geographical Resettlement in Temporary Shelter

Source: Developed from Military Mapping, 2010

The above map shows the geographical boundaries and resettlement community of the temporary shelter. Zones A and B are flat areas including public facilities such as schools, and a detention center. Zone C contains the headquarters of the Shelter's office and the office of the Ministry of the Interior. Houses for PDF are spread across all zones but are sparsely located in Zone C. After years of regular visiting, at first, 27 persons of trafficking were identified. However, 14 persons could not be located after they left the Shelter, leaving only 9 persons who could take part in the study till the end of the project. These 9 persons included males and females, aged between 14 and 35 years old, of a variety of ethnicities such as Mon, Burmese, and Karen and living in all zones. All persons were found to speak Thai fluently. And all these persons have lived inside the temporary shelter for more than a decade.

Results

1. Quality of life

The study showed that the Shelter's public health services and resources were major 'pull factors' for the 9 persons. They illegally invited

their friends and neighbors from Myanmar into the Shelter to also help them to receive free public facilities and better health care services available inside the Shelter. This led to resource scarcity, insecurity within the Shelter, crowded living conditions, and insufficient personal space. 'Push factors' from their country of origin included poverty, war and conflict, and searching for lost relatives, friends and family members.

After being formally registered, these PDF were located in the temporary shelter. There were limitations of land resources as the Shelter was situated in a remote deforested area where there were risks of flooding, flash flooding and the possibility of ground attacks. Once becoming settlers, these PDF had to confront problems of low quality of living, insufficient income and poverty because of their inability to work under the rule and constraints of the Shelter's regulations. They were living in temporary houses, an average of 1-4 square meters, and crowded together with an average of 5 persons per house. They received free food from the Shelter. This included rice, pickled fish, and dried foods which were insufficient for their needs.

Many PDF sneaked out of the Shelter looking for fresh food outside. Some illegally traveled to local markets in nearby districts searching for familiar food and ingredients from their home country. Originally from seaside villages, these PDF preferred fish, seafood, fruits and fresh vegetables. Although many started planting herbs and vegetables, it was not sufficient for the whole family. They complained about expired food; dried food that smelled badly, and low quality rice distributed by the Shelter. Environmental problems including dust, noise pollution, stench, and smog, were common.

Table 1: Food from the Shelter

Item/person/month	Adult (over 12 years)	Children
Rice	15 kg.	7.5 kg.
Blended food	1 kg.	0.5 kg.
Fish and shrimp paste	750 gram	350 gram
Dried chili	125 gram	60 gram
Cooking oil	1 liter	0.5 liter
Salt	330 gram	115 gram
Half nuts	1 kg.	0.5 gram
Sugar	250 gram	125 gram
Canned fish (halibut, nuts, replaced in wet season).	7 box	4 box
Soaps / Detergents	125 gram	125 gram
Charcoal	7.9 kg.	3.5 kg.

Source: Mae La Temporary Shelter (March, 2015)

This situation forced some settlers to search for small jobs both inside and outside the Shelter. Unable to maintain their sense of self-reliance, some PDF sneaked out and traveled far south to the state's inner area, even to Bangkok and Samut Sakorn. Although they received only a small amount of payment of U.S. $ 1-2 per day, they felt independent. However, due to their status as aliens or being "stateless" people, they faced socio-cultural obstacles including their illegal social status, inability to speak in Thai or other languages, discrimination according to their race, and their marginality. A combination of these factors led to their loss of civil rights, economic rights, social rights and cultural rights. Many could be identified as fitting the criteria for being human trafficked.

Consequently, they were prey for exploitation and forced into labor and/or prostitution. The 27 PDF who were first interviewed all admitted that they had been in a situation of uncertainty, were afraid and felt hopeless. Applying the Human Trafficking Prevention and Suppression Act, B.E. 2551, 14 individuals who were PDF settlers were interviewed in depth. Although they were physically, psychologically, and spiritually abused during the transportation process, only 9 PDFs were defined by law to be victims of human trafficking. The remainder were identified merely as persons who were illegally smuggled, and treated as such according to the protocol for migrants. Punishments given to the traffickers included imprisonment for up to 10 years and a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand baht. After paying a small amount in fines, four traffickers admitted that they returned to the same business.

2. Human Trafficking

Under the Thai Law of Human Trafficking Prevention and Suppression Act, B.E. 2551, the punishment for such an offence is given to human traffickers only when the trafficking process has been completed. This means that all victims must already have been sold and exploited.

Therefore, there are a variety of offences such as exploitation of humans, physical and physiological abuse, as well as dehumanization during transportation which are considered as offences according to protocol that covers the illegal smuggling of migrants.

However, the punishment for these offences is mild in comparison to other developed nations. The penalties usually include imprisonment ranging from four to ten years and a fine from eighty thousand baht to two hundred thousand baht. If the offense is committed against persons over the age of fifteen, but less than eighteen years, imprisonment ranges from six years to twelve years, with a fine of one hundred thousand baht to two hundred and forty thousand baht will be given. If the offense

was committed against persons under the age of fifteen, the trader is punished by imprisonment from eight to fifteen years, with a fine of one hundred sixty thousand baht to three hundred thousand baht.

Australia, for instance, applies separate definitions for people smuggling and trafficking in persons. It ratified the United Nation Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC), its protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air (the Smuggling Protocol) on 27 May 2004, and its protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children (the Trafficking Protocol) on 14 September 2005. Article 3(a) of the smuggling protocol defines 'smuggling of migrants' as: *the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident.*

By separating people smuggling from trafficking by law, Australia also applied Article 3(a) of the Trafficking Protocol.

