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## PART II

### CHAPTER V: THAI NATIONALISM
Introduction

Abstract and Summary in Swedish

This thesis presents and analyses the insurgency in the south of Thailand that is sometimes labelled terrorism. By using theories on nation building and nationalism, religion as a cultural identity and theories on globalisation and terrorism, this thesis shows that it cannot be concluded that religion is the sole problem of the insurgency in the south of Thailand. This thesis, in addition, shows that religion is political and a source of identity and that neither religious terrorism nor religious nationalism have to imply religious belief, since religion can be a marker of cultural belonging, among many things.

Denna magisteruppsats presenterar och analyserar upproret i södra Thailand som ibland benämns terrorism. Genom att använda teorier som behandlar nationsbygge och nationalitet, religion som en kulturell identitet, samt teorier om globalisering och terrorism, visar denna uppsats att det inte går att dra slutsatsen att religion är den enda orsaken till upproret. Denna uppsats visar dessutom att varken religiös terrorism eller religiös nationalism behöver innebära religiös övertygelse, eftersom religion förutom många andra saker kan markera en kulturell tillhörighet.

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First of all I would like to thank my family: Ken and Mira, who followed me to Bangkok for one semester while I studied at Thammasat University. We all had to put up with the heat and the humidity, the traffic and the language problems. In addition Ken had to endure “visa-runs” to Laos and Cambodia, which the bureaucracy forced us (mainly him since we are not married) to. He also had to put up with questions and bewilderment from people we met when trying to explain that he was on paternal leave, taking care of his daughter and getting paid for it, for six months while I studied at the University. They had never heard of such a thing! Mira, on the other hand, had to put up with strangers grabbing her, wanting to touch her hair and pinch her cheeks. This, however, she quickly learned could be taken advantage of if anyone were willing to buy her ice cream or lollipops. Thank you both! I am also grateful to family and friends that have helped me with baby-sitting, proofreading and advice on the disposition of the thesis.
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my Thai Civilization teacher.

Background

One of the reasons for me writing about the Muslim separatism in Thailand is that I have an
interest in Southeast Asia in general and in Thailand in particular. I have studied Thai at Lund
University as well as in Bangkok and I studied one semester at Thammasat University in
Bangkok as an exchange student from Malmö University. The classes that I have found
myself to be most interested in during my studies at Malmö University have been the ones
concerning religion and identity. Some other topics, apart from religion and identity, we have
studied at IMER that I found were related to my work is: marginalized groups, issues
regarding politics, nationalism, citizenship, state hegemony as well as globalisation and
modernisation. The interest in religion (mostly Islam) and identity encouraged me to register
for classes at Lund University, such as ”Islam in South- and Southeast Asia”, “Theology and
Power” and “Terror in the Name of God”. These classes I found to be highly compatible with
the IMER-courses, as well as useful for my thesis. However, what was most useful for my
work was the semester I studied at Thammasat University in Bangkok, as the courses and
material available to me there turned out to be important when trying to understand why
terrorism has risen in Thailand, which has been another ambition with this thesis.
Aims

The aim of this thesis is to investigate why and how terrorism has risen in Thailand and also to show that it is not religion that is the main problem when it comes to the insurgency that is sometimes labelled terrorism in the south of Thailand. There can be other reasons such as the need for an alternative identity due to how the Thai nation was constructed and provincial neglect, among other things. The aim is to show that religion is an important part of the identity of people but that it does not necessarily have to imply religious belief since it can serve other purposes. I believe, after my classes in Theology, that religion in itself is seldom the problem. Additional reasons seem to be behind most, if not all, differences that religion is “blamed” for.

Method

This thesis will mainly focus on the Malay Muslims of southern Thailand, since it is the largest group of Muslims in Thailand, and in addition the group that has resisted assimilation and integration the most. In relation to the feelings of national sentiments for Thailand, that I believe the Malay Muslims in the south of Thailand lack to a certain degree, I will take a look at ethnic- and cultural belonging as well as at how nation building and construction of nationalism works and has worked in Thailand. In order to do so I need to look into how the Thai nation was constructed historically and how this has affected the Malay Muslims. Colonialism’s impact needs to be included since the area was affected by colonialism during the formation of the nation and its nationalism. In order to show that religion is not the main cause of the insurgency and to investigate if religion can serve as an alternative cultural belonging for the Malay Muslims of Thailand, I will analyse which different roles religion can have, apart from being a way of expressing personal belief. I also need to look at the role of Islam in the different perspectives. I will describe terrorism and the risk factors and justifications for violence and try to establish a connection between religions, Islam in particular, and terrorism. The reason is to investigate if the insurgency in fact can be labelled as terrorism and to further support that religion is not the main problem.

By focusing on the Malay Muslims I do not wish to imply that this group are in any way responsible for or lay behind all of the insurgency in the south of Thailand. The aim is to show that this ethnic group can be placed far from the Thai identity and that this is a constituent of why they do not feel part of the Thai nation and wish for autonomy, which is one of the reasons for the violence.
Theories

On culture I use a theory by Hannertz in which he states that the word culture implies that groups of people are possible to compare without meaning that there is a hierarchical order between the groups. The more anthropological us of the word, he states, ends in something close to common ways of life and the lines of thought joined with those ways of life. He discusses the problem of limiting and distancing words that easily can be used by those in opposition with multiculturalism. Either way, culture can be defined as an ongoing process that is close to human thoughts and actions, and that is learned through life long participation in the same or in different societies and not an innate, and in no way a fixed, characteristic.¹

On minority groups and nationality I have mainly used Eriksen’s theories from *Ethnicity and Nationalism Anthropological Perspectives* (1993). Eriksen presents how the word ethnicity has come to change its value. From being close to the use of “race”, linked to a perception of inferiority, ethnicity is now used by groups of people who themselves claim to be culturally distinctive without necessarily implying rank. He states that minority is relational and if the boundaries change, so does the relation between minority and majority populations. He also claims that one of the strategies of majority populations and their nationalism, to insist on assimilation of the minority groups, will lead to humiliation and suffering for these groups. He mentions that it is possible for minority groups to remain their culture in spite of the fact that they have become citizens against their will and particularly mentions the domination of language, education system and religion as important strategies used in nation building. Eriksen’s theory on nationalism is that religion and nationalism share the ability to depict a unit such as religion or nation as a sacred community by the deliberate use of symbols and that a dominant nationalism can inspire resistance from minorities.²

To discuss nation building I have used Anthony D. Smith’s *The Origin of Nations* from 1989. Smith states that the ethnic religions, and the people shaped by these religions, posed severe problems for the formation of nations from ethnic communities. New definitions were therefore needed that could turn the community into a unity that would corporate loyalty and identity with the new and wider cultural identity of nationhood. A clearly marked territory and a re-education in national values and memories were components that were needed in order to turn ethnic members into legal citizens with duties and rights.³

¹ Hannertz, 1999:356-374
² Eriksen, 1993
I have used Winitchakul’s theory that territory is important for the nation building. He calls this national territory, or territorial selfhood, the geo-body in *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation*. And describes how the colonial powers influenced Siam in the drawing of borders and contributed to the need for a new system of identification of who were Siamese was urgently needed as well as the need to clearly define the Siamese borders, with the help of armies, mapmakers and centralizations of the administration and the absorbing of tributary states.⁴

I use some of Hjärpe’s theories on religion and religious nationalism. In *Islam, Nationalism and Ethnicity* (1993) he shows that religion is an important part of the identity of people but that it does not necessarily have to imply religious belief since it can serve other purposes and therefore the concept of *umma* does function as a marker of ethnicity or nationhood without having to imply religious belief. I also use his theory on the importance of religion as a cultural identity in a *weak state* that does not provide the basic needs, as far as education, social welfare and health care, for the citizens. He shows how religion becomes a rational social necessity since networks needed in a weak state often are connected to religion. Another theory of his is that there is no need for theological consensus even in a religious community such as the *umma*, since politicians, not religious leaders, represents the community. The theory that religion can have the role of a marker, in conflicts for instance, is presented in *Religionshistorikern och Kriget* (2004). Here he acknowledges the weight of history in a conflict that is in some way is legitimised by religious language. Whether the history is accurate or not is in this case not important.⁵

On colonialism and nationalism I use some ideas from Baber’s theory from *Religious Nationalism, Violence and the Hindutva Movement in India* (2000). He states that secular and religious nationalism are similar in the way which they provide deeper meaning and identity to the followers and that the rise of religious nationalism can bee seen as strengthening a particular definition of national identity. Baber also states that, in India, the Muslim communal identities were institutionalised and to a certain degree constructed by the British’s strategies, as colonial rulers, and its need for manageable administration. This, I believe, can be applied to Thailand as well.⁶

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⁴ Winitchakul, 1994:164-174
⁶ Baber, 2000:61-76
On terrorism I use Juergensmeyer’s *Terror in the Mind of God* (2002) to illustrate, again, that religious terrorism does not have to imply religious belief and to define terrorism. For the same purpose I also use Stern’s *Terror in the Name of God* (2003) and her theory that globalisation and domination by Western values can be perceived as humiliating by Muslims. She, in addition, connects the feelings of perceived humiliation to a wish to restore a wounded masculinity and a feeling of alienation and connects perceived personal and national humiliation as an incitement of terrorism, particularly in connection to suicide bombers. In addition I use her theory that humiliation, failing states, monopoly on violence, poor education and lack of human rights makes a state vulnerable to the emergence of religious terrorism. On religious terrorism I also use Kimball’s *When Religion Becomes Evil* (2002). He presents five warning signs that terrorism will rise and I use these to investigate how liable the insurgency in the south of Thailand is to terrorism, according to these.

On globalisation in connection to Islam I use Hasan’s *In Search of Identity: The Contemporary Islamic Communities in Southeast Asia* (2000). He means that civil society, which can include religious institutions, becomes important in the context of globalisation. The focus in Islam on communal life and social responsibility makes it an appealing location for a religious movement that can offer resistance against state dominance as well as a way to restore a primary identity.

### Disposition of the Thesis

I have divided the thesis into two parts. In part I of the thesis I will give a historical background, in which colonialism is an important part, to the insurgency in Thailand in order to present a starting point for the thesis. Ethnicity, culture and religion will be defined and the importance of these constituents as part of identity will be presented. As a starting point for part II of the thesis I will in part I also provide a theoretical background to the concepts of nation, nation building and national identity. Part I will, in addition, take a look at terrorism and globalisation in order to draw a conclusion on whether the insurgency in Thailand can be labelled terrorism or not. In part II of the thesis the nation building and nationalism in Thailand will be presented in order to decide the degree of impact on the southern provinces. There will then be an important chapter on the southern provinces, which will provide a history of the Malay Muslims and their culture and a presentation of Islam in Thailand along

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7 Juergensmeyer, 2003  
8 Stern, 2003:32-62, 281-286
with the influence, politically and culturally, by mainly the northern parts of Malaysia. The thesis will be ended with an application of the theories to the case of the Malay Muslims in Thailand and concluding remarks and a bibliography.

Empirical Starting Point

Close to half of all Muslims in the world live in South, Southeast, and East Asian countries and many of these countries have a colonial history. These countries are undergoing rapid changes economically and socially and nearly all these countries contain ethnic or religious minorities that oppose assimilation with the majority population. Discussions on religion, and especially Islam, is present everywhere at the moment, it seems, especially after the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11:th 2001. After this attack several countries have taken measures to further control their Muslim parts. This makes the combination of Islam and Southeast Asia a burning issue at the moment in several places apart from Thailand.

Islam is a (slowly) growing religion in the Buddhist Kingdom of Thailand. It is accounted that approximately 8 percent of the population in Thailand are Muslim and the political system accords them equal rights and opportunities. This has, however, not prevented armed separatism. In the southern region of Thailand live more than 75 percent of the Muslims and in some of the provinces in the south 75 to 80 percent of the population are Muslim. The provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala are at the centre of the separatist violence in Thailand and these provinces have very close border contacts with Malaysia. The southern region has been neglected and is underdeveloped (as well as several other parts of the rural areas in Thailand that are non-Muslim), and the funds from natural resources has often ended up in the hands of others and not benefited the local residents, as will be discussed in the chapter The Southern Provinces. The Muslim people of this region also, in many cases, feel left out of the Thai society and humiliated by the armed forces and the politicians.

The border between Thailand and Malaysia was drawn in an agreement between Thailand and British colonial powers in the Anglo-Siamese treaty in 1909 and some Malay Muslims
feel that the southern parts should either be separated from Thailand (autonomous) or belong to Malaysia, since they feel closer to the Malay culture, which is strong and politically influential in Malaysia, than to the Thai culture. When administration changed following the 1909 treaty, the autonomy of the local authorities was reduced and an increasingly nationalistic period followed in Thailand during which nation and religion (Buddhism) became inseparable. This nationalism meant that all Thai citizens had to have Thai names, go to Thai schools, and speak Thai language to be considered Thai. At times the traditional Muslim clothing were banned along with public Muslim festivals and access to certain jobs were also banned for Muslims. Studies of the Koran were (temporarily) forbidden in 1941. The Malay Muslims have felt frustrated before and calls for autonomy have been made several times during the years.
Part I

Chapter I: A Historical Background

This chapter will give an account for the parts of the early history of Thailand that I find relevant for the present situation in the south of Thailand, as well as for the thesis. I will cover the early history of the Muslims in Thailand and the causes of conflict that has taken place in the past since I want to show that Muslims have a long history of living in the south of Thailand and that the conflict is not a new one. In relation to the discussion on nation and nationalism in chapter III I would also like to show that Siam was not a nation with a common territory and did not consist of people with a common culture before the creation of the Siamese nation and nationalism. I will also mention the Kingdom of Patani since I find this important. The era of the Kingdom is seen as a glorious one in the past and is also used for justification when it comes to the separatist tendencies in Thailand today, since history is always available in some form and can be brought forward and used for justification, as this thesis will show. In order to be able to decide if it is religion that lie behind the violence today, I feel a historical account is needed to show that the southern provinces has a history of wanting to distance themselves from Siam/Thailand.

This chapter will also consist of a description of how the time of the colonisation of Thailand’s neighbouring countries affected Thailand. Whether Thailand itself was colonised or not has been debated on and not everyone agrees on this matter. I do not wish to make any extensive examination of this myself. However, since I feel that Thailand has been affected by colonial powers and I want to show that colonial powers and the colonial era have a part in the Muslims situation in present day Thailand, I have chosen to use the terms Pre-Colonial-, Colonial- and Post-Colonial time, from time to time, since it is convenient for my work. The era of nationalism that swept across a large part of the world in the early twentieth century affected Thailand and its relations with the Muslim population in the southern provinces. The section about colonisation and nationalistic tendencies imposed to southern Thailand will also provide an introduction to the next chapter in which I will look further into the concepts of Nation building and Nationalism.

15 Baber, 2000:71
16 Benedict Anderson argues in the article “Studies of the Thai State: The state of Thai Studies” in 1978 that Siam was almost the last state to become an independent national state in Southeast Asia and that Siam more resembled a colony than an independent nation-state, and existed as indirectly ruled and semi-colonial until 1938.
I would also like to make a comment regarding the use of material in this chapter. It has been difficult to find material about the history of the Muslims in Thailand. My main sources have been “The Muslims of Thailand” by Michel Gilquin, “A Short History of Thailand” by David K. Wyatt and I have also chosen to use the book “The Malay Kingdom of Patani” by Ibrahim Syukri. The last book was published in Malaya after the Second World War, in Jawi language. The author, who was a Thai national, uses a pseudonym and the book is coloured by the author’s passion for the great glory days of the Kingdom of Patani as well as for the suppression he feels the area has suffered from Thai governments during the twentieth century. Why I still decided to use the book is because the book is translated and edited by Conner Bailey, Historian and Rural Sociologist, and John N. Miksic, Anthropologist. Both authors are well acquainted with the south of Thailand. They have frequently in the text commented the data of the book whenever anything was in question and appropriately suggested possible reasons for misunderstandings or misspellings or such and suggested solutions and/or supplementary facts. If I at any time have felt uncertain or found data that contradicts each other, I have chosen to rely on other material than Syukri’s. For instance, some dates mentioned in his work could not be supported in the works of Gilquin or Wyatt. I therefore left out those references and relied on the dates and the information presented in Gilquin’s and Wyatt’s books. Also, David K. Wyatt has written the foreword of Syukri’s book and he there states, “He (Ibrahim Syukri) deserves to be taken at least as seriously as the early Malay annalists or Chiang Mai chroniclers”.17 In either case, it cannot be disregarded that the glorious days of the Kingdom of Patani described in this book corresponds to how several of the Malay Muslims, at least in an emotional way, believe to be correct.

