

Index

A

- Abhisit Vejjajiva, 85, 159n16
- absolute monarchy, 24, 107, 159n16
 - see also constitutional monarchy; monarchy
- Abu Zakaria Yahya Ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi, 64n8
- administrative levels, in Thailand, 31n2
- Agamben, Giorgio, 5–6, 209, 212, 231
- Al-Azhar university, 51
- Al-Qaeda, 155n2
- Ananda Mahidol, King, 107
- Angkor Empire, 31n1
- anti-government movement, 27
- Area of the Seven Provinces, 22
- Arzeulee Subdistrict Cultural Promotion Committee, 103
- Arzeulee Subdistrict Government Agency Centre, 99
- Asian financial crisis, 158n14
- Assembly of the Poor, 133
- assimilation policy, 4, 28, 33, 182, 237
- Association of Malays of Greater Patani, see GAMPAR
- Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, 240
- Ayutthaya, 11n5

B

- Banharn Silpa-archa, 159n16
- Beamtenstaaten*, 3
- Bersatu, 30, 63n3, 161n21
- Bhumibol Adulyadej, King, 10n2, 103, 106–10, 115–16, 118, 158n14, 160n17, 221, 228–29

biopolitics, 230

- bird-singing contest, 81, 193
- birth control, and religion, 194, 239
- Black May incident, 136, 229
- BNPP (Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani), 29
- bomoh*, 177–82, 188n5, 195–96, 211n2, 239
- Border Patrol Police, 160n18
- Brahmanism, 30, 163, 169, 196, 228, 233
- BRN (Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani), 29, 63n3, 168
- BRN-Coordinate, 51, 63n2–3, 65n14, 66n15, 168
- Buddhism, 2, 4, 8, 24, 30, 163, 169, 187–88, 196, 226, 228, 231, 236
- bungosireh*, 103, 105–6

C

- Centre for Community Justice, 117
- Centre for Sufficiency Economy of Arzeulee Subdistrict, 98–99, 106
- Chakri dynasty, 223
- Chaloemrat Cultural Centre, 103
- chanting ceremony, 88
- Chatichai Choonhavan, 159n16
- chat Thai* (Thai nation), 4, 227
- Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, 159n16
- Children's Day fair, 85–86, 99, 157n8, 237
- children's rights, 157n8
- Christian women, 218
- Chronicles of Patani, 31n1
- Chuan Leekpai, 159n16