The Protocol defines 'trafficking in persons' as: *the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, force labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.*

Consequently, Australia developed a strict anti-smuggling legislation with penalties of up to 20 years in prison. The Commonwealth Criminal Code includes a variety of offences under the umbrella of smuggling. Section 73 includes the offence of people smuggling (10 years); aggravated

offence of people smuggling defined as intent to exploit; subject to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; giving rise or being reckless to endanger life or serious harm, including death (20 years); aggravated offence of people smuggling involving at least five people (20 years).

These penalties, however, do not address the similar root causes of human trafficking occurring in Thailand so such trafficking continues and results in numerous forms of exploitation and dehumanization.

Various types of brutality are experienced by PDF within the human transportation process include:

1) Being forced to hide in small cars, trucks, buses and cargo trucks;

2) Hiding their identity by using false identification documents;

3) Being forced to go long distances by foot, including over mountain ranges;

4) Being poisoned with drugs or other sedative medicines. As a result, many PDFs have been killed or suffered severe injuries during the transportation process.

Figure 2: *Ann*'s Human Trafficking Route

Source: Developed from the Map of Army Intelligence of Division 3, 2015

The case of *Ann*, a 14 year old girl who joined her family in the Shelter and was subsequently trafficked three years later. The social map pictured below reveals the long journey of *Ann*. Initial phrases such as 'exploitation' and 'dehumanization' reflected images and meanings of *Ann* during the transportation process. Explicit statements made were coded, word-by-word and line-by-line. Different incidents were identified from the target population. Special terms used by the victims such as '*floating checkpoint*' or 'clear' were examples of *vivo* codes. The first code reflected condensed meanings of a temporary checkpoint, the second referred to paying money to corrupt officers. Then, axial coding helped identifying space, time and context of each case.

Figures 3 and 4: Exploitation and Dehumanization
Source: Immigration Police of Tak Province, 2014

To meet her family who are living in the Shelter, *Ann* took a journey that included a stay in the forest before wading into Moei River at the Thai border. She spent four nights in the forest with only a small packet of rice. With a little help from a police patrol, *Ann* has been located in the "temporary" Shelter since 2000.

Living in a low quality and crowed residence and unable to maintain her self-reliance, *Ann* was encouraged by her friends to search for a better life. In 2013, *Ann* decided to sneak out the shelter. After ten hours hiding behind a van, *Ann* was forced to hide in a vegetable truck.

Exhausted and feeling hopeless, *Ann* was finally controlled by traffickers and sent to downtown Bangkok. She was sold and became a prostitute in a cheap brothel.

The story of *Ann* demonstrates a powerful example of a case study in human trafficking. In Thailand, the phenomenon of 'ethnic complexity' as well as shifting according to a fluid pattern of differentiation are common. Boundary-crossing frequently occurs because of a variety of reasons. However, as we may see in *Ann*'s case, colonial-based administrations in which there is an obsession for categorization and drawing lines tended to frame sharper boundaries around the stateless poor. Under the ASEAN cooperation, this represents a process of incorporating some and excluding others, and selecting certain socio-economic features which are given priority in building specific identities within boundaries (King, 2012).

Discussion and Conclusion

1. Discussion

1.1 This article revealed a low quality of life suffered by PDF. The demanding life of PDF is one of the major factors leading to their decisions to escape and lead to becoming the victims of human traffickers. The complicated structure of the shelter's management seems to have resulted in the shelter becoming an area of mystique under special conditions and agreements among several organizations. These include international organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) and numerous Thai governmental bodies.

Indeed, the Shelter was designed to be a 'temporary' shelter to support basic human rights of PDF. However, Thailand has not signed the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR) and this has resulted in supporting PDF not being bound by the Convention and proceeding to operate based on human rights principle, but leading PDF

to obtain 'temporarily' status only. As a result, many PDF have had to live in the Shelter for more than ten years under these terms and conditions. This situation exacerbates socio-cultural problems especially the long term low quality of life provided within the Shelter that was intended to be only a temporary facility. These conditions and the needs of residents in the Shelter contributes to pushing PDF to look outside the facility to acquire a better quality of life by illegally leaving the Shelter and sometimes being trafficked in the process.

1.2 Nine victims expressed similar experiences of physical, psychological and spiritual abuse during the transportation process. All of them ended up doing what may be called the three Ds (Dirty, Dangerous and Demeaning) jobs. Neither understanding Thai culture nor having social safety nets, these PDF have been continually exploited. They were forced to become prostitutes, cheap laborers, buried alive or thrown into the sea after they completed their work in the fishery industry. However, they were too scared to give up their jobs and made no attempt to return home, as the human traffickers have a strong connection to their neighbors or friends in their hometown. Some intermediaries are their close friends or belong to the same ethnic tribe. Without a strategic long term plan or strong sense of human rights, problems of human trafficking are ignored.

2. Conclusion

This case of persons displaced from fighting (PDF) in the temporary shelter is a powerful example of how unclear social policy can influence the quality of life of stateless people. With regard to basic minimum needs, such as health, food, housing, clothing and sufficient income, this article highlights that these 'global citizens' are often left in desperation.

The lack of knowledge of state policy makers with regard to the dehumanization that is experienced by stateless people allows obsolete laws and regulation concerning human trafficking to exist. However, it is

not only poor management and unclear policy planning involving state organizations or agencies that represents a problem. There are also outdated social attitudes within the Thai government concerning human rights and in traditional state policy based on nationalism. Unfortunately, living within a 'grey area' of the policy results in PDF being overlooked and perceived as different and mysterious.

The authors strongly recommend that three major factors need to be reexamined and improved: 1) the Shelter's management and long term plan concerning the quality of life of PDFs; 2) change of Thai laws, and policies especially those concerning nationalism and illegal transportation as part of the human trafficking process, and 3) empowering PDFs through building their capacities in communication, socio-economic and cultural skills.

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