Islam Arrives at the Golden Peninsula

The people bringing the elements of the Thai people of today did probably not arrive in what is Thailand today until about a thousand years ago. They are in Wyatt’s “A Short History of Thailand” called Tai. The Tai gradually moved into present day Thailand from the north because of pressure from Chinese expansions. The kingdoms of the Golden Peninsula continually formed relationships with the kingdoms and countries of the Malay Peninsula and people gradually moved south. The Malays came from Sumatra and migrated to, among other places, the southeastern shores of Asia.18 The location of the Malay trading ports and the

17 Syukri, 2005:vii-xi
support they needed from distant allies were some things they had in common with the people who brought Islam to the area. Islam as the new common faith created a unifying political, economic, cultural and moral order. It worked in the same way in the Malay Peninsula as it had in Arabia, encouraged order between the small states and legitimised authorities. Islam arrived in the area, brought by Indians or recently converted Malays and Parsi merchants. The islamisation of the peninsula started. Muslims began to settle in Kedah from the ninth century and the first to convert, it seems, were the ruler of Kedah, Maharajah Derba Raja in 1136 and in 1403 one of the Hindu Malay rajas of Malacca converted. Malacca made Islam its state religion in 1450 and in 1457 the Kingdom of Patani converted. This islamisation affected art and literature and Koran schools were established.19 Another source of Muslims in Siam has been through extension of territories, now located in present day Cambodia and Burma, through commercial routes from China, through migration by volunteer soldiers and through Muslims escaping war in China.20

Shifting Powers and Treaties

During the early thirteenth century the Siamese gradually moved from the upland valleys onto the plains over several centuries, forming powerful states stretching south to Nakhon Si Thammarat on the Malay Peninsula.21 The capital Sukhothai (1257-1377) gradually integrated other areas into the kingdom of Siam, as it is referred to in Chinese sources towards the end of the thirteenth century, and spread.22 Since long-distance trade had been conducted in the area of the Malay Peninsula since at least as early as the eight century A.D., Siam continued to expand to the south after it had established the city of Ayutthaya (1351-1767). In these southern areas lived already Chinese, Indian, Turkish and Arab traders, as well as Malay seamen who sometimes settled in the area.23 During the thirteenth century Nakhon Si Thammarat had been under rivalry from the Khmer, Malay, Burmese, Mon and south Indian rulers because of fighting over the power over the maritime trade. A Tai ruling house was established there by the middle of the thirteenth century and the Chinese imperial court were aware of hostilities between Malays and Tai in the late thirteenth century. The capital of Sukhothai was expanding and incorporated small principalities, which had been under Khmer dependencies. The rulers of Nakhon Si Thammarat re-established old vassal relations with its

20 Gilquin, 2002:15-17, 20-22
21 Wyatt, 2004:30
22 Gilquin, 2002:9, 13, Wyatt, 2004:30, 40-41
23 Gilquin, 2002:10, Syukri, 2005:xiii
neighbors, including the Malay principalities to the south and west, as well as Pahang and Kedah. Small local Tai states were by the middle of the fourteenth century established as far as Nakhon Si Thammarat in the south. There were a Thai speaking population in the central Malay Peninsula but their powers were further south slipping into the hands of Malay ruling families in Patani. At this time there were also an upswing in international trade in the region, especially due to the development of Malacca in the fifteenth century.²⁴

One could not conclude that the small states of the peninsula were fully under Siamese rule during this time. Newly converted Muslim princes were under vassalage and paid a formal tribute to the then ruling capital of Ayutthaya, since they did not have the military means to resist Siamese pressure, which in turn protected their township. The vassalages and protectorates varied when new rulers came into power. Siamese troops overcame the sultan of Malacca after an unsuccessful attack in 1456 and the sultan formally submitted in 1489. Albuquerque took Malacca in 1511 and almost all principalities acknowledged their allegiance to Siam. The first treaty between Ayutthaya and a European power was signed in 1516 with Portugal, recognizing the suzerainty²⁵ of Portugal over Malacca.²⁶

Temporary Muslim Political Power

In 1564 a party of Malay rebels from Patani had temporarily managed to seize the palace of King Chakkraphat of Ayutthaya, in the aftermath of his defeat to the Burmese. Two brothers from the Persian Gulf, Sheik Ahmad and Muhammad Said, settled in Ayutthaya in 1602. Sheik Ahmad became advisor to the new king, Song Tham (r.1610-1628) and was later promoted to be Phra Khlang (minister of finance and foreign affairs), dealing with Muslim traders from the Archipelago, India and the Near East, and was succeeded by his son and grandson, which made the family politically powerful until 1685. King Narai (r 1656-1688) was helped attaining the throne by Patani Malays and possibly Persian Muslims. The Persian community grew with the addition, apart from the traders, of Iranian intellectuals who were consulted for their knowledge. A conspiracy was organized in 1686 to burn Ayutthaya and place one of king Narai’s younger brothers at the throne, if he would agree to become a Muslim. The conspiracy was discovered and the Makasarese quarter of Ayutthaya was destroyed in September that year. When the Europeans obtained positions close to the court

²⁵ Foreign political power’s right to make decisions over another state.
²⁶ Gilquin, 2002:13, 14
and their pressure were felt, the Persians’ importance diminished until in the eighteenth century they did not longer play decisive role.27

The Kingdom of Patani

The Kingdom of Patani28, founded in 1370, prospered as a tributary state of Ayutthaya. It acquired two own dynasties and the rulers succeeded each other until 1688 before a new dynasty from Kelantan came into power and ruled until 1729. Patani had its greatest power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and in the nineteenth century Patani got caught between Siam and Britain in the Anglo-Siamese treaty 1909, which I will further develop below. It is not uncommon to use past references in conflicts, as the next chapter will show, and the Kingdom of Patani is important to include in the thesis since it is commonly glorified by present day separatists and is used as justification by some of those who, once again, wish to belong to an Islamic state. The King of Patani declared his kingdom an Islamic state in 1457 and in 1630 Patani rebelled against the kingdom of Siam by allying with the Portuguese and attacking Phatthalung and Nakhon Si Thammarat. By 1634 Ayutthaya had Nakhon Si Thammarat under control but not yet Patani. The Dutch aided Siam and sent a small army to Patani in the middle of 1634 but arrived too late to save Siam from defeat. A civil war in Patani weakened the kingdom, but when Ayutthaya fell to the Burmese in 1767, the Malay vassal states distanced themselves from Siam. When the Chakri dynasty of Siam was established at the end of the eighteenth century it wished to reestablish its relations with the former vassal states in the peninsula in order to strengthen the power over the coasts to prevent attacks coming from that direction (mainly from the Burmese). In 1776 Siam defeated Patani and the Sultan’s successor was directly appointed by Siam. 1786 Patani accepted Siamese control, being weak from inner struggle, and the tributary relationship was strengthened with considerable autonomy for the sultanate courts. The consequence of an uprising in Patani in 1816 was that the sultanate split into seven provinces. Siam needed to divide the area in order to control it and to avoid further rebellions.29

Siam modernized its administration under King Mongkut (r. 1851-1868) and his son King Chulalongkorn (r. 1868-1910). The threats were no longer coming from its neighbors but from European colonialism. In 1832, in a revolt against the Siamese, the seven provinces joined forces with partisans of the exiled Sultan Ahmad. The aim was to end the Siamese over

28 On the spelling: the present day province is called Pattani, the Kingdom is called Patani.
lordship. A rebellion was launched that managed to expel Siamese officials in Kedah. The result was that the Patani states were restrained and new governors were appointed to most of the states. Siam’s armies returned home with several thousand prisoners and considerable war booty. This is one of the grievances still held today by Malay Muslims in the south of Thailand. Patani was granted relative autonomy but following the modernization of the Siamese administration that was initiated to resist encirclement and ease the pressure from the Europeans, the autonomy of the vassal states gradually eroded to protect the territory of the Kingdom of Siam. A decade later Sultan Ahmad again took Kedah but was again defeated. One of the consequences was that Siam’s position improved and that some order and stability were brought to the region. The reorganization of the area continued in 1906 when the seven provinces of Patani were reduced to four. Siamese laws were applied customary law were abolished in most cases. The sultans of Patani gradually lost their influence, as did the locals whose powers were reduced and were step by step replaced by Thai functionaries.  

The Influence of Colonial Powers

Colonial powers cannot be blamed for all problems in Southeast Asia. However, its presence had consequences. Zaheer Baber has investigated the relative stabilization of Hindu and Muslim communal identities in India and has come to the conclusion that those identities was mainly a consequence of colonial rule, through the institution of groups of people for administrative reasons. In India distinctions were for instance made between Hindu and Mohammedan law. In India this contributed to the establishment of imagined communities of groups that were internally divided and extremely heterogeneous. This also further institutionalized the concepts of minority and majority groups and constituted religious communities from diverse stands, according to Baber. One could assume that Thailand, which that at times was almost surrounded by colonial powers and from time to time played along with them as well as resisted their influence, also was affected. I have not been able to find any facts that imply that Thai legal institutions or practices were influenced, as they were in the case of India. I will, however show some ways in which Siam were affected by colonial powers in This chapter as well as in chapter V and in chapter IV, I will show how Thai identity and nation was constructed.

31 Baber, 2000:63-66
Siam modernized its administration during the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, as stated above due to the threat from European colonial powers. The Western imperial powers became an even larger threat to Siam in the second half of the nineteenth century when the French and the British competed to gain and keep their influence over the area. The French first established themselves at Saigon in 1859, and the colonial influences varied in type and importance. Siam, at this time, had almost complete political ascendancy over most of the Mekong valley north of Cochinchina. However, the ascendancy was to the French both fragile and questionable. Siam was, in addition, believed to be a declining state, incapable of modernizing and self-defence and therefore doomed to becoming a colony itself. The French perspective to initiate a political take-over was based on the loose economic, diplomatic and strategic links between Siam and Britain’s adjacent colonies in Burma and the Malay Peninsula. Britain’s wider role in Asia was also of importance as the scale of British dominance impressed. However, British intervention along with Siamese resistance imposed limitations to the French. The British did not need Siam as a colony since the independence of Siam was more favourable. The commercial accessibility was enough as long as stability, orderly borders and easy and secure access to Siam kept other western powers at bay. The British were accustomed to rely on autonomous states and were reluctant to take on more administrative responsibilities and thus created conditions that made an annexation unnecessary. The Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1826, discussed below, made colonial take-over unnecessary for the British and in 1855 the Bowring treaty, which opened up the internal market to private European traders with British predominance, further secured Siam’s independence. There were to be more treaties, however. A Franco-Siamese treaty in 1867 placed territory of today’s Cambodia under French protection. In 1892 an Anglo-French declaration was written and in 1893 and 1904 the east and west banks of the Mekong River was surrendered to France in a treaty. 1907 territories in present-day western Cambodia were lost in a treaty, again with the French. In 1895-1896 the London Declaration, which prevented French annexation of Siam without British consent, was written.32

The Anglo-Siamese Treaty

The separatist movement has debated the border between present-day Thailand and Malaysia and I am including this paragraph in order to now continue to show how that there is a consensus that colonial powers, in many ways, has affected how the borders of present day

Thailand is drawn. 10th of March 1909 was a historical turning point to the old sultanates of Patani. The Anglo-Siamese treaty was constructed between Britain, who wanted to share the protection of the Malay states with Siam and increase its influence in the region, and Siam who in return agreed not to construct a canal across the isthmus, and handing over to Britain the suzerainty over the Malay states. The treaty fixed the frontiers, which still today divide Malaysia and Thailand. “The sultanate of Patani remained under the control of Bangkok, while Kelantan, Terengganu, and Perlis became British protectorates. Most of Kedah also passed to British control, except for the mukim of Satun, which was given to Siam”. The sultans were not pleased. The sultan of Kedah complained, “my country and my people have been sold as one sells a bullock”. The result of the treaty, for the Malay Muslims, was that all questions regarding administrative, cultural and linguistic autonomy became internal Siamese affairs.

The administration by Siam was seen as colonisation and attempts to hold on to the tradition of Islam was made. There was at that time no sense of any Patani nationalism relying on territory. The identity was expressed through Yawi language and religion and it was resistance against taxes, justified by Islam, which at that time created the largest discontent. The control of the area where the provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala are situated was strengthened and this later allowed the Siamese government to further weaken the Muslims and other minorities identities by enforcing Siamese law, reorganising the seven provinces into three: Patani, Yala and Narathiwat, replacing local rulers with Thai governors and passing an act that made Siamese primary school compulsory, with the medium of instruction being Thai, in the beginning of the twentieth century. An increase in nationalism followed the colonisation of Siam’s neighbours and these cultural mandates were some of many attempts to strengthen the Siamese identity and unite the nation, which I will further develop in chapter V and VI.

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33 “A district in the sultanate of Kedah”, Guilquin, 2002:147
34 Gilquin, 2002:68
35 Wyatt, 2004:192
37 The Muslims stated that since they already paid the zakat, charity, and thereby paid their duties to God, the tax imposed by Siam was unjustified. In addition they did not want to finance an administration that had policies contrary to Islamic principles.
38 Gilquin, 2002, p. 69-71
Summary Chapter I

This chapter has presented the early history of present day Thailand, that is relevant to the Malay Muslims in the south of Thailand. It shows that Muslims have had a presence and a history in what is present day Thailand for a long time and that conflicts between the Muslim south and the rulers of what was then called Siam was not uncommon, even if Muslims temporarily were politically influential. Therefore the present conflict is not a new one. The extensions of territory and the integration of tributary vassal states into the area that later became Siam shows that a common territory did not exist and neither did any group of people with a common origin that could be called a nation prior to the Kingdom of Siam, upon which the Thai nation is built. There were an early islamisation of the southern provinces but there was not any Islamic nation based on territory or of the kingdom of Patani. Islam and the Yawi language were the constituents of the Malay Muslim identity. Hostilities between Tai people and Islamic rulers are reported since the late thirteenth century and the southern states needed vassalage and protection due to their small sizes. The power over the area varied between the Muslims, the Siamese and colonial powers. Military support from the Portuguese in 1630 offered protection and the position of Patani were temporarily strengthened. The southern provinces whish to distancing themselves from Siam is evident from early on. However, during the early twentieth century the Muslims of southern Thailand found themselves caught in negotiations over borders between Siam and Britain and in 1909 a border split the area they considered as closely connected and several treaties that further effected the area were made the following years.

The examples in this chapter show that the colonial powers at least were in very close contact with Siam and affected trade, economy, foreign affairs as well as the drawing of actual borders since territory were used for bargaining over indifferences between neighbouring colonial powers and Siam. The arbitrary imposition of the borders failed to take into account of the region’s ethno-religious diversity and I will show in the next chapter how this is important when it comes to the concepts of nation and nationality and the creation of the Thai identity, which will be further developed in chapter III.
Chapter II: Identity and the Different Roles of Religion

In this chapter I will define ethnicity and culture in order to be able to link the concepts to identity and religion, and further to the Malay Muslims in Thailand in part two of the thesis. The section on religion will show in which ways religion is used, in order to support the theory that religion can serve other purposes than belief and that religion is especially important in weak states. Apart for the apparent means of expressing personal belief, religion can and is also used as an ethnic marker, as a conflict marker and to legitimise power and for opposition for political reasons. Religion or a religious resistance identity does not necessarily have to imply religious belief, or wish for a return back to the past. What is presented as religion in a conflict often hides other agendas such as territorial or economical issues or fear of losing ones culture. Religion is very personal and for someone, politician or religious leader, to claim to speak for, for instance all Muslims, this chapter will show is not possible. This collectiveness is otherwise common of how conflicts are described in religious terms today.

Ethnicity and Cultural Identity

To be able to move on to religion and identity in the thesis, the rather vague and ambiguous concepts of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘culture’ and their link to identity need to be defined.

The word ethnicity originally held a meaning that referred to heathen and pagan, however it gradually came to refer to ‘racial’ characteristics. Race here refers to the now out dated practice of categorising people according to fixed boundaries between those groups. Race does, however, exist as a cultural construct that can be studied according to the same principles as ethnicity. Ethnicity is closer related to group identification than ‘race’ is. The difference sometimes seems slim and Eriksen offers another distinction between the two: ‘race’ is more commonly related to questions and references of ‘them’ while ‘ethnic groups’ generally more commonly refers to ‘us’. This suggests that connotations regarding ethnicity hold evaluations of a more positive characteristic when it comes to group evaluation, than race does. This is further supported by the many minorities worldwide that themselves claim affiliation to different ethnic groups that are culturally distinctive from, usually, the majority of the people in that particular nation or area. This also implies that ethnicity is somewhat closely related to distinctions between minority and majority populations. In anthropology today ethnicity ‘refers to aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive’. One problem with making a clear
distinction between ethnicity and race is that ethnic groups themselves tend to stress common
descent among their members when categorising the own group. This categorisation is closely
related to the outdated concept of race. As with ethnicity, the word 'culture' implies that there is a difference between groups of
people that is possible to measure or compare in some aspects. On one side culture can be
interpreted as if people are all bearers of distinct cultures that are impossible to unite and that
this holds an intern degree of conflict. This does not, as with the word race for instance,
necessarily mean that there is a hierarchical order between groups. The more anthropological
us of the word emphasize the special intellectual and aesthetic characteristics, however, and
ends in something close to common ways of life and the lines of thought joined with those
ways of life. The concept is by some scholars regarded as to problematic to use since it
focuses too much on differences and distance and that the word thereby easily can be
‘hijacked’ and used by those in opposition with multiculturalism. This way cultural identity is
used in a narrow sense in which culture is thought to be something emblematic and easily
identified from other people in the vicinity as opposed to the wider sense, which would imply
that people are shaped by culture and learn which characteristics they can identify with. Either
way, culture can be defined as an ongoing process that is close to human thoughts and actions,
and that is learned through life long participation in the same or in different societies and not
an innate, and in no way a fixed, characteristic.