- Chulalongkorn, King, 4, 159n15, 227, 230
- Chularajamontri, 186
- circumcision, 76–77, 105, 157n7, 173
- “Clash of Civilizations? The”, article, 162
- “clash” within Islam, 163
- code of conduct, and insurgency, 202–3
- Code of Criminal Procedure, 231, 235n2
- colour symbols, 2
- Commission of Inquiry, 188n8
- Community Justice Centre, 132
- compensation money, 101–2, 118, 200–1
- Compulsory Education Law, of 1921, 10n4
- conscript, 87–93, 173, 198–99
- “conspiracy theory”, 63n2
- constitutional monarchy, 24, 229, 231
see also absolute monarchy;
 monarchy
- contraception, *see* birth control
- Council for Democratic Reform, 63n5
- Council for National Security, 63n5
- coup, 63n5, 65n12, 107, 158n12–13, 159n6, 228–29, 235n1, 240
- CPM-43 (Civilian-Police-Military Taskforce 43), 148, 150
- CPT (Communist Party of Thailand), 158n11, 161n22
- CSOC (Communist Suppression Operations Command), 158n11
- “cultural diversity”, 93, 104
- cultural identity, 162
- D**
- Daily News*, 112
- dakwah (missionary), 8, 68, 72–75, 78–79, 155n3, 164–69, 172, 219–20, 237–38
- “danger pay”, 92
- “de facto sovereignty”, 6–7
- “dead penis *bomoh*”, 179
- death ceremony, for officials, 118–19
- Deep South, 3, 5–7, 9, 11n6, 12–13, 16–17, 24, 30, 32n7, 33, 41, 49, 61–62, 63n5, 64n8, 67, 73, 82, 84, 88, 92–94, 96, 102, 104–5, 108–9, 112, 115–16, 118–20, 123, 130, 142, 145, 147, 154, 158n12, 161n21, 164, 169, 172–73, 188n5, 192–93, 201, 204, 215, 232, 236–38, 240
 area of, 10n2
- Democrat Party, 158n12
- Department of Cultural Promotion, 103
- Department of Forestry, 109
- Department of Provincial Administration, 31n2, 96
- Department of Religion’s Order on Mosque Centers for Islam and Ethics Instruction, 10n2
- “despiritualization”, 195
- disaster relief programme, 102
- diversity, among Muslims, 77–82
- drugs, 11n6, 75, 79, 82, 93, 98, 129, 146, 151, 157n10, 158n11, 181, 193
- Dutch East Indies, 3
- E**
- Emergency Decree, 235n1
- ethno-nationalistic ideology, 4, 114
- exorcism, 176–78, 182
- F**
- farm project, 115–16
- Fatoni Darussalam State*, 43–44, 168
- “Fatoni Muslims”, 43
- Fatoni University, 73, 77, 156n5
- Federation of Malaya, 4, 29
- fiscal year budget, for southern provinces, 94–95, 158n13
- Five Pillars of Islam, 77, 163
- Foreign Affairs*, 162

Forum Perdana Ehwat Islam, 216
 Foundation for the Promotion of
 Supplementary Occupations and
 Related Techniques, 116
 flood relief programme, 101, 108
 Foucault, Michel, 6, 212
 Fourth Region Army, 67, 89, 140, 145,
 170
 free medical service, 97–98, 101

G

“galactic polity”, 11n5
 GAMPAR (Gabungan Melayu Pattani
 Raya), 28
 GMP (Gerakan Mujahidin Patani), 29
 “good Muslim”, 8, 79–81, 190, 217–18,
 237–38
 “graduated sovereignty”, 230–31
 grave-soil laying ceremony, royal, 118,
 187, 238
 Great Thai Empire (Maha Anachak
 Thai), 4, 228
 “grey figures”, and illegal businesses,
 141–48
 “Guardians of the People”, 43
 Guba
 arson in, 41–42
 bombings in, 40–41
 fear and distrust in, 55–62
 leaflets in, 42–46, 51, 55, 57–58,
 63n3–5, 64n8, 113, 163, 168,
 170–72, 201
 military camp near, 49–50
 Raman Sultanate, and, 20–25
 security forces operations in, 46–51
 shootings in, 34–40
 villages of, 13–20
 “wild territory”, as, 25–30, 34
 unrests in, 34–46

H

Haji Sulong, 183, 188n8
 handicraft production project, 119

Hansen, Thomas Blom, 6
 Haydar Ali, 156n3
 “hearts and minds”, winning the, 85–86,
 93, 98, 106, 110, 120, 237
 “help and care” programmes, 8, 101,
 105
 Hinduism, 2, 24, 105, 163, 169, 196,
 233

holy war, 171
 horse race, 174
 “house registration”, 117
 house searches, 47–48
 Huntington, Samuel, 162