Minority groups

An ethnic minority is a group that is not dominant and, which is reproduced as an ethnic
category in a society in which they are numerically inferior to the rest of the population. An
ethnic minority is relational and relative since it only exists in relation to a majority. Should
state boundaries be redrawn the majority-minority relationship change.

It is not uncommon that a dominant group defines ethnic variation as a problem. Eriksen
presents three main strategies that are used by states today when dealing with minorities. The
first strategy is to insist on assimilation. This means demands on the minority group to discard
their language and boundary markers in order to gradually exchange their culture to that of the
majority group. This strategy often inflicts suffering and humiliation even in cases when the
intention is to help the target group to achieve equal rights and to improve living conditions.

39 Eriksen, 1993:3-6
40 Hannertz, 1999:356-374
41 Eriksen, 1993:121-122
for the minority group. The second strategy is to segregate the minority group on ethnic
grounds by referring to presumed cultural inferiority in relation to the majority group and to
avoid mixing of cultures or ‘races’. The third and last strategy is to adopt an ideology of
multiculturalism in which citizenship and full civil rights does not imply a specific cultural
identity. This strategy comes with a high degree of local autonomy for the minority group.42

Modernity has lent a hand in the creation of nation-states and there are ethnic minorities
that have become citizens in nations against their will. In spite of this there are ethnic groups
that have remained distinctive despite the efforts by the dominating states to integrate them
culturally, politically and economically. How does minority groups then respond to state
domination? Eriksen presents three options that he calls ‘exit, voice or loyalty’.43 These
alternatives are ideal and can therefore occur one by one but more commonly both the state
tactics and the response to state domination is a combination of the strategies and the options
available. Eriksen names ‘integration’ as a combination between assimilation and segregation,
for instance. Exit, or secession, is always incompatible with state politics and means that the
minority achieves full independency. The option of the minority group to use their voices to
negotiate with the majority group for limited autonomy such as religious, linguistic or local
politics is the second option and the third is to accept the subordination and peacefully coexist
with the majority group. The third, to assimilate, has been a common process, whether chosen
or forced.44

Modernity is in it self not a problem for an ethnic group. The chances for an ethnic group
to survive and maintain their identity relies on their ability to ‘master the changes and utilise
new technology and political possibilities for their own ends’ and the help of a third part, in
the form of international support, plays an important part in the conflict since minorities often
have inferior military and political power. In order to efficiently master the cultural codes of a
majority group, the leaders of the minority group in addition need to be literate in order to
present their case efficiently. In confrontations like these with the majority state and with
additional help of capitalism minorities stand a better chance of surviving as a cultural
group.45

42 Eriksen, 1993:122-123
43 Eriksen states that Alfred Hirschman is the original source for these labels.
44 Eriksen, 1993:122-124
45 Eriksen, 1993:127-129
Summary Ethnicity and Culture, Minority Groups

From the discussion above we can decide that a group of people that themselves and others regard as a culturally distinctive group with a specific culture due to similar ways of life, which is an ongoing process and distinct from the majority population’s, can be labelled an ethnic minority. Culture, which can be defined as an ongoing process of common ways of life, is in no way innate or fixed but learned in a life-long process. The word ethnicity does not automatically hold disparaging values or connotations but can be used that way by opponents of multiculturalism. However, ethnic groups sometimes claim common decent, which is closely related to the concept of race.

The relationship between nation-states and minority groups are relational and is not uncommonly problematic, however, modernity can lead to beneficial consequences for minority groups, since literacy and the ability to understand the cultural codes of the majority group in order to oppose them is necessary. The relative relationship between minority- and majority populations comes with strategies, on both sides, to handle this problematic relationship.

Since new technology and development, according to the discussion above, can provide opportunities for a minority such as an ethnic group, this could support the point made in the introduction to this chapter and that will be further supported in the next, that the claims by religious nationalists for a religious state, for instance an Islamic nation, might not imply the wish for a theocracy or a return to the past, but can also be a claim for the future and a way to strengthen the national identity.

The Different Roles of Religion

Ethnic marker and social organisation

Religion is important for the identity in several ways. For instance can religious and other rituals reinforce identity and collective feelings of belonging and the purpose of certain actions is symbolically identified. Religion often takes part in organizing the meaning; at the same time it is a strong and influential source of identity along with ethnicity and culture as discussed above. However, religion is not determining, which means that it is not religion that decides what individuals do. Other affiliations such as family and profession are more important. Religion is also unstable, it changes, for instance by selection of material and

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histories. Leaders that are much more engaged in the religious tradition than the laymen of the same group select this material. “The religious leaders speak because people not do as the leaders say”. In other words: religion is not a constant, not determining and does not hold representative leaders.47

When religious affiliation has little or nothing to do with belief, in either strong or weak states,48 the ethnic marker, the word ‘religion’, sometimes stands for ‘cultural identity’ and implies that it is religion that structures the society that is used as the basis for organizing the social life in the same way culture does according to the discussion above. “The function of ‘religion’ as an ethnic marker of nationhood and cultural identity does not necessarily imply religious belief” even if it “can and does function as a marker of ethnicity, or nationhood”. This means that in a strong (sometimes secular) society with working social services, religion can be a matter of personal belief or work as a cultural identity and holds a “different value” than in a weak society. In the weak society or in a dissolving state religion becomes more important, a rational social necessity, when it comes to how the religion is used (this does not mean that people cannot have a personal belief in a weak state). Other social networks such as family, neighbourhood or religious affiliation then must provide the lacking social security. These other networks are often somehow connected with religion.49 Examples of such social networks, in connection to Islam, will be presented and further developed below.

**Islam as a Cultural Identity**

The word Islam does not necessarily have to imply a theocracy. The wish for a welfare state can also, or instead, be the ambition.50 However, what is particularly appealing with Islam, especially in states unable to provide basic needs for their citizens, so called weak states, is Islam’s strong emphasis on communal life and social responsibility.51 This is one of the reasons that many contemporary Islamic movements strive to achieve a society that would incorporate all Muslims into one community – the **umma**.52 This struggle can include a

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47 Hjärpe, 2004:317-318
48 Hjärpe uses the word ‘weak state’ in his article “Islam, Nationalism and Ethnicity”, p. 213, and thereby refers to states that fail to guarantee its citizens the social security, education, healthcare etc. that related to citizenship in a ‘strong state’.
49 Hjärpe, 1993:210-217
50 Hjärpe, 1993:217
51 Hasan, 2000:73
52 Hjärpe, 1993:208. Hjärpe explains the two different meanings of *umma* and points out that this ambivalence is something that “politicians can and will make use of”. *Umma*, used for *nation* in the Muslim world, can also be used for *religious community*. The meaning of *nation*, he explains, comes closer to *state and citizenship* since the word *umma* came to be used for the community, which was organized around a common language.
revitalisation of an original, pure and glorious Islam as well as the construction of Islamic space\textsuperscript{53} in modern society and there is a common view that Islam can be the cure of contemporary challenges.\textsuperscript{54} The concept of \textit{umma} is, however not a current reality and the reason for the lack of unity is that politicians represent the \textit{umma}, not the community or a religious leader, since what we call the Muslim world is not based on an ideology or religion but on cultural and historical affinity.\textsuperscript{55}

Civil society is those groups, organisations and networks that are situated between peoples’ private lives and the state, outside the state but still in a position to participate in and influence the political work, often on a voluntary basis. Islam can through civil society work as a resource for those who otherwise have difficulties making their voices heard. Voluntary organisations like these are in most parts of the world of great importance for society. Organisations can, for instance, be connected to education of minorities and rural populations and the interests of minorities can be expressed through institutions linked to religious education or through Muslim, non-official organisations, like for instance Muslim student organisations. People can through organisations like these attain education and find opportunities to make their voices heard and create a sense of unity. There can also be a connection to charity, as in the Islamic tradition of \textit{Waqf}, or charitable trust, which is a way to weave together religion and social economy through donations, and which can provide education as well as serve as a security net for social services in places where the state does not offer any.\textsuperscript{56}

\textit{Politics and Conflict and Religious Identity as Resistance}

The enemy is easier depicted in a conflict based on a dualist view and it is not uncommon that, for instance, the media and politicians label different groups in conflicts according to religion, maybe not out of spite, but because it is easier to describe a conflict if the different sides are easily depicted. Religion and religious language are used as symbols of identity and culture, of people who have to “pick sides” in conflicts as well as when media or politicians describe the conflict (by both sides of the conflict for different reasons). This can bring

\textsuperscript{53} On Islamic space see \textit{Making Muslim Space} by Metcalf.
\textsuperscript{54} Hasan, 2000:96
\textsuperscript{55} Hjäpe, 1993:215. Hjäpe “proves” this by providing an example of how he community is not ideological and there is no need for theological consensus. The Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) states the position of the relation between religion and politics. However, since member states are sovereign and keep their political systems there is no theological consensus. It is also politicians that represent the \textit{umma}, the member states, and not religious leaders.
\textsuperscript{56} Mastura, 2001:117-132, Prapertchob, 2001:104-116
religious and secular people together when trying to defend their culture and lead to positive results of the conflict. However, it can also lead to problems when people are stereotyped or claimed to hold collective opinions they do not, by others as well as within the own group. Religious affiliation can, in addition, have the function as a marker in conflicts that could also, or better, be described in ethnic-, national- or social terms and thereby connect the marker of belonging to nationalistic, socio-economic and political identities and standpoints instead of to religious belief. The same reasoning can be made when legitimating violence. Violence can be legitimised by religion even if the conflict really concerns nationalistic, economic or political issues. Religion then becomes a tool for protest and opposition by becoming the main marker of the conflict.57

Religious affiliation can function as a marker for the identity when the participants pick sides in a conflict, as discussed above. As a result of this individuals who initially did not consider themselves to be particularly religious, can in a conflict suddenly se themselves as belonging to the collective memory of the group. This identity, that belongs to the description of the conflict and that is connected to religion and the feeling of participation that this means then becomes the most important affiliation. Religion is connected to specific rituals and in a conflict these rituals create a feeling of belonging to the group and of being part of the past, in which it is not uncommon that the different sides of the conflict finds legitimacy for the disagreement. This also means that history is brought forward and used to interpret the present conflict. History or the selection of history becomes the legitimating myth.58

It is not uncommon that leadership has to define itself with the majority in multi-ethnic, multi-lingual states in order to stay in control. Sometimes this means defining itself by religious affiliation.59 Religion can be and is used by politicians to legitimise power as well by the dissidents for opposition against the political leaders. This is especially clear when it comes to matters of interpretations of the religion in question or debates, the people that function as spokespersons or criticizers of a religion seldom or never are representatives of the ‘common’ people or the average affinities, as discussed above. Instead those people whose voices are the loudest commonly belongs to those who either are very engaged with strong religious belief or, on the other end of the spectra, those who dissociate or repudiate

57 Hjärpe, 1993:216-218, Hjärpe, 2004:301-307. Hjärpe gives an example of how religion is used as a tool for protest and opposition. In the Maluku islands in Indonesia people from the overpopulated Java have been encouraged by authorities to move to the less populated islands. The people from Java are in general Muslim but among the ‘residents’ of the Maluku-islands there are many Christians. The actual conflict is about space but the religious affiliation works as a marker of the identities, the group belonging, and is used to describe the counter part (Hjärpe, 2004, p. 302).
58 Hjärpe, 2004:301-307
59 Hjärpe, 1993:220
themselves from that particular religion.\textsuperscript{60} Traditional religious leaders or interpreters are seldom the basis for recruitment for leaders or party members. Instead is the basis for leadership found among engineers, technicians, physicians, teachers and students and it is not primarily the question of “\textit{how} the religion should be interpreted, but \textit{who} has the right to do so”.\textsuperscript{61} Sacred texts have been interpreted differently depending on the historical and socio-political context. If needed, people who do not necessarily hold religious motifs, can pick from these vast interpretations and find one suitable for their agenda, or even make a new, more radical, interpretation themselves. This can be enough to get marginalized people to feel that they are offered a nicely packaged religious portfolio of solutions to their feeling of humiliation or their financial difficulties.\textsuperscript{62} This use of religion, as a vehicle of protest and for resistance, is not only in the Muslim world an important function as it can lead to new interpretations of religion that does not correlate with that of existing regimes and governments, and thereby cause conflicts.\textsuperscript{63}

Religion can be used for political reasons by external powers as well. There are examples that show how colonial rule or present politics has forces people to choose sides in a conflict. One reason was that the “…process of institutionalising specific communities was intimately associated with the administrative imperatives of the colonial state…” In order to legitimise rule and administer large areas and large, diverse, populations, whole societies have been institutionalised. The colonial administrative aspirations can be held accountable for some of the divisions in, for example India. The clear divisions between, for instance, Hindus and Muslims is possibly stronger due to the different laws for Hindus and Muslims, within the same country, introduced and cemented by the British in their role as colonialists. Other similar examples that colonial powers have brought about are examples of division of citizens in minorities and majorities in several former colonies, as well as borders that have been drawn that do not correlate with the areas the population feel they belong to. By institutionalising groups of people external powers have contributed to the fixation of internally divided and heterogeneous communities into the ‘imagined communities’ that will be discussed below.\textsuperscript{64}

The conflict regarding the veil Muslim women wear in many parts of the world is a religious conflict, commonly debated today, that constitutes an example of how religion and

\textsuperscript{60} Hjärpe, 1994:3
\textsuperscript{61} Hjärpe, 1993:218
\textsuperscript{62} Stern, 2003:3-7 and 283-288
\textsuperscript{63} Hjärpe, 1993:220
\textsuperscript{64} Baber, 2000:61-73
religious terms are used to describe a conflict as well as used for different purposes, not least other than religious. This example has perhaps not, at least not directly, caused acts of terrorism but is certainly a part of the “package”. This is a typical example of how religion has been used for, among other things, political reasons, by both sides of conflicts, in many religious conflicts of today. The veil is not just a symbol of religion but has become an important symbol of nationalism, non-secularism, culture and of parts of the Muslim world’s resistance against the West and its present dominance. This change of value of the symbol has been a long process and with the increasing modernism and globalisation it becomes an important symbol and tool for resistance as well as for polarization by the opponents.65 In France, for instance, the debate about the veil has shown how both the Muslims and the French have used the veil as a cultural symbol and a religious marker by both parties but with different approaches. The same arguments, secularisation and individual rights, have been used, by the Muslim and the French for the preservation as well as the abandoning of the veil. Religion has been used as a political tool and the women have become symbols of the collective identity of the Muslim, secular themselves or not. The fact that there are as many different opinions within the Muslim group as between Muslims and French has been lost.66 This serves as an example of the collectivism of religious debates of today and that religion becomes an important symbol of resistance as well as preservation of culture.

Religious Identity and Authoritarian Regimes

In nations ruled by authoritarian regimes the political participation of the citizens are hindered and in societies where state domination inhibits the possibilities of the citizens to participate in the public space it seems to be inevitable that resistance from civil society occurs. Regimes like this can generate marginality by using strict political control. The result intended is economic progress or political stability and does not, in this case, tend to allow any different opinions to appear. A movement that originates out of this type of marginality has a tendency to proclaim dedication to a revolutionary and absolutist ideology. One way to make

65 Ahmed, 1993:146-164
66 Bloul, 1996:234-249. Bloul has studied the phenomenon in France in a chapter of the book Making Muslim Space and comes to the conclusion that the male dominance in the debate and the importance the veil has been accredited is partly due to the fact that the Muslim immigrants no longer can identify themselves with a specific territory and thereby need a surrogate to the lost identities and I believe that this holds a proximity that makes is applicable to the discussion on globalisation and modernism above. Bloul continues and describes what happened when three Muslim girls refused to take of their veils in a school at the end of the 1980s. The debate was intense on both sides and mostly led by male academics, politicians and religious leaders. The women were marginalized and the focus of the debate soon shifted from the individual rights of the women to revolve around secularisation and the problems of immigration. The veil were accredited more importance for the women than were reasonable and they became responsible for preserving the diminishing Diaspora religion and culture.
marginalized voices heard, in a way to make space for resistance within civil society, can then be through religious movements. A reaction, a resistance, against an existing authoritarian regime or against the process of globalisation, in either case against marginality, may call for the return back to a primary identity. This can be labelled a “resistance identity” and is generated by those devalued and/or stigmatised. In the emphasis, then, on communal life and social responsibility lays an attempt to find a place in which the marginalized people may reconstruct a meaning in an alternative to the exclusionary global order or against the regime. Movements that originate from marginality tend in a higher degree to be revolutionary and absolutist. The opposite, which occurs if a regime exhibits tendencies to accommodate, then shifts the identity into a less political nature, at least for a while.

**Summary Chapter II**

This chapter has shown that religion can serve several other purposes than being the mode of expressing ones personal belief and that religion does not have to imply any actual religious belief. The different roles of religion can and does create tensions when different interpretations of religion, and different views on which should be the major role of religion, disagree. It has also shown that religious rituals and the ability of religion to provide social order becomes an even more important part of the identity during a conflict or crisis. This is especially true in a weak state, which lacks social security for its citizens. This chapter has also presented the appeal Islam has in the civil societies in weak states.

The dualist view of a conflict places people, by choice or by force, in groups, this chapter shows, and sometimes such groups are connected to religious affiliation. The problem with labelling people and conflicts as religious that religion then becomes the main marker of the conflict, when the origin of and the solution to the conflict may be situated somewhere else. In a conflict the most important affiliation is the one that is connected to the conflict. The legitimacy for the conflict, which is often situated in the past and brought forward, and a feeling of belonging often lays in this affiliation, which in this case is religion.

Religion is used to gain political power and to legitimise that power, as this chapter has shown. This is especially visible when different interpretation of religion are selected and brought forward to serve the purposes of the political leaders. Religious leaders are not

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67 Hasan, 2000:72 and 98
68 On globalisation see chapter IV
69 Hasan, 2000:72-73 and 98-99, Hasan states Castells as the original source of the term “resistance identity”.
representative of the “common people” and even if religious leaders make a lot of noise, the mainstream religious adherents do not necessarily agree with their leaders.

Authoritarian or hegemonic regimes can produce marginality by not allowing different opinions to exist and thereby cause resistance from civil society that is not uncommonly revolutionary and absolutist. A reason for this is that one strategy of minority groups to oppose majority rule is to produce rhetoric opposite of the state and thereby create a resistance identity. Examples of this are also presented in the next chapter on nationalism.

This chapter shows that generalisations when it comes to religion are impossible to make, since there is always disagreeing interpretations and to assume that religious belief unconditionally lie behind any religious conflict is not possible. There are almost always alternative motives, such as financial, political or territorial motivations, as well as different interpretations of religion, as shown above. It is also possible that groups of people that feel marginalized turn to religion in an attempt to preserve their culture and identity.
Chapter III: Nation and nationalism

This chapter will describe the mechanisms that form a nation, shape nationalism and thereby form national identity. It is important for the thesis since it will support the theory that the Muslim south long for a separatist state since they do not feel part of the Thai nation, which will be further supported in part II of the thesis. This chapter will also show that religious nationalism is increasing around the world. This stronger focus on religion, this chapter will show, can be seen as a way to hold on to a diminishing culture and identity, and can be an alternative national identity, for different reasons, for those people in southern Thailand who do not wish to belong to the Thai nation and do not feel that they are part of the Thai nation, as supported by the discussion in chapter II on religion as a way of organising society.

Nations

Nation-states are ideological constructions that form the link between, and try to unite cultural groups, that can be called and call themselves nations, and state. Hjärpe differs between nations and states, but as can be seen in the discussion below, other scholars tend to use the word nation when referring to the political unity of nation-states. According to Hjärpe, a nation was originally thought to be held together by a common language, culture and later territory was included. Nation-states or states are the political unities. Eriksen presents a nation-state as “…a state dominated by an ethnic group, whose markers of identity (such as language or religion) are frequently embedded in its official symbolism and legislation”. Language or religion can be an effective symbol of national unity as well as the tool needed for administration and the “majority of nation-states have a national language used in all official communications; some deny linguistic minorities the right to use their vernacular”. The meanings of symbols, he argues, changes from ethnic symbols to symbols of nationhood and enables people to see their culture as a constant, especially with the help of the enormous concentration of power the nation-state represents. Gellner supports the theory that nations are actively created and defines nations both in terms of will and of culture or ethnicity together with the fusion of the two with political units into a collective entity. Gellner admits that this definition is not satisfactory but sums up a nation as a modern, collective entity that is actively brought into being.

One definition of a nation, by Anthony D. Smith, is that a nation is a named community that occupies a homeland. In *The Origin of Nations* from 1989, Smith argues that nations are a result of attaching new ethnic and cultural elements to common myths, symbols and memories. This was possible through a development from ethnic communities, kingdoms and peoples that, with the aid of merchant capital, prosperous urban centres, military forces and technology, were able to form nations that corporate loyalty and identity with the nationhood. These changes needed an administrative apparatus, provided by the components just mentioned, “…which could be used to provide cultural regulation and thereby define a new and wider cultural identity.” Smith states that the ethnic religions, and the people shaped by these religions, posed severe problems for the formation of ‘full’ nations from ethnic communities. This called for a new definitions and goals of the community that would transfer the community into a “…new compact and politically active nation…” The ethnic past, in some cases, had to be re-discovered and people had to be purified from their divisions as well as from alien elements. This transition from community to civic nation needed, among other things: a compact and clearly marked territory, a politicised community, a re-education in national values and memories and needed to turn ethnic members into legal citizens with duties and rights.72

In order to be efficient the nation must rise from the starting point, commonly located somewhere in the urban elites, and achieve mass appeal, and to be able to work on a vast scale, the use of technology were/is needed. Transportation, media, maps, are means of assistance that can aid the nation in integrating people into a larger social system and change the meanings of symbols used for reproducing and strengthening the national sentiment in a modern context.73 These examples of means of assistance can be further supported by other strategies. The nation-state can use different tools to help ‘invent’ nations where they do not exist. Some examples provided by Eriksen that are applicable to the case of the ‘invention’ of the Thai nation, according to the discussion initiated in chapter I and that will be further developed in part II of the thesis, are standardisation of language and compulsory schooling. The use of symbols is another. Nations are territorial and political units and cultural uniformity becomes a political programme invested in the state. This makes the nationalistic identity more comprehensible by and more demanding of its members that other ethnic identities. Why did the standardisation of culture become so important in modern nation-

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73 Eriksen, 1993:105-107
Nationalism

The link between ethnicity and the state is nationalism and the power of nationalism lies in its ability to combine political legitimacy with emotional power, often through the use of symbols. The politics of nationalism needs the symbols in order to create loyalty and feelings of belongingness and the state needs the nationalist ideology in order to attach people’s loyalty to the state instead of to the smaller entities within the nation, such as a village or a minority group. The attachment to the nation provides motivation to personal sacrifices for the nation. When an ethnic group, through their political leaders, make claims over territory and demand command over a state, the ethnic group thereby becomes a nationalist movement in an attempt to unite the political and the national entities. Nationalism tends to be ethnic in character but does not have to be. It can, however, sometimes be problematic to distinguish between nationalism and ethnicity and this can place people in a grey zone between ethnic group and nation. The reason for this problem lies in the different views that can exist within an ethnic group. Part of the group perhaps wants full political independence while some want to use an already existing state and to, perhaps, limit their demands to linguistic and other rights within this state. There is in addition the possibility that a group that defines themselves as a nation, by the dominant nation are considered as ethnic rebels. There is also the opposite scenario and Eriksen calls this ‘the duality of nationalism’. This occurs when a dominating group is challenged by a conflict with a minority ethnic group within a modern nation-state. The result of the conflict is that the mechanisms of exclusion and ethnic discrimination become more obvious at the same time as the mechanisms of inclusion and formal justice becomes less obvious.

Nationalism can, more specifically, be defined as the ideological movement of modern nation-states that require that ethnic and political boundaries conform and “…the attempts by different groups of people to establish or maintain political legitimacy…” while the “…emotions in which individuals identify with, and express a devotion to their own

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74 Eriksen, 1993:104, 112-116
75 Eriksen, 1993:6, 99-105
76 Eriksen, 1993:118-119
77 Eriksen, 1993:98
nation…” that sometimes is referred to as nationalism, according to Smith, rather should be referred to as “national sentiment”. Nationalism has different forms in different parts of the world. Scholars regard nationalism as a modern development that was first visible towards the eighteenth century, as a response to united nation-states such as France and England, which also developed as a way of unifying large fragmented cultures such as those in Germany and Italy. In the parts of Southeast Asia that were occupied by Western powers the nationalism was rather aimed at securing independence from these colonial rulers. Another type of nationalism that took place in for instance Russia, the official nationalism, was strongly associated with the ruling elites and was the one that according to Benedict Anderson came to dominate in Thailand, which will be further developed in the next chapter.

Why, then, was it necessary to create a bond between ethnicity and the state? Modernity was characterised by the gradual replacement of religious institutions by secular ones and was possible within the context of dramatic structural changes such as for instance growth of capitalism, industrialisation, mass education and the creation and standardisation of national languages, etc. The spreading of modernity gave an alternative to religion as a legitimising ideology. One of the results of the modern period was that secular states were able to deny the position religious authorities previously held as moral judges. This meant that religion was no longer able to organise people efficiently and nations were needed to serve this purpose. In some places, however, religion and fundamentalists still today have a strong influence in the political process worldwide, as discussed above in the section about religion, and the question whether politics should be secular or not is not uncommon today either. It is not, however, uncommon that Islamic leaders disagree with the western countries on this question, since the idea of the umma is not considered to be compatible with secularism by all parties. The increasing secularisation of the West is also not uncommonly perceived as a cultural domination and a direct attack on and hostility towards religion, not a neutral ground. There are Muslims that would even prefer a Christian government to a secular one. The reason for this might be that the secular opponent is less clear and more difficult to polarize and demonise and also that non-religious groups may be perceived as lacking a sense of moral.

78 Both Smith and Eriksen refer to Ernest Gellner for labelling the emotional part of nationalism national sentiment.
79 Barme, 1993:5-7
Religious Nationalism

Religious nationalism is increasing around the world and religious and secular nationalism share a number of common characteristics. Both provide systems of political and social order and the authority to carry them out by motivating their followers with ideologies that offers identity. In addition, both secular and religious nationalism demand various degrees of loyalty in return.\(^{82}\) The features of both secular and religious nationalism that suggests that they can serve as alternative identities connects nationalism to religion, as far as religious nationalism is concerned. Both secular and religious nationalism use powerful symbols that are often violent in character, which can be very powerful in mass politics. Symbols connected to religion and myth such as parades, death and martyrs can be used by opposing sides, as will be further discussed below. The symbols are claimed in the name of religion or in the name of the nation-state and presented as representative and the symbols are claimed because they are important to people and therefore more effective. Religion and nationalism share this ability to depict a unity (religion or nation) as a sacred community. As an attempt to oppose the rhetoric of the nation-state of the majority, contradictory interpretations of the myths used in the official nationalism can be produced. Myths can be treated, by both sides, as historical facts and a way to oppose this is to reconstruct the past as a way to justify political projects.\(^{83}\)

Conflicts fuelled by religion and religious nationalism is present around the world. This influence of religion on the political process is possibly one of the reasons that some scholars declare that secular states are necessary in order to get modern democracy and religious freedom to work, in the sense that the state needs to be neutral and offer the same protection to all religions.\(^{84}\) Religion is a substantial part of peoples’ lives and the increase of religious nationalism can be seen as a way of enhancing a specific definition of national identity.\(^{85}\)

Most nation-states contain minority groups of varying size. The nationalism of the nation-state can inspire resistance and counter reactions from minorities that do not consider themselves to be part of the nation of the majority population.\(^{86}\) If secularisation and the political system do not function satisfactory for all groups and does not enable participation for all citizens in the political life, this can present an opportunity for religious groups to create and offer a discourse of their own in order to be able to make their voices herd, as well as lead to the arrival of separatist groups in an attempt for these groups to regain control over

\(^{82}\) Baber, 2000:63  
\(^{83}\) Eriksen, 1993:107-108,111  
\(^{84}\) Engineer, 2004:768  
\(^{85}\) Baber, 2000:61-73  
\(^{86}\) Eriksen, 1993:109
their own culture, language and territory (identity) as in Pattani in Thailand and in Mindanao in the Philippines.\textsuperscript{87}

I would like to present an important point, made by Baber, that it cannot be taken for granted that religious nationalists necessarily want to turn the clock back. The intention of religious nationalism can also be to strengthen a particular definition of national identity and thereby stake a claim for the future.\textsuperscript{88} This means that if a separatist movement claim to want an Islamic nation, this does not necessarily have to imply a religious nation.

\textit{Summary Chapter III}

As this chapter has shown, modernity created the need for nations at the same time as it provided some of the tools needed to efficiently create them, such as technology and bureaucracy. The nation is a modern political community that shares territory and culture. The development of technology, the aid media supplied and the growth of capital were elements that were needed and provided. Because of the lack of unity, that was somewhat lost as far as a legitimising constituent when secular institutions took over religious ones, there was a need for a new unity as an alternative to religion as a legitimising ideology.

It is necessary for a community that makes a transition from community to civic nation to have a common, clearly marked territory and common national values and memories in order to create loyal citizens. It is nationalism, as an ideological movement, that links ethnicity to the state and it is nationalism that provides the symbols needed and that works as the glue that keep together the unity by combining political legitimacy with emotional power, often through the use of symbols. By using symbols and emotions, religion and nationalism share this ability to depict a unity (religion or nation) as a sacred community. However, this nationalism can also create resistance from minorities that do not consider themselves part of the nation.

There does not seem to be any discrepancy regarding the active construction involved in the building of nations and there is a congruency to the succession of nation before nationalism. This means that there was not any feeling of national sentiment prior to the nations that the future citizens had in common from the beginning. The nation, when constructed, needed common references that sometimes were provided through territory and the re-invention of national values. Diverse societies were sometimes further united through standardisations of languages and compulsory schooling, as language and religion, which is

\textsuperscript{87} Hasan, 2000:72, Islam, 1998:441
\textsuperscript{88} Baber, 2000:71
often closely linked to education, are important parts of nationhood. The increase of religious nationalism can be seen as a specific definition of national identity, especially if there is a need to make available a possibility of political participation or participation of a discourse that is not provided by the nation-state.

When an ethnic group, through their political leaders, make claims over territory and demand command over a state, the ethnic group thereby becomes a nationalist movement in an attempt to unite the political and the national entities. However, it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish between nationalism and ethnicity and this can place people in a grey zone between ethnic group and nation. The reason for this problem lies in the different views that can exist within an ethnic group.
Chapter IV: Globalisation and Terrorism

This chapter will describe how globalisation is received in Southeast Asia. My intention, in this chapter, is then to show how globalisation has made religion more important in the area and thereby increased tendencies towards religious nationalism. A connection between identity and contemporary Islamic movements and identity in relation to globalisation will also be presented, since I feel that some of the contemporary Islamic movements can be seen as a response to globalisation and since another aim of this chapter is to investigate if globalisation can be perceived as a threat to the Malay Muslims in the south of Thailand.

This chapter will also define terrorism and religious terrorism. I will describe the warning signs of the rise of terrorism and will also investigate how terrorists justify their actions in order to decide if any of them are applicable to the rise of violence in the case of Thailand. This is important in order to understand why and how terrorism occurs and to decide if the violence in the south of Thailand can be labelled terrorism. A connection between Islam and terrorism, as well as the justifications of violence in Islam, will be provided to be able to decide if there is any strong connection between Islam and violence. The change in interpretations of jihad will be presented as this has, by the help of globalisation that will be discussed in the first part of this chapter, affect the Malay Muslims in the south of Thailand. An additional reason for the discussion of jihad is to investigate in which ways Islam can be called a political religion.

Southeast Asia and Globalisation in Connection to Identity and Islam

Globalisation has been both welcomed and rejected in Southeast Asia, as in the rest of the world, since there is a lack of congruency to whether globalisation is a positive development, or not. The advocates see possible advantages such as greater political freedom through liberalised political systems and de-centralisation of political decision-making, freedom of international press and increasing democracy. The opposition, however, sees the globalisation as a new form of political, economic and cultural imperialism that could aggravate third world poverty.

The undermining of traditional authority and socio-economic structures in Southeast Asia, an effect of the pursuit of modernisation made by states in this part of the world, has

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89 By globalisation I refer to the emergence and intensification of world wide social relations that are believed to be able to disturb the existing geographical, social and political boundaries.