I

Imam Ibrahim, 54, 58
 Imam Nawawi, 44, 64n8
 “influential person”, 27, 32n8, 148
 institutions of Thai society, 83
 insurgency, 34–36, 38, 40–42, 48,
 51–54, 61, 66n15, 84, 88, 90,
 110, 113, 116, 128, 130, 140–41,
 145–46, 155n2, 157n10, 158n12,
 159n16, 168–72, 192, 197, 201,
 204, 237, 240
 code of conduct, and, 202–3
 Interim Constitution of the Kingdom
 of Thailand, 235n1, 240
 internal colonialism, 3, 4
 Internal Security Operations
 Command, 116
 “interpreters of violence”, 66n15
 Islam, 3–6, 8–9, 10n2, 13, 31n1, 34, 36,
 45, 54–55, 67–68, 104–5, 152, 162,
 226–27, 237–38
 “clash” within, 163
 interpreting, 191–94, 211n1
 Malay beliefs and rituals, and,
 173–82
 strands of, 15, 69–76, 163–73
 traditional, 72–73, 165, 172
 unrest, and, 155n2
 way of life, 76–82

women in, 214–21
see also Malay Muslims
 Islamic boarding school, 18
 Islamic community (ummah), 182
 Islamic radicalism, 2, 5, 155n2
 “Islamic reform”, 84, 194
 “Islamic revival”, 15
 “Islamic Warriors of the Fatoni State”,
 42–45, 168
 “Islamization”, 196, 213
 Islamo-nationalism, 66n15
 Ismail Lutfi, 15, 156n5
 ISOC (Internal Security Operations
 Command), 94, 157n10, 158n11,
 158n12

J

Jalan Baru project, 93, 157n10
 Jawi Ulama network, 156n4, 156n5
 Jemaat Tabligh, 68, 73, 155n3
 jihad, 155n2, 169

K

Kafir Siam, 42–45
 Kasetsart University, 158n14
 Kasikorn Khirisri, 149, 197
 Kaum Muda (New Group), 15, 72–73,
 75, 156n5, 156n6, 163, 164, 180,
 188n1, 188n2, 188n3, 207, 220,
 237–38
 Kaum Tua (Old Group), 15, 72, 164,
 188n2, 238
 Kedah Annals, 31n1
 Khru Razak, 25, 27–28, 30, 34, 71,
 161n21
 legacy of 120–30
 “kingdom”, concept of, 230
 “King’s Man, the”, 108
 Klong Prem Central Prison, 122
 Koran, 2, 69, 76–81, 88, 105, 156n5,
 157n9, 163, 166, 171, 175, 179–80,
 188n6, 191, 194–96, 206, 211n1,
 214, 216–20, 238

Kratom cocktails, 7–8, 11n6, 16–17, 36,
 56–57, 59, 68, 75, 79, 129, 141–48,
 151, 190–91, 193, 203, 207, 210
 military, and, 145–47
 Kratom Act, 11n6
 Kriangkrai, Lieutenant, 36, 38
 Kromluang Narathiwat Ratchanakarin
 Military Camp, 5, 30, 33

L

Lang Chia Shu, 30n1
 Langkasuka, 13, 24, 30n1
 leaflets, 42–46, 51, 55, 57–58, 63n3–5,
 64n8, 113, 163, 168, 170–72, 201
 Life Quality Development Centre, 132
 Local Government Act, 31n2
 local politics, 128, 136–38
 “Lohman Buffalo”, 128, 207–8

M

Maha Anachak Thai (Great Thai
 Empire), 4, 228
 Mahidol University, 112–13
 Mahmud Mayhiddin, 28
Makyong performance, 174, 176
 Malay arts, 103
 Malay beliefs and rituals, and Islam,
 173–82
 Malay culture, 105, 106, 154, 157n6,
 238
 Malay identity, 2, 6, 15, 29–30, 154,
 182, 237–38
 Malay Muslims, 1–2, 4–9, 10n4, 15, 33,
 43–46, 54, 55–56, 62n2, 63n5, 93,
 106, 108, 114–15, 118, 145, 147,
 152, 155n2, 156n5, 157n6, 157n9,
 161n21, 191, 202, 224, 233–36,
 239
 Thai citizenship, and identity, 182–
 88
see also Islam
 Malay ruling elites, 4, 29

Malay separatism, 108
 Malay sultanates, 11n5, 236
 Malay world, modifying the, 194–96
 Malay writing system, 13, 31n4
 Manifesto of the Declaration Day, 42–43
 Markaz Dakwah Jemaat, 74, 78, 156n3
 martial law, 235n1
 Mawlid, 163, 186–87, 188n1
 MCP (Malayan Communist Party), 126–27
 “mediated agency”, 218
 methamphetamines, 75, 79, 146
 militant Islam, 2
 military, and *kratom*, 145–47
 military draft, *see* conscription
 Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, 96, 101
 Ministry of Culture, 96, 103–4
 Ministry of Defense, 96, 158n12
 Ministry of Education, 10n2, 84, 96, 132, 148
 Ministry of Interior, 24, 31n2, 96, 136, 157n8, 201
 Ministry of Justice, 96
 missionary (dakwah), 8, 68, 72–75, 78–79, 155n3, 164–69, 172, 219–20, 237–38
 MNLA (Malayan National Liberation Army), 127
 Mon Empire, 31n1
 monarchy, 6–8, 11n4, 106–8, 110–11, 150, 154, 160n18, 226–30, 237
 see also absolute monarchy;
 constitutional monarchy
 Mongkut, King, 228
 Monthon Pattani (Pattani Circle), 22–24
 “moral police”, 82
 Mosque Center for Islamic Studies, 10n2
 mosques, conflicts between, 172–73
 multiculturalism, 185

N

Nakhon Si Thammarat, 11n5, 31n1
 national anthem, 84–87, 222
 National Economic and Social Development Plan, 159n14
 National Education Act, 10n2
 National Government Organization Act, 31n2
 national identity, 182
 nationalism, 4, 28, 66n15, 155n2
 NCPO (National Council for Peace and Order), 235n1, 240
 neoliberalism, 230
 “network monarchy”, 229
 “New Group”, *see* Kaum Muda
 “New Theory on Agriculture”, 109
 NIA (National Intelligence Agency), 96, 158n13

O

oath of allegiance, 83, 85, 148, 151, 197
 Office of the Chularajamontri, 186–87, 189n9
 Office of the Prime Minister, 158n11
 Office of the Royal Development Projects Board (RDPB), 108–9
 Office of the Rubber Replanting Aid Fund, 50, 96
 official leaders, 131–41
 OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference), 115
 Okhrae Dalae, 35, 36, 38–39, 41, 46–47, 51–57, 62n1, 155n2, 169–70, 203, 234
 Okhrae Hijau, 46, 62n1
 Okhrae Hitae, 46, 51, 56, 62n1
 “Okhrae Naya”, 182
 Old Group, *see* Kaum Tua
 ONCB (Office of the Narcotics Control Board), 157n10
 Ong, Aihwa, 212–13, 230–31
 opium business, 26–27

Outstanding Environment
 Conservation Mother Award, 112
 “outstanding mother” award, 111
 Outstanding Young Farmer award, 117

P

pahalo, 154n1
 Pahong Gayu killings, 38–40
 pan-Malay nationalism, 4
 Paramilitary Ranger Special Unit 41,
 150, 152
 “Patani Malay”, 32n6, 154n1
 “Patani Mujahideen Warriors”, 45,
 66n15
 Patani Sultanate, 7, 12–13, 24
 paternalism, 22
 patron–client relationship, 217
 Pattani Circle (Monthon Pattani),
 22–24
 peat swamp management, 108–10
 People Party, 4
phanphum (tray), offering, 1–3, 7, 9n1,
 11, 224–26
 Pikulthong Royal Development Study
 Centre, 109, 115
 Plaek Phibunsongkhram, 4, 85, 107,
 228–29
 PohYeh, 30
 Police Special Branch Division, in
 Bangkok, 121
 “politics leads the military”, 106, 118,
 240
Pondok schools, 2, 10n4, 65n13, 69–71,
 73, 76, 105, 167–68
 “portable” preaching, 68
 PPM (Patani People’s Movement), 29
 Prajadhipok, King, 107, 228
 Prem Tinsulanonda, 108, 229
 Prince of Songkla University, 96, 103,
 180
 Princess of Naradhiwas University, 96
 private Islamic schools, 65n13, 76
 Privy Council, 229