90 Johannen, Smith and Gomez, 2003:xv
especially aggravated the situation in remote, outlying areas. Since they have suffered from neglect and, in some cases, been exploited they have not been able to keep up with the development in the rest of the countries. The feeling of standing outside modernisation has for some of these groups served as a stimulant for a new sense of identity and the sense of regional alienation has been further heightened by the tendency of Southeast Asian governments to retaliate with ruthless countermeasures against insurgencies stimulated by tendencies like these.\textsuperscript{91}

The globalisation of the world has further effects. In addition to the feelings of being lost, globalisation makes it difficult to escape the messages sent out by the stronger, richer west. There is an imbalance of power perceived that is probably not unfounded. Some of the religious terrorists respond to this injustice and would like to present an alternative view of the world. This is why symbols of the west, America in particular, and secularism are sometimes chosen for terrorist attacks. The globalisation also affects the minorities in other ways. An example is the higher levels of education and the larger market, which means that more voices with different interpretations of Islam are heard and a larger disintegration is felt. Religious messages are easier to broadcast and spread since it is now easier to gain access to the same information available on the Internet and presented by media from all over the world. As discussed in chapter II, this process can de-stabilise religious hierarchies and lead to power struggles on who should have the right to interpret the religion. There is a connection between the identity crisis, caused by rapid social change and globalisation, and the loss of power of key players, often connected to religion, in the traditional hierarchy of the community. The processes of modernisation have interrupted the powers of religious leaders and this means that the space for participation in the political arena has been reduced.\textsuperscript{92}

The rapid changes causes some people to feel they have to choose religion and its access to the past, in a way of trying to preserve their culture and thereby identity. It is, as presented above, not uncommon for people to feel lost in the midst of the globalisation and modernisation process and this insecurity makes religion even more important to identity, which is supported by the discussion in chapter II on the different roles of religion. Religion in the shape of contemporary Islamic movements can, for instance, offer a response and a contribution to the feelings of chaos.

\textsuperscript{91} Chalk, 2001:242
\textsuperscript{92} Hasan, 2000:98-99
Definitions of Terrorism

In order to define which acts of violence are terrorism one needs to look at who the violence is aimed at and how it is performed. In war the common targets are soldiers; even if there generally also are civilian casualties they are usually not the targets, at least not officially. Terrorism, on the contrary, is often intentionally aimed at civilians (non-combatants not participating in any ongoing battle) with the purpose of terrifying them and, perhaps more important, others watching the ongoing drama. Terrorists can strike anywhere, against anyone and this is precisely the intention. Whether the targeted people are aware of any conflict or not is not important, they are often used as symbols in the conflict and what the terrorists look for are the effects of the act, the symbolic statement. This does not necessarily mean that there is no ‘logic’ behind the terrorism. What at times can seem to be random acts of terrorism and what, in rare cases, even lacks any out spoken actor claiming responsibility for, or giving any reason for the acts of terrorism, is usually a product of an internal logic within the terrorist group. The logic behind the terrorist act is to point out to the public, who the enemy is (for instance the government, by bombing an official building – a symbol of power) and to do this in a dramatic way that hopefully will become head news, spreading the message. Without being observed, terrorism would probably not exist.93 Terrorism is a performance and the demonstration shows the (religious) commitment of the actor as well as of the whole group. It shows that they have not given up and the acts are seen as a response, a way to settle the score when other options are considered to have run out.

What differ between religious terrorist groups and secular ones is that the religious groups generally are more violent and more dramatic than the secular ones and that the moral justification is a large part of the justification of the religious terrorism. There also seems to be a longer time line involved in the religious terrorism. It is not uncommon for religious terrorist groups not to anticipate to achieve their goals within their own lifetime or even in this reality.94 Using religion to legitimise terrorism does not necessarily have to imply faith, as discussed in chapter II. This will be further supported below.

In spite of the classifications presented above, there is a lack of agreement regarding the definitions of terrorism. The definitions vary somewhat between the United Nations, the European Union, the US, ASEAN and by the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC). OIC, for instance, stresses the need to distinguish between acts of terrorism and peoples’ struggles

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93 Juergensmeyer, 2003:125, 141
for independence and do not wish to agree to definitions that would result in the Palestinians being more criminalized under the treaty than a state’s armed forces. ASEAN has agreed on sharing intelligence and cooperate in facilitating arrests of terrorists but neither provided a definition, nor any human rights framework for the operations. The EU definition explicitly the freedom of meeting, demonstration and trade unions and the US has a definition and is annually required to detail those responsible for attacking US citizens or interests. Previously both ANC in South Africa and the Viet Cong in Vietnam has been labelled terrorists. The UN has drawn up 12 international conventions regarding terrorism but faces serious challenges when trying to distinguish terrorist organisations from liberation movements.95

Warning Signs That Terrorism Will Emerge

Charles Kimball gives five warning signs for detecting possible outbreaks of religious violence around the world. The first of the warning signs Kimball gives is the “absolute truth claims”. Charismatic religious leaders, on interpretations of sacred texts, often make these claims of truth. Kimball locates the danger where these interpretations become propositions and requirements to uniformity with adherence to them as rigid doctrines. One of the reasons for the danger, he finds, is that when the differing interpretations become fixed, well meaning people may find themselves cornered and respond with defence or even offence. He also finds that the people most likely to use violent extremism and justifications for the violence that are usually unacceptable, are people armed with absolute truth claims. The people responsible of the narrow truth claims (the interpretations) about God, are according to Kimball, interestingly enough often found judging others they find guilty of spreading what they consider to be false teachings.96

The second of the warning signs is the presence of “blind obedience”, which sometimes occurs in religious sects and cults. The connection to the religious violence of today, Kimball claims, is that the patterns of the smaller cults and sects are the same as the in the major religious traditions. The patterns of the organisation itself is not what makes it dangerous, but the authoritarian leaders, the withdrawal from society and the devoted commitment to compelling teachings and doctrines that the adherents follow. If people that live in sects and cults have renounced society and turned their backs at people outside of the own group, there is a danger that the unquestioned devotion to the leaders can result in violence should the

95 Samydaray, 2003:216-222
96 Kimball, 2002:41-51
leaders require such. Kimball calls this “a sure sign of corrupt religion” since the followers’ intellectual freedom and individual integrity is limited.\textsuperscript{97}

Next warning sign, the third in line, is what Kimball calls “establishing the ideal time” that in, for instance, Judaism is connected to thoughts about a messianic time that will come. In order for this to happen the Temple Mount in Jerusalem needs to be cleansed from Islam and the sacred Dome of the Rock destroyed. Several attempts have been made to do so. This type of thinking is present in all the major religious traditions as well as popular, and the messianic time is sometimes believed to be preceded by chaos and disorder in the world. Natural disasters, war and famine can be interpreted as signs that the world is coming to an end. The ideal time can also be in the past and show itself in a glorification of this ideal time of various degrees of theocratic rule. The danger of this worldview and the associated perception of a goal to be reached is, according to Kimball, that some people become convinced that they know the cure for the present situation and believe that they have been chosen directly by God to execute the mission. This is, according to Kimball, “a prescription for disaster”.\textsuperscript{98} This way of thinking is further fuelled by how the situation is for many people today. It is certainly not an ideal time and the hope that religion can offer something better is not surprising.

The fourth warning sign described by Kimball is described as a justification of the use of any means to reach the goal. Even religions of non-violence have gone to extremes and against the fundamental definitions of the teachings, when trying to reach the ultimate goal. The corruption of the religion, in this sense, is made with the justification that it is a defensive action, a procedure that is not uncommon, especially when claimed to be defending sacred space or group identity.\textsuperscript{99} The actual declaration of holy war constitutes the fifth and final of Kimball’s warning signs. He shows how religious ideals easily can and is compromised when justification is needed, especially when threatened by external forces. He describes how different religious traditions are able to sanction violence, by stating that it is holy, and shows the consequences of this approach. The time to be cautious, according to Kimball, is when political leaders try to justify policies on religious ground.\textsuperscript{100}

Kimball comes to the conclusion, in \textit{When Religion Becomes Evil}, that to just claim that religion is the problem of religious terrorism neither reveals the whole truth nor does any good helping to respond to or solve the problem. He does, however, acknowledge the influences in all religious belief that lead to violence, and the way religion can claim to offer,

\textsuperscript{97} Kimball, 2002:72-74, 89-90, 95-96
\textsuperscript{98} Kimball, 2002:100-105
\textsuperscript{99} Kimball, 2002:134-150
\textsuperscript{100} Kimball, 2002:157
in a neatly package, the solution to peoples personal, financial and physical problems. He also shows how one or several of the warning signs always precedes religiously sanctioned violence.\textsuperscript{101}

A word that I have often come across while working on this thesis and that is frequently mentioned in the same sentences as terrorism in the literature is the word \textit{humiliation}. Perceived humiliation, added by Stern is another sign that terrorism might emerge. In Jessica Stern’s \textit{Terror in The Name of God}, for instance, the word is often mentioned during the interviews she conducts with religious terrorists and particularly in a chapter on suicide bombers. The feelings of humiliation can be both personal and national. Stern mentions that globalisation and domination by Western values can be perceived as humiliating by Muslims and in the case of suicide bombers Stern connects the feelings of perceived humiliation to a wish to restore a wounded masculinity and a feeling of alienation. She makes the conclusion that “Hopelessness, deprivation, envy, and humiliation make death, and paradise, seem more appealing.”(p. 38) and these are some of the reasons why people volunteer for martyrdom.\textsuperscript{102}

\section*{Justifications of the Use of Violence}

Sanctioning military force, for self-defence, based on historical and scriptural justifications is far from allowing or encouraging the use of terrorism.\textsuperscript{103} Part of the justification for terrorists’ acts is that the acts are stated to be performed as self-defence, by resistance movements, either directly against an enemy or to show the world who the enemy is even if the enemy itself is not directly affected by the terrorist act. The perpetrators certainly regard their actions as a just war. When justifying the reasons for the actions, when claiming that the violence is a part of a just war, the terrorist groups sometimes uses theological explanations to claim that violence sometimes is necessary to avoid more violence and injustice. Historical examples of violence can also be used as precedents in the justification. It can also work the other way around. In cases when religious groups want to use or have used violence it is always possible to look for or create what can be seen as a justification of the violence, either historical (the others started it) or theological (by using examples that shows that the use of violence is supported in, for instance, the Bible or the Koran).\textsuperscript{104}

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\textsuperscript{101} Kimball, 2002:1-5, 187
\textsuperscript{102} Stern, 2003:32-62, 281-286
\textsuperscript{103} Juergensmeyer, 2003:82-83
\textsuperscript{104} Juergensmeyer, 2003:220-221, Stern, 2003:xxii
\end{flushleft}
The terminology of the actors include that they portray themselves as soldiers defending themselves and their culture, religion, territory. This “logic” also makes it possible to escape any accusations of homicide or murder of innocents. Any one not on the terrorists’ side are either regarded as enemies or, as often in religious terrorism, expendable for a higher cause. The reasons for these ways of staging violence for an audience can be varying. It can be performed for political reasons as well as for religious and is often a mix between religious and material objectives.105

The more generally acknowledged, among secular states, criteria for just war Bellum Justum (even if not always followed), tries to create moral exceptions to the object of not taking human life. The criteria constitutes that a war needs a moral warrant to be able to be called just. It needs to be fought for a just cause, that is for self-defence either from an actual attack or from a potential attack or in order to create or enhance just institutions. The war also needs to be legally declared and fought for the right intentions. Some of the constraints of the Bellum Justum are that the war only shall be fought among combatants and that not more violence than needed shall be used.106

Jihad, the Islamic “holy war” or “striving”, is in some readings of Islamic law supposed to be used only for defence of the faith, not expansion of territory. However, in this case it is also possible to interpret differently what is to be considered self-defence in order to justify the actions. The most extreme readings of the Koran and the Hadiths, for instance, argue that it is not only allowed but also an obligation and a duty to use jihad against all external enemies as well as against apostates within the Muslim community, as the next section will show.107

Islam: Terrorism and Justifications

The new world order, the globalisation and capitalism among other things, brings a sense of identity loss to some people, not only in the Islamic world, and this will be further developed in the next chapter. This loss of identity, along with an increasing modernity and a sense of losing traditional values and culture, makes it easy to blame the more secular West and America in particular. The Islamic world is, according to Jessica Stern, more vulnerable of becoming providers of terrorists for several reasons. Some of the risk factors mentioned of the Muslim world is the trauma of living in failing states with monopolies on violence that are

106 www.cpesbcc.net/white bellum.htm
107 Juergensmeyer, 2003:81-83
unable to provide basic services such as health care and education and unable to protect human rights for their citizens. The violence, poverty and humiliation that are felt among the citizens breeds more violence and creates a need for new, stronger identities, perhaps as martyrs and defenders of the faith (culture). Someone to blame for the humiliation and the alienation is needed. Other factors that make the Islamic world more vulnerable is that many Muslim-majority states are run by weak and authoritarian governments and that corruption in these states is common. These factors gives way to extremists’ politics and in cases of states involved in a transition to democracy, this is an extra vulnerable period. Religious terrorism can provide an appealing package in scenarios like these - to exchange the grievances and the humiliation with conviction, a sense of belonging and the sense of power that the violence can offer.  

Religious terrorism has risen during the last decades of the 20th century. When it comes to how Islamic conflicts are described within the group, in religious terms, dualism is a large part of it (as in all conflicts), the East against the West, tradition against modernity and religion against secular states. All Muslims do certainly not consider the increasing secularisation of the modern world in the same way as, perhaps, most “westerners” do. By this I mean that it by Muslims following teachings and doctrines such as those promulgated by, for instance, Muhammad Abd al-Salam Farag, who will be discussed below, regarded as impossible to combine the Islamic concept of the religious community –the umma and the goal to create an Islamic state, with the concept of a secular state. The Islamic tradition holds justifications to use force if the Islamic religion and way of life is threatened and that this qualifies, for some Muslims, as a justification for violence.  

The teachings of Islam are read differently by different people and are ambiguous about the use of violence, as will be shown below. The main spiritual goal is one of non-violence, however, like all religions, it allows occasional force. One justification for the use of violence in Islam is if aggression or attack by an enemy is perceived. The *jihad* (which literally means “striving”) commonly interprets as if *jihad* is allowed in any context that calls for ways to maintain the purity of religious existence and cultural survival. The concept of jihad along with *Umma*, which means community, allows us to describe Islam as a political religion. Professor David Kerr discussed this during a lecture I attended on the 7th of March 2006. Kerr sums up the concept of *jihad* in a handout as “…an obligation of faith that, as defined in a

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108 Stern, 2003:3-7, 283-288
110 Juergensmeyer, 2003:80-81
famous statement (hadith) by the Prophet Muhammad, entails four dimensions of striving.” It is one of those dimensions (the forth-the *jihad* of the hand) that “enforce the prescribed penalties of God, a *jihad* of the sword”. As in some of the Islamic interpretations of the *jihad*, the just causes are somewhat open to interpretations. I will provide two examples of this; the first is a text written by religious reformist Usaman Dan Fodio. The text was written in Hansaland, West Africa, in the early 19th century. The text is a “handbook” of when and how *jihad* can be fought. The writer wrote the text while leading a *jihad* himself and his text states that *jihad* shall be fought against unbelievers and not for other reasons than “to make God’s law supreme”, that is not for share of booty, to show bravery or other personal reasons. The text divides the *jihad* into four types, *jihad* of the heart, *jihad* by word, of the hand and of the sword. It also states who is not to be fought; women, children and old people unless it is feared that they will be a source of danger or intrigue.111

The development of a relatively new expansion (in the late 1980s) of the concept of the use of force is that it can, and should, be used in political and social struggles. A booklet published in Cairo in the late 1980s especially influenced this development. He stated more clearly than before the religious justifications for radical Muslim acts and grounded the activities of modern Islamic terrorists firmly in Islamic tradition by using the Koran and the Hadith112 literature. The booklet stated that peaceful ways of fighting apostasy were inadequate and that *jihad* is a duty of all Muslims and would be rewarded by a place in paradise. The text, a revolutionary pamphlet named “Jihad: the Missing Religious Precept”, written by Egyptian Islamist Muhammad Abd al-Salam Farag, states that the *jihad* is a duty that has been neglected by modern Muslims and is needed in order to change the oppressive conditions under which Muslims live. An important part of the text is that it states that it is justified to use the *jihad* on apostates, which can be interpreted as any Muslim failing to live according to true Islamic standards. The text emphasises that it is a duty of all Muslims to create an Islamic state, something that along with the duty of *jihad* justifies violence from separatists groups. The text also rejects working along side with or cooperating with infidel governments as a way of reforming society since this would merely help build infidel nations, according to Farag. Farag promoted revolutionary use of *jihad* to overthrow the Egyptian government, which succeeded in 1982 when the Egyptian President Sadat was assassinated. Texts like these continue to influence people and can be brought forward when justifications

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112 The Hadith literature consists of early Muslim stories. They were originally orally transmitted and later put into writing in the form of texts that are frequently used for reference and guiding of the Sunna, the normative practice of Muhammad (Berkey, 2003, p. 116).
for violence is needed along with the religious terms for describing them, whether the conflicts are religious or not. Politicians or religious leaders can therefore look for religious scriptural justification when needed in order to justify their actions and implement the interpretations depending on the circumstances. These two examples are time-wise far apart. However they are examples of different interpretations of jihad and also shows that religious leaders and references from the past are still relevant since Usaman Dan Fodio’s text serves as a concise statement of the classical Islamic doctrine of jihad and as he still remains an important figure when it comes to the religious and political identity of the Hausa People today.  