“Programme for Promoting and
 Developing Religion, Art, and
 Culture”, 96
 “Programmes for Solving Problems
 in and Developing the Southern
 Border Provinces”, 93–94
 “Programme on Integrated Solutions
 to the Problems of the Southern
 Border Provinces”, 158n13
 Provincial Islamic Committee, 132
 Provincial Red Cross Chapters, 159n15
 public pavilions (*salas*), 19
 PULO (Patani United Liberation
 Organization), 29, 63n3, 161n21,
 168

Q

Quaker women, 218

R

“radical Islam”, 10n4
 “Ramadan scale of merit”, 155n1
 Raman District Probation Office, 117
 Raman hospital, 100, 105
 Raman Malay dialect, 13
 Raman Sultanate, 7, 12, 34
 Guba, and, 20–25
rao rak nay luang (We Love Mr King),
 1, 7, 9
 Ratprachanukroh Foundation, 116
 RDPB (Office of the Royal
 Development Projects Board),
 108–9
 Red Cross annual fair, 103, 159n16
see also Thai Red Cross Society
 Red-Whiskered Bulbul Club, 81, 133,
 141, 164–66, 207
 “red-zone village”, 34, 49
 revolution, of 1932, 24, 159n15, 228
 Revolutionary Council Announcement,
 136
 RID (Royal Irrigation Department),
 108, 110, 160n17

- “righteous king”, 228
 ritual offerings, 175
 royal anthem, 223
 Royal Development Study Centre, 108
 royal grave-soil laying ceremony, 118, 187, 238
 royal initiatives, 107–10
 royal involvement, with the recent unrest, 113–20
 Royal Patronage, 116, 119
 royal recognition, 111–13
 Royal Thai Army, 63n5
 Royal Thai Police, 158n12
 rubber plantation, 15–16
 Runda Kumpulan Kecil (RKK), 53, 65n14
- S**
- Sadudi Maharaja*, 83, 87, 151, 222
 Saiburi Dam, 110, 160n17, 203
 Salafi movement, 15, 156n5, 157n6, 188n1
 SAO (Subdistrict Administrative Organization), 50, 61, 65n12, 119, 132–41, 146, 149–50, 161n22, 167–68, 170, 179, 184–86, 190, 206–8, 214–15, 217, 221
 Sarit Thanarat, 10n4, 65n13, 107–8, 228–29
 Schmitt, Carl, 5
 school activities, 83
 S.E.A. Write Award, 111
 Security Act, 235n1
 security forces operations, in Guba, 46–51
 separatist movement, 4–5, 7, 28–30, 33, 53, 107, 121, 126–27, 237
shura, 134
 Siamese kingdom, 3
silat, 103, 126, 176, 196, 207
 Sirikit, Queen, 113–15, 221
 Sirindhorn, Princess, 110, 117
 Soamsawali, Princess, 111–12
 social studies textbook, 83
 Songkhla, 22
 Sonthi Boonyaratglin, General, 43, 63n5
 “southern border administration models”, 239
 Southern Border Provinces Peace Building Command, 118
 sovereignty, issues of, 5–6, 209–12, 229–31, 236–40
 “special political zone”, 231
 “special services”, 199
 spirit possession, 175–78, 195–96
 Srisunthorn forces, 64n9, 64n11
 Srivijaya, 31n1
 state ideology, 85, 222–23, 226, 230
 state intelligence, 53
 “state of exception”, 5, 229–31, 235n1, 240
 state, outsmarting the, 196–201
 Stepputat, Finn, 6
 strands of Islam, 15, 69–76, 163–73
 Subdistrict Council and Subdistrict Administrative Organization Act, 136
 Subdistrict Official Administration Act, 136
 Suchinda Kraprayoon, 229
 “sufficiency economy” project, 98, 115, 158n14
 Sukhothai, 11n5
 Sulong Abdul Kadir al-Fatani, 29
 Sunni Muslims, 15
 supernatural beliefs, 175–78, 195, 196
 Surayud Chulanont, General, 63n5
 suzerain–vassal relationship, 3
- T**
- Tablighi Jamaat, *see* Jemaat Tabligh
 Tadika (Taman Didikan Kanak Kanak), 1–2, 10n2, 13, 51, 53–54, 70, 75–76, 97, 105, 132, 179, 219, 221, 223–24

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja, 11n5
 Tanyong Limo incident, 160n19
 tap water project, 131
tarawih, 80, 173, 188n4
 teachers' wages, 10n2
 teashops, in Guba, 18–20
 “teasing the soil” technique, 109
 Ten Kingly Virtues, 228
 terrorism, 155n2
 Thai citizenship, 82–106
 Malay Muslims, and, 182–88
 Thai Health Promotion Foundation,
 191
 Thai identity, 154
 Thai monarchy, revival of, 107
 Thai nation (*chat Thai*), 4, 227
 Thai national flag, signifies, 2
 Thai Ratthaniyom (Thai Customs
 Decree), 4
 Thai Red Cross Society, 159n15
 see also Red Cross annual fair
 Thai society, three institutions of, 83
 Thailand
 administrative levels, 31n2
 fiscal year budget, for southern
 provinces, 94–95, 158n13
 Thaksin Ratchaniwet Palace, 108, 113
 Thaksin Shinawatra, 63n5, 105, 113,
 158n12, 159n16
 Thamavitya Mulniti School, 51, 65n13
 Thammasat University, 160n18, 161n22
 Thanom Kittikachorn, 85
 Toh Nik, 21–22, 32n5, 175
tok imam, 63n5, 187
 Tok Zaki, 74, 78–79, 165, 169
 “Tom Yam Kung Crisis”, 159n14
 traditional Islam, 72–73, 165, 172
 tray (*phanphum*), offering, 1–3, 7, 9n1,
 11, 224–26
 tributary states, 3
 troop patrols, 47–49
 Tuan Loh The, 32n5

U

ulama, 15, 189n9
 ummah (Islamic community), 182
 “unauthorized” business, 16, 19
 “undifferentiated sovereignty”, 231
 unrests
 Guba, in, 34–46
 Islam, and, 155n2
 royal involvement, and, 113–20
 “Upholder of Religions”, 222, 226,
 230–31, 233–34

V

Vajiralongkorn, King, 10n2, 111
 Vajiravudh, King, 4, 107, 227
 vassal states, 236
 village headman, 31n2
 “village Islam”, 72
 Village Scouts, 113, 160n18
 village security team, 40–42, 50, 58, 61,
 64n9, 119, 130, 132, 139, 149,
 201
 villages in Guba, 13–20
 vocational training programme, 82, 93,
 129, 146

W

Wahhabism, 72, 156n5, 188n1
waikhru, 195
 Wang Phaya–Tha Thong
 Demonstration Farm Project,
 116–17
 water management, 108
 way of life, and Islam, 76–82
 “We love the king”, 1, 7, 9
 Western Region Community Forestry
 Network, 112
 women in Islam, 214–21
 “worldly education”, 10n2
 World War II, 4, 28, 237

Y

Ya Sin, sura, 88, 157n9

Yala Female School, 104

Yala Islamic College, 73, 77, 156n5

Yala Province, 1, 13, 20, 24

Yala Provincial Livestock Office, 200

Yala Provincial Office of Culture, 103–4

Yala Teacher Training School, 120

Yala Rajabhat University, 120

Yingluck Shinawatra, 159n16, 240