Influences from Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia is witnessing a proliferation of contemporary Islamic movements and a pure and ideal Islam is desired as well as a desire to advance values distinctly different from western models. 114 In an article, from Australian Journal of International Affairs in 2002, written by Barry Desker, he tries to illustrate the state of Islam in South-East Asia after September 11th 2001. He describes a struggle for an ideal Islam that he calls “the soul of Islam” within the global Muslim community, promoted by an increased awareness of Islam’s global identity, and presents the challenge these often-radical Islamic ideologies poses to global and regional security. Popular support for insurgencies in Southeast Asia exists in Indonesia and Malaysia, especially among those who consider themselves part of a larger global umma. As for the reasons for the emergence of trans-national terrorist networks he would like to account some of it to the wahabi115 inspired ideas promoted in Pakistan, Afghanistan and in Central Asia,116 which he believes has spread to South-East Asia. The literal Islam of the wahabism has been criticised by, among others, the former Foreign Minister of Thailand, Surin Pitsuwan,117 as well as by Islamic scholars and analysts in Indonesia calling their movement Liberal Islam and whose adherents promote the need for separation between state and religion.118

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114 Hasan, 2000:71
115 Wahabis advocate the establishment of an Islamic state, sharia law, state sponsored dress code and public behaviour.
117 Desker refers this to a lecture Pitsuwan delivered at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies and the Centre for Contemporary Islamic Studies, in Singapore on November 5th 2001.
118 Desker, 2002:383-294
There has been a visible rise of political Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia and an extremist fringe has accompanied this.\textsuperscript{119} Indonesia, which holds the world’s largest Muslim population, still remains a secular state and maintains a pluralistic political system in spite of attempts made to transform Indonesia into an Islamic state.\textsuperscript{120} As for Desker’s opinion on the “radical fundamentalist Islam with terrorist activity” found in South-East Asia,\textsuperscript{121} he expresses his concern that these groups, which he consider to be representing the extreme manifestation of Wahabism, may spread “…the perception that Islam is the cause of regional terrorism, especially in states where Muslims are minorities such as Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand.” This, along with arrangements of more open borders posts a security problem, he means. Regional Muslim minority communities, such as the one in Thailand, are influenced by trends and developments in Indonesia and a failure to cooperate on these issues could undermine the creation and maintenance of regional security.\textsuperscript{122} In Southeast Asia there is a problem with distinguishing between ethnic based domestic violence and radical groups that pose an international threat and there is a discrepancy to how to define terrorism by the United Nations, the European Union, the US, ASEAN and by the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC), as shown in the previous chapter.\textsuperscript{123}

Thailand’s Policy Towards International Terrorism

Globalisation and modernisation has brought about rapid social change, as the next chapter will show, and contemporary Islamic movements are increasing in Southeast Asia. The ‘Golden Age of Islam’, a pure, ideal Islam, is by some Muslims desired and presented as an option to the ‘Western’ way of life as a new model of modern society. The models offered are the opposite of the secular ‘Western’ models of society. Modernisation and secularisation goes hand in hand and some parts of Muslim societies have been offered little status or power in this process and public policies against Muslim political expression has been developed by some political orders.\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{119} Tan, 2003:100
\textsuperscript{120} Attempts have been made to transform Indonesia to an Islamic state. These attempts have often meant distance from the existing political system in Indonesia. In the 1990s radical Islamists dedicated themselves to establish an Islamic state that would unify the territories of Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, southern Philippines and southern Thailand into a union \textit{Darul Islamiah Nusantara}.
\textsuperscript{121} Examples of this that he mentions: KMM (Kumpulan Militan Malaysia), in Malaysia, JI (Jemaah Islamiah), in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia
\textsuperscript{122} Desker, 2001:283-294.
\textsuperscript{123} Samyдорож, 2003:216-222
\textsuperscript{124} Hasan, 2000:71-72.
When it comes to Thailand’s policies towards international terrorism, former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra reversed his initial firm denial of the existence of terrorist cells inside Thailand and pledged full support for the U.S. war effort in Iraq but it was not until late 2003 that Thaksin officially admitted that some international terrorists may have visited or passed through Thailand. In June 2003 three JI suspects were arrested and charged with attempting to plot terrorist attacks against embassies and tourist attractions in Bangkok, as well as in other places, after growing evidence from interrogations of terrorists detained abroad that terrorists frequently used Thailand as a safe haven. Before this evidence insurgents were linked to local separatist groups in spite of reports that claimed that Thailand was a safe haven for international terrorists and the persistent denial of the same from Thaksin. Some of the reasons mentioned as favourable when using Thailand as a safe haven is the location in the centre of Southeast Asia, the system of visa on arrival, lax immigration policies and the existence of international passport forgery and money laundering in Thailand. This time Thaksin had to place the local Muslim insurgency into the context of international terrorism. In October 2003 Thailand hosted an APEC meeting and this gave US an opportunity to press Thailand further for more co-operations in the anti-terrorism campaign. One of the reasons for this was the concern for the leaders’ safety in Thailand during the meeting; another was that one of the APEC statements from the meeting was a strong commitment to combat global terrorism. In addition the cabinet in spite of protests passed two emergency decrees on anti-terrorism and money laundering. The protests came from lawyers and human rights activists who called the laws unconstitutional. Rallies were staged in Pattani since the Muslim community felt the laws were aimed directly at them, giving the authorities powers to issue arrest warrants and question suspected terrorists on a wide range.

Summary Chapter IV

Globalisation has affected Southeast Asia, and especially remote areas that have been neglected or exploited have not been able to keep up with the development of the rest of the countries, or the world. There is a perception of an imbalance of power, both from the West and from authoritarian regimes in the area. The failure of some Southeast Asian states to ensure economic growth and political stability for their citizens and members has created an increased importance of religion as a part of identity. That religion is important to the identity

125 U.S., Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia are the places mentioned in the article.
126 Chongkittavorn, 2004:267
127 APEC – Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.
128 Chongkittavorn, 2004:269-270
is clear from the discussion in chapter II. Despite the globalisation of information technology religion can still be considered appealing as it can provide an alternative identity, as a way of preserving culture and thereby identity. At the same time as religion has become more political when competing for religious authority. To summarise the answer to the questions asked in the introduction of this chapter: globalisation have both opponents and advocates in Southeast Asia. Loss of identity can be seen as a consequence of globalisation and especially in rural areas globalisation can be perceived as a threat. Contemporary Islamic movements can therefore provide an appealing alternative identity.

I have, in this chapter, also presented definitions of terrorism and religious terrorism, as well as discussed some of the problems regarding the disagreements over the definitions. The significance seems to lie in who the violence is aimed at and how it is performed. Terrorism is intentionally aimed at civilians in an attempt to make a symbolic statement, justified by an internal logic. Performance seems to be the key word in this case and an audience is needed. The aim can be to point out who the enemy is and to settle the score. Religious terrorism tends to be more violent and more frequently rely on moral for justification.

Warning signs that terrorism will emerge consists of absolute truth claims and blind obedience to religious traditions, which today resembles the pattern of smaller cults and sects when it comes to religious violence. The reason for this is the authoritarian leaders and the devoted commitment to these leaders along with a tendency to withdraw from society, all three characteristics of cults and sects, now are present in all major religious traditions today. Another warning sign is the establishing of ideal time, either in the past or in the future, since this can be connected to a feeling of being chosen by God and there by justify violence by claiming to perform it in the name of God. The guilt of killing can then be absent or reduced. The willingness to use any means to reach the goal, which is connected to claims of acts of self-defence, and is commonly included when it comes to violence conducted to protect sacred space of group identity, is another warning sign. The last of Kimball’s warning signs is the declaration of holy war since this commonly compromises religious ideals initially or previously held. Humiliation is a less concrete warning sign since it is more difficult to argue whether the humiliation is perceived or not.

The religious violence is not uncommonly justified by claiming self-defence. However, faith does not have to be a constituent of the terrorism, not even the religious terrorism. There are dangers however, with religious terrorism. The using of theological motivations makes the enemy expendable for a higher cause and when the perpetrators call themselves soldiers in a war, the guilt of killing can be escaped, as can any accusations of homicide. War justifies
violence and makes the enemy clearer and there is a connection between the sense of power provided through violence and the restoration of dignity that occurs through the empowering feelings that terrorism can provide, as discussed in this chapter.

I have tried to describe the connection between Islam and terrorism. I would like to clarify, in case it is not clear from the text above, that terrorism occurs within all religious beliefs, not only in Islam. It seems, however, like part of the Islamic world is more at risk of becoming providers of terrorism, mainly due to how these parts of the world are governed. Risk factors can be failing states, which can be considered weak according to the discussion in chapter II, with monopolies on violence. This indicates that it is not the religion but the politics that is the problem. Other risk factors include the need for a stronger identity due to authoritarian governments and corruption. A new identity that will create a sense of belonging and power is then pursued. The “political Islam” has a part in this as well. The concept of jihad can be and is interpreted differently by different people and the idea of a theocracy is difficult to combine with the western idea of how a democracy should work as well as with secularisation.

After September 11th 2001, repressing separatist movements connected to Islam has become increasingly important. Radical fundamentalist Islam with terrorist activity is present in South-East Asia and there is a concern for safety at the same time as there is a concern from some people that the perception that Islam is the cause of regional terrorism will spread, especially in states where Muslims are minorities.
Part II

Chapter V: Thai Nationalism

Muslims constitute a minority of less than 10 per cent of the total population in Thailand. The Thai political system accords them equal rights and opportunities. Still, many residents of southern Thailand do not feel part of the Thai nation and wish for separation. This chapter will present how Thai nationalism and identity was constructed, why it was needed and the consequences of this (when it comes to the Malay Muslims the consequences of nationalism in Thailand will be further developed in chapter VII). This thesis showed in chapter III that a nation is constructed and the theory by Anderson stated that history is important and the theory by Smith recognised the importance of a shared history in the creation of a nation. The theory by Chalk suggested that arbitrary borders drawn by colonial powers in Southeast Asia contributes to armed separatism in the area. Thus, there is a need to look into the history of the nation building, in this case of Thailand, in order to fully understand its nationalism.

Thai Nationalism. Strategies and Consequences

The British and the French extended their influence into Southeast Asia during the nineteenth century. This exposed the area to Western ideas such as the image of successful, purposeful nations, progress and civilization. Progress in this case means an increasing degree of political and social liberty and civilization can refer to development, enlightenment and modernity as well as an achieved and threatened state identified with the past. These notions became closely related with the development of Thai nationalism in several ways, which I will show below.

Winitchakul uses the word geo-body for national territory, or territorial selfhood, in *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation*. He describes how the under populated Southeast Asia created a contest for control over the population of the area. One example of this is a controversy between the French and the Siamese regarding the Lao-Thai border that followed an 1893 treaty and lasted a decade. There was a clash between the Siamese perception, that the boundary just settled should mark the distribution of population as well and those who whished could return to their birth place on either side of the border or choose to become Siamese, and the French perception that the birth place should always determine

129 Prapertchob, 2001:105
130 Barme, 1993:9-10
the nationality of the people. The measures used to ‘persuade’ these peoples to become their subjects ranged from abolition of taxes to monetary handouts and intimidation. The consequence of the dispute was that a new system of identification of who were Siamese was urgently needed. Registration of households was one result and instead of using ethnicity for identification, all people were identified as Siamese subjects regardless of origin. The new classification of people was set, with help of the concept of geo-body and set the direction for the ratthaniyom, the national decrees promulgated by Phibun, which I will develop further below. Another result of the dispute, mentioned by Winitchakul, was that Siam was forced to clearly define their borders, with the help of armies, mapmakers and centralizations of the administration and the absorbing of tributary states.\textsuperscript{131} The Siamese army did not fight any serious engagements with anyone for almost one hundred years (about 1840-1940) and therefore had time to consolidate the domestic power with the help of foreign technology, capital and weaponry. There was plenty of time to transfer loyalties towards the absolute monarchy and the first move to create a nation with an official nationalism resting on the monarchy was initiated. It was, however, not fully realized until the overthrow of the absolute monarchy made it necessary and possible to create the Thai identity on a mass scale.\textsuperscript{132}

The Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1909 was followed by an increased (world wide) nationalistic era during the first half of the twentieth century. In Thailand (then still called Siam) it was a response against the colonial threat as well, and it had consequences for the minorities. King Vajiravudh (r.1910-1925) gave reforms initiated by his father, King Chulalongkorn (r.1868-1910), a clear nationalistic turn. Legitimacy of the royalist state was needed and the reforms were also aimed at freeing Siam’s economy from foreign control (mainly the British) at the same time as they were directed against Chinese domination of the domestic economy. Laws were issued mainly intended for the Chinese minority, but which affected the Muslims as well as other minority groups. The nation intended was a triad of “nation-religion-monarch” and disloyalty to any of them meant disloyalty to all. This meant that nation and religion (Buddhism) and nation and monarchy from now on were to be considered inseparable, later the constitution was added to the triad. To strengthen the nation Thai family names were required for all subjects and a decree, the Compulsory Primary Education act was promulgated in 1921, promoting Thai language. The closing of Chinese schools as well as the pondok schools was a result of the nation building after the state controlled primary school had become compulsory. State organized propaganda was common and an official rewriting

\textsuperscript{131} Winitchakul, 1994:164-174
\textsuperscript{132} Anderson, 1998:162 Barme, 1993:7, 9
of the history of Siam was initiated. The Thai nationalism initiated in the early twentieth century were later reformulated and revived by Luang Wichit Wathakan and Field Marshal Phibun Songkhram, and will be further developed below since it is important for the thesis to show that the creation of Thai nationalism was a very deliberate and calculated development that some of the minorities did not feel part of.  

The absolute monarchy of Siam was abandoned in 1932. Up on till this time the kings of Siam had prided themselves with being rulers of a diverse ethnic population. The absolute monarchy was replaced by an absolute military with a monopoly on the use of physical force. A government was organized under a provisional constitution of the People’s Party. The People’s Party lacked dependable popular support and Luang Wichit Wathakan began his work, on behalf of the state, to create political legitimacy and social unity shortly after becoming a member of the National Assembly in 1933. Promoting the constitution became his first goal and it was promoted as a revered object of national importance instead of as a practical tool defining the relationship between the people and the state. A link between the constitution and identity was suggested and to respect and adhere the constitution was to be part of belonging to the ‘nation’. The link was also made between the constitution and religion as altars was erected in pavilions used for religious purposes upon which miniature copies of the constitution were placed, celebrated and chanted upon by monks. Later in 1933 a law was passed that made it possible to sentence, without trial, anyone suspected of conspiracy to “restricted residence” for a period up to ten years. The law was designed to counter any forms of political opposition. The Department of Fine Arts had been created by King Vajiravudh in 1912 and was given a more prominent place in 1933. A statement that people who enjoyed art were peaceful, law-abiding citizens articulated the broad role for the department and the influence came from Goebbels who in Germany had set up a Ministry for Popular Entertainment and Propaganda earlier that year. Under Luang Wichit Wathakan who was head of the Fine Arts Department between 1934 and 1942, the influence of the department grew. The Department was responsible for the promotion of Thai dance, drama and music and troupes that were carefully chosen were taught the correct way of speaking and the proper morals that could “transmit officially sanctioned culture and promote the interest of the state.” Plays and music were performed in public by the national troupe which consisted of Thai nationals in a good state of health and who should possess a particular behaviour and physical appearance that was characterized as typical Thai. Luang Wichit Wathakan, in

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134 Wyatt, 2004:222-235
addition, set up several political plays. In some of the plays military forces were glorified and the importance of the constitution was again highlighted. These state supported historical plays emerged as the premier cultural form, due to their ability to address contemporary political concerns by providing a link between the past and the present, and was an important tool to create social unity and political legitimacy. The importance of the constitution was continually stressed and the Oaths of allegiance to the constitution were required of all members of the National Assembly, as well as of army cadets and political prisoners and the public was reminded that the Siamese unity depended on the Nation, Religion, King and Constitution. December 10th, the Constitution Day, emerged as the high point of the official calendar and consisted of entertainment such as beauty pageants, music and dancing, all with a nationalistic flavour.\(^\text{135}\)

Between late 1930s and early 1940s a cultural-ideological change took place in Siam and loyalty to the nation was again highlighted and Thai nationalism revived under Prime Minister Field Marshal Phibun Songkhram (r. 1938-1944, 1948-1957). Luang Wichit Wathakan, along with the government, continued to play an important role in trying to create a greater sense of social unity in Thailand. There was a nationalistic boost in many parts of the world at this time and Phibun Songkhram wanted to unite Siam in a response to aspiring nationalism elsewhere in Asia as well as to international notions of nationhood.\(^\text{136}\) He needed, in order to strengthen his military governance, invest higher value in the nation instead of in the king and needed to nationalize the masses, using nationalistic propaganda to legitimize his power. Phibun Songkhram was aware of the power of mass media and with the use of press censorship and by controlling the news and using the government’s monopoly of radio broadcasting he was able to shape popular support for his regime and politics.\(^\text{137}\) Luang Wichit Wathakan continued to combine Thai nationalism with elements from models provided by Germany, Italy and Japan in order to create a more mass-oriented nationalism.\(^\text{138}\) The works of Goebbels was praised and the importance of race, a national language and culture was stressed. Pride in the nation were to be installed that could measure up to the Western nations. In order to motivate Siam’s citizens to pursue national goals and to create a collective identity, the rathaniyom, or Thai Cultural Mandates, was promulgated beginning in 1939. The decree of 12 conventions, issued from 1939 to 1942, consisted of nationalistic policies that affected Thais, Muslims as well as other minorities. Progress and civilization was


\(^{136}\) Reynolds, 1991:5

\(^{137}\) Wyatt, 2004:242

\(^{138}\) Barme, 1993:10-8
brought forward in an attempt to modernize (Westernise) Thailand at the same time as “Thainess” was encouraged. Everything considered to be Thai was promoted and many minority groups, as well as Siamese, found it difficult to adapt to the new ideas. The idea was to make the Siamese people truly Thai. In the first mandate in 1939 the name change from Siam to Thailand was promulgated. One of the reasons for choosing the name Thai was it apart from relating to the speaking of the Thai language also held connotations of “freedom”, which was important due to the colonial past of the area. The second mandate was an edict that defined which activities that were to be considered treasonous, something that joined Thai identity to security. The fourth mandate discouraged the use of any other terms for the citizens of Thailand than ‘Thai’. Terms like ‘Islamic Thais’ or ‘north-eastern Thais’ were for instance not to be used. The forth, sixth and eighth mandates handled the royal and national anthem and the flag as well as encouraged the prosperity of the Thai and stressed the economical nationalism, “Thailand for the Thai”, as opposed to the Chinese since the Chinese were economically dominant during this time. The Thai-Chinese relations worsened after Luang Wichit Wathakan in a speech 1938 compared the Chinese to the Jews in Germany and implied that the sanctions against Jews in Germany were worth considering against the Chinese in Thailand. Other mandates set down rules for the use of the Thai language, economic self-reliance, and living healthy lives and dress properly. Phibun Songkhram’s eleventh mandate was a decree that stated that Thai citizens should attend art exhibitions and several sculptures and monuments with themes of the nationalistic ideology were erected during the 1940s. Some of these cultural mandates later, in 1940 and 1941, gave legal force to more detailed and specific measures promoting culture and additional dress codes. The flow of news was controlled and the censorship was strict and one of the methods used was a radio broadcast to distribute the ideas and ideology. The Thai people were told to work for the good of the country, to eat and sleep well, to dress in a modern fashion (Western, again) with hats, gloves, coats and skirts for the women. Men were even told to kiss their wives before going to work, in a Western manner probably picked up from the American film industry. The spreading of these mandates, with the help of the use of radio and newspapers,

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139 Between 1945 and 1948 Thailand was again temporarily renamed Siam in an attempt to counter the monopoly of Thai over other ethnic groups and, perhaps, to signal to Britain that the new government of Pridi Phanomyong (r. 1945-1947) distanced itself from the war declaration on Britain by its predecessor. (Reynolds, 1991:21)
141 Reynolds, 1991:6
142 Wyatt, 2004:243
143 Reynolds, 1991:10
meant that the elite nationalism of Vajiravudh now developed into a mass nationalism and Thailand could develop into the modern nation Phibun Songkhram had in mind.  

In an attempt to increase the geo-body of the nation, Thailand continued the attempts to secure old territories. Phibun Songkhram felt threatened by the Japanese moving into French Indochina, which could stop the attempts to regain these territories. Thailand invaded Lao territories and western Cambodia in 1940, in a storm of nationalistic propaganda and managed to, through a settlement, secure and annex some of the provinces. Another campaign to restore lost Thai territories “The Original Thai States”, resulted in additional territory for Thailand, in north-eastern Burma. A treaty confirmed this with the Japanese in 1943 in which the Japanese, in addition, turned over administration over the Malay states Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis and Kedah that King Chulalongkorn had transferred to British rule in 1909.  

In the period between 1910 and 1944 the Thai Nation and nationalism was founded. However, there has been an endless stream of different commissions and boards since then, all responsible for the national culture policy. During Phibun Songkhram’s second ministry (r. 1948-1957) he established a Ministry of Culture. There have been several magazines promoting ‘Thainess’ and articulating that a strong national Thai culture is necessary for the country’s independence, from the early 1950s and forward. The National Culture Commission, established in 1979, laid down functions to perform in order to preserve and promote Thai culture while stating that culture is a distinctive characteristic of nationhood and essential for the stability of the nation. The government established the National Identity Board some time between 1979 and 1981. The board produced radio and TV programs under the theme of Nation, Religion and Monarchy and decided that the foundation for Thai identity was a nationalism that included territory, people, independence, government, culture and pride. Later religion and monarchy was added producing a schema labelled ‘Thai identity’.

Summary Chapter V

This chapter has shown why and how the Thai identity and nationalism has been constructed and showed the active part taken by the Siamese and Thai authorities in trying to unite the nation-state. It has also shown the influence of nationalistic tendencies in Europe on the process, in addition to the influences already provided by colonial powers as presented in chapter I. The construction of the Thai identity can be seen as somewhat made possible

145 Wyatt, 2004, p. 245-248
146 Reynolds, 1991, p. 12-17
through state domination since one can conclude from this chapter that the Siamese rulers and Thai governments have tried to create Thais out of other ethnic minorities, something that has created resistance and calls for autonomy by minority peoples for a long time. The effect on and the resistance of the Muslims in the south of Thailand will be further developed in the next chapter, The Southern Provinces.
Chapter VI: The Southern Provinces

This chapter will present the history and culture of the Malay Muslims in Thailand and provide an account of how nation building, nationalism and the cultural mandates promulgated by the Thai government during the first half of the 20th century affected the Malay Muslims, since it will show why and how and against which policies resistance against the Thai government occurred. Since the Malay Muslims of Malaysia is close, culturally, to the Malay Muslims in Thailand a section on Malaysian culture and politics will be provided. Ethnicity and culture was defined, as similar ways of life in chapter II, and this chapter will show that the Malay Muslims in Thailand are very closely connected culturally to the Malay Muslims in Malaysia. The political climate in Malaysia is also important since contacts and family connections are frequent across the border. This chapter will describe Islam in the south of Thailand, how influences from abroad have affected Islam in this region and islamised the conflict. The position of the Chularajamontri, who officially represents and organises Islam in Thailand, will also be presented.

This chapter will also describe the situation in the southern provinces of Thailand, the calls for autonomy and the relationship with the Thai government on a more contemporary basis.

Thai Policies and Early Resistance by the Malay Muslims

The cultural mandates promulgated by Phibun Songkhram during the nineteen thirties affected the Muslims in the south of Thailand in several ways. The wearing of traditional Malay clothes, sarongs, and the use of Malay names and language were forbidden as well as the celebration of some public Muslim festivals. Immigrants were no longer allowed to hold any job (in the towns many changed their family names to Thai ones in order to obtain a job) and the possibility of owning land was reduced for minorities. These measures also resulted in the closing of pondok147 schools again and this angered the religious elite. This development led to a seven-point demand for a change made by the President of the Islamic Religious Council, Haji Sulong, to the Thai Government, which resulted in him being charged with high treason and arrested in the late 1940s. As a response to the cultural mandates, several thousand people crossed the border and settled in Kelantan on the Malaysian frontier. Studies of the Koran were forbidden in 1941, as was the speaking of Malay or Arabic languages or

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147 Pondok or pondoh, are religious schools that provide education on traditional Islamic subjects. Pondoks usually offer life-long learning and had a history in Thailand that goes back to the fifteenth century. Attempts have been made to regulate the Pondoks before, by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, in the 1950s and 1960s.
the using of Malay or Arabian names. Kelantan and Terengganu (now in Malaysia) were placed under Thai administration in 1942 in an alliance between Thailand and Japan where Japan promised to help Thailand recover territories lost to the British in exchange for military support against the United States and Great Britain, which was mentioned in chapter I. However, Marshal Phibun resigned in 1944 and the new government distanced itself from Japan and 1946 a new Anglo-Thai agreement was signed, making the short administration on the former Malay vassal states only temporary.148

Malaysia

Colonialism and the Malay Culture

The southern provinces of Thailand share a culture, the Malay, with the northern parts of Malaysia. In Malaysia more than 50 per cent of the population of 17 million are Muslims and Islam is the official state religion. During the 13th century Islam spread through to Malacca sultanate, mainly through trade. Islam was formally accepted and the customary law, which regulated daily life and human relations in all aspects from private life to political conditions, continued. In 1450 Islam was accepted in Malacca and spread from there. The customary law had a bigger influence on the development of the Malay culture than Islam did and to a certain extent still has today. The syncretism of Islam and non-Islamic practices were dominant in Malay Islam until quite recently.149

The Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial powers have affected Malaysia. The result for the country has been interchange between a strictly anti-Islamic policy (by the Portuguese), more tolerant policies and cooperation with Islamic Malay sultanates (by the Dutch) and a British influence that affected migration, through massive labour import of Chinese and Indian workers that never integrated and came in such large numbers that the Malays in 1921 had become a minority in their “own” country. The British, in addition, limited the access to higher secular education to the aristocracy while ordinary Malays continued to attend religious schools. The result of the colonial influence in Malaysia was radical changes to the country and to the culture. Colonialism affected economy, immigration, urbanisation,

149 Cederroth, 1999:265
administration and secular education. In addition these changes contributed to the Malays seeing themselves as a separate ethnic minority group in relation to other such groups.\textsuperscript{150}

\textit{Islamic Movements}

Competing reforming movement groups, one that held ethnical overtones that were stronger than the religious ones (even if there were mostly non-Malays of Arabic, Indian and Indonesian origin among the leaders) and one group that stressed the Malay ethnicity in contrast to the Islamic immigrants from other parts of the world and concentrated their freedom fight on arguments regarding territorial claims of ethnic Malays, has strengthened the role of Islam as a political force in Malaysia. The ruling party in Malaysia, The United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), draws on Malay ethnic interests. The focus on ethnicity and ethnic-nationalistic policies resulted in that Islam was not given a prominent place in the constitution of the new nation in 1947. The aim was to build a nation, not Islamic institutions and Islam was therefore given a ceremonial role rather than a political one. Due to the limited role of Islam in UMNO, PAS (the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party) was formed in 1951. The basis was still Malay-nationalistic but the emphasis on Islam as a part of the Malay identity is stronger in PAS than in UMNO. The majority of the supporters of PAS are from a conservative rural population, comparable to the Malay Muslims of southern Thailand. Since one of the questions PAS promotes is religious education rather than secular, which is an important issue for the rural Malays, PAS has been most successful in the states of Kelantan and Terengganu, which are situated close to the Thai border and where rural Malay Muslims constitute a large majority. PAS is influential in the southernmost Thai provinces as well, where family connections across the Thai-Malaysian border are strong. Leaders of PAS regularly visit the southern provinces in Thailand, giving lectures on traditional Islam. PAS has now strengthened the Islamic identity further at the expense of Malay nationalism and has criticised non-Islamic habits such as materialism, gambling and alcohol consumption. The power struggle between these two groups resulted in both parties competing to satisfy Islamic demands, in order not to loose any political power or credibility, as described in chapter II on the political role of religion, and this further strengthened the position of Islam in Malaysia along with the orthodox Islamic missionary groups called \textit{dawa}.\textsuperscript{151}

\textsuperscript{150} Cederroth, 1999:265-266

\textsuperscript{151} Cederroth, 1999:267-273, Chongkittavorn, 2004:372-273. Examples of dawa groups in Malaysia are Darul Arquam, the most radical group, challenges the religious and political establishment by establishing a large number of ideal communes all over Malaysia, in which ascetic lives are encouraged. The group Jeemat Tabligh was established in India and is therefore not a native Malaysian organisation. The group is loosely organized and
Malaysia is a secular Muslim nation and freedom of worship is guaranteed in the constitution.\textsuperscript{152} In spite of the secular approach the ruling party UMNO has, however, for years tried to curb the influence of fundamentalist Islamic elements. The Malay society is divided mainly by these different views of the role Islam should have in the nation-state, the view UMNO stands for is that the apparatus of power should be secular (they are Muslim, though) and the Malay nationalism supported. The other current in Malaysia, PAS, want to isolate the Malays from other ethnic groups, demands a strengthened religious leadership and in the prolongation they whish to establish an Islamic state. This cleavage can partly be traced back to the influence of the colonial times. Both groups use Islam politically to a great extent to gain power and to legitimise power and the primary aim of both groups is to satisfy nationalistic Malay interests. Islam in Malaysia is connected with the Malay culture to such an extent that non-Muslims who converts to Islam become Malay irrespective of prior ethnicity. The Malay culture has used Islam as its primary instrument of identity construction since it is closely connected to the political power and dominant politically in Malaysia and any political changes in Malaysia would affect the southern provinces as well.\textsuperscript{153}

**Summary The Malay Culture**

The impact of colonialism has been severe in Malaysia and affected the Malay Muslims there. Now, however, due to the focus on ethnicity in Malaysian politics the advantages and rights of native Malays have improved and the Malay culture and nationalism is now strong and politically influential. Islam holds a strong position in Malaysia is used politically to gain and legitimise power and the two politically strongest groups compete to satisfy the interests of Malay nationalism. Islam and the Malay culture are closely connected in Malaysia and the closeness to southern Thailand, territorially, culturally and family wise implies that the religious and political influence of Malaysia is strong in the south of Thailand.

\textsuperscript{152} Frisk, 2004
Islam in Thailand

The Muslims in Thailand are mainly divided in two larger groups, the Thai Muslims and the Malay Muslims. The Thai Muslims, who are decidedly Muslim in faith but Thai in culture, are generally more assimilated into the Thai society than the Malay Muslims. In the south, where Muslims are in majority, the Malay Muslims, which is the largest Muslim ethnic minority group in Thailand, are more resistant to assimilation.\textsuperscript{154}

Even if Islam always has been accorded official patronage in Thailand, the affiliation to Theravada Buddhism is a substantial part of Thai identity and present throughout society. Buddhist rituals are very codified in ceremonies and the Buddhist temples act as a focal point, which means that secular festivals and commercial activity takes place at the temples, as well as the religious activities. The cultural environment in Thailand is focused on Buddhism and the religion is present in every aspect of society. The result of this, for the Muslims of Thailand, is that expressions of piety are diverse among Muslims depending on where they live. In areas where Buddhists are in majority the Muslim identity is by some Muslims primarily seen as a cultural inheritance and observing the Ramadan month of fasting or observing the five prayer times a day may not be as important and personal worship can take various forms. Another reason for the diversity among the approximately 3 million Muslims in Thailand is their different origins.\textsuperscript{155}

Reformists have affected Islam in Thailand since the 1920s, and in the last twenty years or so, Islam in this region has and is shifting from an Islam involving social rules to an Islam imposing rigid rules and this shift creates new obligations for the non-secular Muslims (even if the secular Muslims of course also are affected). This shift reflects the opposition between reformism and the conservatism of the established Muslim order. An example of this is that clear and exaggerated distinctions of what is \textit{halal} (allowed) and \textit{haram} (forbidden) have emerged. This renewal of Islam is perhaps one of the reasons that the inclusion of \textit{sharia} law into civil cases is frequently demanded, something that for the Thai society with essentially Buddhist values included in almost every part of the daily life is a road the Thai government does not want to take and special legislation demands has been refused.\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{154} Gilquin, 2002:33-42
\textsuperscript{155} Gilquin, 2002:23-31
\textsuperscript{156} Gilquin, 2002:104, 107-108, 115-116
There has been a revival in religious observance during the last decade, or so, due to modern communication techniques and better education, many times conducted abroad, that have led to a better knowledge of religious texts. The absence of social control of religious observance has, however, resulted in less emphasis on taboos and requirements, even if this is slowly changing. The majority of Muslims in Thailand are Sunnis. There are other schools and the activities of more informal movements flourishes in Thailand, and it can be argued that the religious freedom for Muslims in Thailand is greater than in countries that strictly control and monitor Islamic activities by an officially-sanctioned school of Islam.157

The Chularajamontri

Islam has always been accorded official patronage in Thailand, in spite of the Buddhist majority and the Buddhist monarchy.158 It has traditionally been the responsibility of the monarch to protect all religions in the Kingdom of Thailand and thereby act as the spiritual head of national Islam. Since 1997 it is given legal force through article 7 in the constitution, which states that the king of Thailand is the protector of all religions in Thailand.159 The way Islam is officially organised in Thailand is through the Chularajamontri, the king’s official advisor.160 The Chularajamontri is appointed for life and acts in some degree by delegation and he officially represents all Muslims in Thailand. The democratic level of the way he is selected has been questioned by Muslims, since some believe that he should be elected by free choice by Muslims, instead of being nominated by representative delegates of the provincial committees, as is the present case. The Chularajamontri presides over a national council closely linked to the ministries of the interior and education over everything concerning the “special case” of the Muslim population and controls and coordinates the Islamic councils in the provinces.161 The council has the power to organise the mosques, set dates for religious festivals, organise pilgrimage to Mecca and issue certificates regarding halal, ritually slaughtered, food. However, since the special ethnic, cultural and linguistic character of the Muslims in the south along with the global weakening of traditional social norms, this many times leads to very personal interpretations of Islam. Some positions taken by the Chularajamontri are looked upon with suspicion and are sometimes regarded as manoeuvres.

158 Bajunid, 2005:3
159 Gilquin, 2002:43
160 The present Chularajamontri, Sawasdi Sumalayasak, who was elected in 1997 was prior an MP for Bangkok under the Democratic Party on two occasions.
161 There are 76 provinces in Thailand and 29 of them has an Islamic council.
of an alien state, leaving the Chularajamontri to act as a meddler between conflicting points of view between a diverse Muslim minority and the authorities of Thailand. There is also a problem with using Islam to support the Buddhist authority, since a Muslim in theory only submits to God. This creates a legitimacy problem that opens up to possible confrontations.162

The Malay Muslims in Thailand

Muslims are in majority, 75-80%, in the provinces of Yala, Pattani, Narathiwat, Satun and Songkhla, which are all situated close to Malaysia. There is, however, a considerable difference between rural and urban areas since towns and district centres are mainly Buddhist.163 In the southern provinces the separatist identity is underscored by a belief in the traditional virtues and greatness of the Kingdom of Patani and identification with the Malay race. This is strengthened by the close and repeated border contacts with the Malaysian province of Kelantan, and with Islam.164 The religious orientation based on Islam and further islamised by external forces, together with the situation in the area, calls for the hirja165, which is one of the points used to justify separatist violence.166 This has given the claims a justification it did not necessarily have, in the same extension, before the intensification of Islam.

Other reasons for the increased resistance of assimilation by some of the Malay Muslims in these provinces is that the Malay language and specific culture are highly cherished. The Muslim southern Thailand has remained distinct from the nation’s life due to a history of little capital investment in the area. This has contributed to the feelings of alienation by the Malay Muslims. Another isolating feature is the linguistic segregation. Some Malay Muslims consider religious and ethnic identity to be situated in the Yawi language. In Satun, practically everyone speaks Thai and in Songkhla Thai is widespread. However, in Pattani, Narathiwat and Yala the Malay dialect of Yawi is universally spoken. Yawi language dominates in these areas to the degree of civil servants from other regions not being able to work without an interpreter, since Thai is basically unknown in the rural areas, another contributor to the feelings of alienation. Yawi is, in addition, linked to religion since it is traditionally written in

162 Gilquin, 2002:43-45, 108-113
163 Gilquin, 2002:34
164 Chalk, 2001:243
165 Emigration in the cause of God. This justifies a right and a duty to “withdraw” from any community that threatens the Muslims’ survival. The religious edict is also one of the points used to justify the separatist violence and also to further justify the jihad.
166 Chalk, 2001:243
Arabic letters. Other Malay languages use Latin letters and since the Thai alphabet is used in schools younger people use it to transcribe Yawi. Some religious fundamentalists consider the Yawi speakers to be the authentic Malays. This gives the language a powerful attachment to Islam.\textsuperscript{167}

It is against the education system many of the protests from the Muslims have been directed. One reason is the history of imposed assimilation through compulsory education in Thai language mentioned in previous chapters. There is a fear that young people especially will be affected by a school system that is considered to attempt to adapt the younger generation to non-Islamic values. Course contents, Buddhist traditions, the wearing of required uniforms\textsuperscript{168} and the symbolic Thai greeting of the teachers, the \textit{wai}, are some of the issues regarded as conflicting with the Muslim traditions. Demands for special legislation covering education frequently comes up along with propositions for exemptions and adaptations of the educational system. It is estimated that 60\% of the children in the south of Thailand still takes courses in the pondok schools rather than in government schools.\textsuperscript{169}

\textbf{Calls for Autonomy and a Separate Nation}

Rebellions against Thai language decrees, the closing of pondok schools and accusations of ill treatment have interchanged with massive economic projects and temporary cultural autonomy\textsuperscript{170} since the middle of the twentieth century. There were for instance violent clashes between the Thai government and an underground organization, Patani National Liberation Front (BNPP), whose aim was the complete independence of Pattani as well as the establishment of an Islamic state, throughout the 1960s. Barisian Revolusi National (BRN) that was founded in 1960 held the same objectives, however with specific pan-Malay claims. The goal was a Muslim socialism that was anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. BRN made attempts to provoke armed uprisings that were stopped by Thai authorities. A Council for Islamic Affairs were established in the 1970s and an underground organization, the Council of the Muslim People of Patani (MPRMP) was formed in 1997 by activists across the political spectrum.\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{167} Gilquin, 2002: 9-30, 51-55
\textsuperscript{168} The demand for school uniforms has, however, been lifted in the southern provinces and the wearing of headscarves are allowed.\textsuperscript{169} Gilquin, 2002:29-30, 56-62
\textsuperscript{170} For instance special legislations for Muslims, reopened Pondok schools, the tolerance of local language and Buddhist shrines were not to be built in sensitive places sacred to the Muslims.\textsuperscript{171} Islam, 1998:443-44, 446-48, Gilquin, 2002:76-85, Janchitfah, 2004:273-271
There was an attempt made to convert all pondok schools to register as private schools, in 1961. The teaching of a standard government approved curriculum along with texts and documents not approved by the government were considered illegal. Subsidies were started to the pondok by the government and between 1965 and 1967 seventy-eight new primary schools were built in the four provinces and a university was opened in Pattani. In spite of the efforts to boost education in the region, during 1968-75 guerrilla activity peaked in the area and permanent insecurity was a fact. The nationalistic organization Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) was founded in 1968 and made a great effort to make its case known to the world outside. PULO along with other armed groups, as many as eighty-four counted by the authorities, were often scattered, broken up into smaller, rivalry groups over time. Due to a change of policy in Bangkok it was no longer necessary to fight. The government tried to find a non-military solution to the problem and arranged an amnesty for many intellectuals who were in the bases of the Patriotic Front of Thailand (a manifestation of the Communist Party of Thailand - the Muslim rebels counted in the same group as the Communists). This amnesty led to the surrender of 450 separatist guerrillas between the years of 1982 and 1983. New groups were formed in 1985 and 1995, trying to initiate armed fighting again, but the drift of some of these groups into banditry and outbreaks of spontaneous violence discredited and weakened the nationalist movement.\textsuperscript{172}

The minister of education, Chingchai Mongkoltham, 1997 decided to lift all dress restrictions on students and teachers in state schools. Since then improvements in infrastructure and measures to improve the economy in the south have been taken. New, more democratic approaches to the situation have emerged and further efforts to increase the level of education have been made. However, the pondok system is still preferred over state schools since the Buddhist philosophy is considered to be imbued in the state schools. The measures have not put an end to the insurgency. The crisis in the 1990s and the economic and social difficulties have made separatism attractive to part of the population in the south. Media gladly portrays the south as a war zone of Muslim separatists, even though much of the violence could be considered to have other reasons such as settling old scores, rural banditry, black economy, blackmail, drug addiction, etc.\textsuperscript{173}

Between January 1979 and March 1980 there were reported more than 100 cases of burning schools, bombing buildings and destroying bridges in southern Thailand. For instance were 36 schools burned in the south of Thailand on August 1, 1993 and there have been a

\textsuperscript{172} Gilquin, 2002:76-87, Janchitfah, 2004:273-281
\textsuperscript{173} Gilquin, 2002:88-97
total of 1.975 violent incidents documented in the southern provinces between 1993 and the end of November 2004. 75% of these occurred after Thaksin Shinawatra, who was elected on a clear nationalistic program, became Prime Minister.\textsuperscript{174}

\textit{Increased Violence}

January 4\textsuperscript{th} 2004 the first raid on an army camp occurred, in Narathiwat, at the same time as about twenty schools were torched in the south. Four soldiers were killed and weapons were looted. This time the violence was more organised as opposed to the previous insurgencies that sometimes had been blamed on local bandits and sometimes, when targets were officials, police stations or schools, Muslim insurgents were blamed. This time the possibility of military training from abroad could not be out ruled. The violence escalated and after three Buddhist monks and two students had been killed and martial law was issued. At the end of February a total of forty people had been killed and additional security forces were sent to provide protection for government buildings and schools. The increased violence and the shift in paradigm were preceded by the resentment of the Thai-Muslim community of Thailand’s decision to send troops to Iraq.\textsuperscript{175} One way the Thai government tried to stem radical Islam was to, again, try to regulate the \textit{pondok} schools. There are at least 500 pondok schools in the south of Thailand and they are perceived as potential breeding grounds for radical Muslims. The schools were obliged to register with the authorities before the end of February 2004 in order to not be considered illegal and shut down by force, if identified. Those who registered were, among other things, to be given assistance with improving teaching since unemployment is high among graduates from pondok schools.\textsuperscript{176}

Political integration has increased for the Malay Muslims in southern Thailand and Muslims are now represented in almost all levels of the government. However, this has not helped stop the insurgency. The Malay Muslim community is confronted by social problems such as: drugs, unemployment, poor education, poverty and crime. This is in no way unique for the Malay Muslims, but is also a problem among especially rural areas elsewhere in Thailand, Muslim or Buddhist. The characteristic of Islam and the religions capacity, if faithfully observed, to impede crime and antisocial attitudes are emphasized among many Muslims as an argument against Islam being the problem.\textsuperscript{177}

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\textsuperscript{174} Janchitfah, 2004:273-281
\textsuperscript{175} Chongkittavorn, 2004:270-271
\textsuperscript{176} Chongkittavorn, 2004:272-273
\textsuperscript{177} Bajunid, 2005:14
Summary Chapter VI

This chapter has provide an account of how nation building, nationalism and the cultural mandates promulgated by the Thai government during the first half of the 20th century affected the Malay Muslims. The different codifications of Thai identity, for instance by the Cultural Mandates or the National Identity Board, helped the government to decide which groups were non-Thai and today the Malay Muslims of the south of Thailand continue to resist the Thai government’s efforts to integrate the area.

Religious freedom is guaranteed in the constitution. However, the resistance against assimilation, this chapter shows, has been severe and mainly aimed at the governments and the education system and represented in the bombing of schools, which have been the main target. One reason for this is the cultural domination of Buddhism in the school system. The south of Thailand is underdeveloped and has suffered from neglect. The culture of the Malay Muslims in Malaysia, in the form of language and religion, as well as the Malaysian politics that is shaped by the interests of the politically influential Malay Muslims is connected to Islam in the south of Thailand, which recently has shifted into a more political Islam, influenced through globalisation. Not even the Chularajamontri, who officially represents and organises Islam in Thailand, is left outside the competing opinions when modernity ties religion closer to the identity.
Theories Applied and Conclusion

Theories Applied on Chapter I, III and V and VI

I will start by using the theory by Smith. On nation building he states that ethnic minorities posed severe problems for the formation of nations and new definitions were therefore needed. A clearly marked territory and a re-education on national values were needed in order to achieve the nations intended. Chapter I showed that a common territory did not exist prior to the construction of the Siamese nation. Extensions of territory and the integration of tributary states, along with the arbitrary borders consolidated under the influence of colonial powers show this. This is further supported in chapter III, in which it was shown how modernity created the need for nation-states with a shared territory and culture. The need for common national values and memories were also shown, and this also showed how loyal citizens were created by nationalism. Winichakul’s theory on the importance of a common territory for the nation building supports this. He stated that colonial powers influenced the drawing of borders in Siam and intensified the need for mapmaking and centralisations of administration, which was shown in chapters I and III. The theory by Baber is useful in this case and it tell us that communal identities were constructed with the help of colonialism as those rulers needed manageable entities to be able to administer those. This can be applied to both the Siamese nation and the minorities caught on the other side of the border, since both groups were institutionalised this way. Eriksen’s theory that a dominant nationalism can inspire resistance from minorities and that the domination of language, educational systems and religion are important measures for the building of nations is supported in chapters I, III, and VI. These chapters showed how the Siamese and Thai governments have constructed the nation by dominating the minorities with the help of standardisation of language and the insisting of not allowing the pondok schools, connected to religion, in the southern provinces. The intensive implementations of cultural mandates and national identity boards show that the Siamese and Thai governments constructed the nationality.

Theories Applied on chapter II

From the discussion on ethnicity and culture in chapter II we can decide that the Malay Muslim population in the south of Thailand can be labelled an ethnic minority group. They themselves feel that they have a specific culture, due to similar ways of life, that is an ongoing process and distinct from the Buddhist Thai population’s, since they themselves claim to be
an ethnic group of Malay origin and use this claim to further make claims on a special legislation and/or a state separate from Thailand. They can also be considered a minority since there are less Malay Muslims than Thai Buddhists in Thailand. The theories used for this analysis are the theories by Eriksen and Hannertz.

On religion, I will start by using the theory on religious nationalism provided by Hjärpe. Chapter II showed that the theory by Hjärpe, that religion is important, especially in a weak state, as a cultural belonging that provides a necessary social network that the state fails to provide. Hjärpe’s theory also stated that religion and religious nationalism could serve other purposes than religious belief. This is supported in the way chapter II showed how the umma could serve as the necessary social network. I am not sure if I would like to go as far as to call the Thai nation a weak state at this point. However, if we take a look at the definitions we find that Hjärpe states a weak state lacks the ability to provide basic services for their citizens. Regarding education, to a certain degree we can state that this is not provided to a satisfying degree. The indications that the southern provinces have been neglected also support this to a certain degree.

Theories Applied to chapter IV

On globalisation the theory by Hasan, states that civil society can be important in the context of globalisation chapter IV shows that especially in rural areas globalisation can be perceived as a threat. That Islam can be important as a location for religious nationalism in that it provides a place of resistance as well as a place to restore a lost identity is supported in chapter IV. This chapter showed that this resistance identity was most important in remote, neglected areas, such as the south of Thailand, as stated above. Fundamentalism, chapter IV shows, holds an appealing key to the identity persisted, which is located, in this case, in the past, and in this case religion can serve as a way to hold on to a diminishing culture.

On terrorism: of the warning signs of terrorism presented by Kimball, not many are fully applicable to the insurgency in Thailand. The warning sign that concerns “an ideal time” is, however. Chapter VI showed the strong sentiments that some Malay Muslims have for the Kingdom of Patani. In addition, the Muslims in the southern provinces hold a deep conviction that the feelings of grievances based on historical circumstances, concerning in part the Kingdom of Patani, and the feelings of having their culture and their religion threatened, are justified. This is a just cause of jihad, according to some interpretations of Islam, as stated in chapter IV. The warning sign that the separatists could be willing to use any means to protect
their space and identity is to a certain degree applicable, since the protests and bombings has continued for a long time. However, the warning sign, presented by Stern, on the feelings of humiliation is to a high degree applicable. This thesis has showed how imposed culture of a majority population can be perceived as humiliating. Some other risk factors mentioned by Stern is living in failed or authoritarian states with inadequate access to basic needs, which is applicable to the theory on weak states by Hjärpe.

Conclusion

The movement in the south of Thailand can be defined as an ethnic group, with a specific culture that separates them from the majority population of Thailand. The ethnic group has become a nationalistic movement by claiming territory through their leaders. And has been doing so since the middle of the 20th century. The southern provinces of Thailand are, somewhat, situated in a remote area that has a history of being both neglected and exploited and there are people who feel alienated from the Thai identity and claims for separation has sometimes been stemmed with brutal counter measures. The Muslim minorities in Thailand, in addition to the feelings of identity loss as a result of modernity and globalisation, have to deal with the Thai government’s fear of the vulnerability of the area of becoming providers of terrorists or of not be seen as “team players” in the anti-terrorist movement led by the United States. By looking at the history of the Thai nation building, I believe that I can draw the conclusion that I stated as a theory of mine in the beginning of this thesis: that some of the Malay Muslims of the southern provinces in Thailand long for a separate nation due to the fact that they do not feel part of the constructed Thai identity, which never really managed to include these people.

State monopoly on violence, poor education, poor health care and poverty are some of the risk factors of terrorism that along with the influence of Islam is mentioned in this thesis as possible contributors to some of the nationalistic, religious violence in the south of Thailand. There is support in this thesis to label some of the violence in southern Thailand terrorism. However, there can be other reasons such as the need for an alternative identity due to how the Thai nation was constructed and provincial neglect, among other things. This thesis has shown that religion is an important part of identity and that it cannot be concluded that religion is the sole problem of the insurgency in the south of Thailand, since religion fills many different needs, without having to imply any religious belief and there are plenty of incitements for the insurgency, without having to blame religion.
Bibliography and Map of Southern Thailand


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